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THE

BRITISH ISLES

PHYSICAL FEATURES

ELEVATIONS OF LAND IN FEET

0 to 500 Feet

500 to 1500 Feet

1500 Feet and over

DEPTH OF SEA IN FATHOMS

0 to 20 Fathoms

20 to 50 Fathoms

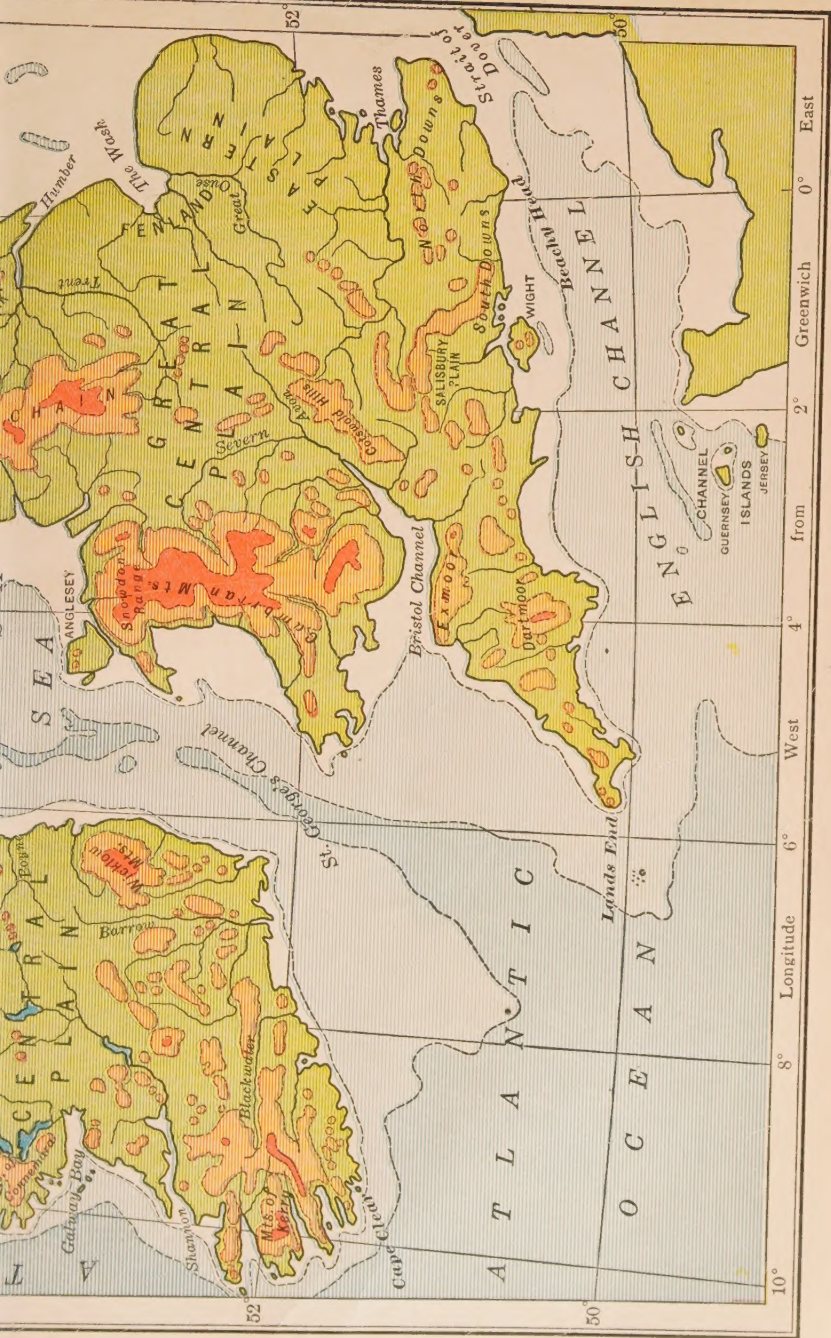
50 to 100 Fathoms

100 Fathoms and over

SCALE OF MILES

0 25 50 75 100





A HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

BY
HOWARD ROBINSON, PH.D.

Miami University, Oxford, Ohio
Author, The Development of the British Empire

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF
JAMES T. SHOTWELL, PH.D.
Professor of History in Columbia University



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PREFACE

THIS volume essays to give an account of British history from its beginnings to the present. It is more, therefore, than the story of England, for the other peoples of the British Isles joined in time with Englishmen to form a larger unity. In recent centuries the oversea expansion has created further centers of British influence, including the thirteen American colonies that were to form a nucleus for the United States. The transoceanic communities, in turn, became contributors to, as well as inheritors of, the English-speaking tradition. Then, too, British history is much more than the evolution of the political institutions, which have often been regarded as Britain's most distinctive gift to the modern world. Cultural, social, and economic developments have proved of great importance. The effort has been made, in the spirit of Wordsworth's lines, to find

An undersense of greatest; to see the parts
As parts, but with a feeling of the whole.

The bibliographical notes furnish adequate data, it is believed, to make them of real value. Although not exhaustive, they are intended as guides for the intelligent purchase and use of works in this field of historic study. The publishers have been liberal in their willingness to include new map material. I have also to acknowledge the permission of Geo. Philip & Son to adapt to my use a map of London in the *Piers Plowman Social and Economic Histories*, of the Oxford University Press for the privilege of using a sketch in Oxford's *Ruins of Fountains Abbey* as a basis for my drawing of a typical Cistercian monastery, and of Houghton Mifflin Company for The Plan of a Mediaeval Manor, from Usher's *An Introduction to the Industrial History of England*.

I am indebted to numerous friends for suggestions. I wish to express my thanks, in particular, to my colleague,

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Professor F. S. Rodkey, for a discriminating examination of the manuscript. And I am more deeply than ever in debt to Professor J. T. Shotwell, under whom I had the privilege of studying, for much wise advice. I am, of course, responsible for the manner in which Britain's continuous but ever-changing life has been interpreted. I trust the volume will help to clarify the past and to explain the present life of a group of peoples, who, although well meaning, have often proved puzzling and illucid.

HOWARD ROBINSON

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July 1, 1927

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A HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN



CHAPTER I

THE DAWN

THE British Empire is one of the great factors in our present-day world. Its power and influence have extended over all continents and across all seas. Within this Empire are included over a quarter of the world's population. Even where, as in the United States, the political bonds have been severed, there remains, nevertheless, the suzerainty of a language, of a culture, and of a law that go back to Britain in origin. The teeming life of the British Isles is one of the great focal centers of world activity whether it be in politics, or commerce, or thought.

Importance
of the Brit-
ish Empire

This position is the more amazing if we look back through the centuries to find why and how such a development occurred on this group of islands off the west coast of Europe. It was only a little over a century ago that the Industrial Revolution arose in Britain as a result of applying man's perfected and steam-driven tools to manufacture, a Revolution that has since spread far and wide. Yet this great mechanical advance was based upon long centuries of workmanship and upon an Empire that was far flung even before the loss of the thirteen American colonies. The Empire, in turn, though built very largely in recent centuries, had its beginnings in successful seafaring far back of modern times.

The great expansion of recent centuries was made possible, too, by the attainment of political unity within the British Isles. Although this was accomplished only within the last three centuries, political institutions of great value had long before struck firm root in the soil. England is famous as the

The British
contribu-
tion

mother of a parliamentary system that has been widely copied, for it has appealed to that democratic tendency that would strengthen the government along with the increase of popular control. But for the origins of Parliament in Britain we have to penetrate the Middle Ages. It is needful, also, to go to the mediæval period for an understanding of the English common law and the system of court procedure, which have been so widely influential in English-speaking lands.

The literary life of the islands has been especially abundant since Shakespeare and Spenser gave distinction to the reign of Elizabeth. But, again, it is well to remember that the history of the English language and literature reaches far back through such writers as Chaucer and Langland to Alfred the Great and his court, and even beyond into the dimmer past. These and many other contributions have given British history a large meaning. They have made of unusual significance the long history of the islands from the early days when various peoples, mingling under favorable geographic conditions, served as the basis for a growth of which they could not have had the faintest conception.

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

To-day, the British Isles consist of about five thousand islands, two of which are so large as to render the rest of significance only because of their relation to Great Britain and Ireland. The total area is 120,000 square miles — about half that of France, or that of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee combined. Ireland, on the western side of the group, contains about one fourth of the total area, and Great Britain most of the rest. The island of Great Britain is divided into three political divisions of great historical importance: Wales is about the size of the State of New Jersey; Scotland is slightly smaller than Ireland; and England contains the remaining three fifths of the island. The Isle of Man lies in the Irish Sea, Anglesey is off the northwest coast of Wales, and the Isle of Wight off the south coast of England. Slightly removed to the north-

The British
Isles

west are the Hebrides; on the north are the Orkneys; beyond this group lie the Shetland Islands about two hundred miles distant from the Norwegian coast. The total length, north and south, of the entire group is less than six hundred miles, and it is about half as wide.

The relation of the British Isles to the mainland is of great importance. The inhabitants were recruited time and again from the neighboring lands, and the proximity of Britain to Europe made possible the transfer of earlier cultures and higher civilizations to these islands. In fact, they are really a part of Europe, lying on the western continental shelf. At few points within the group or between it and the mainland are the waters over three hundred feet in depth. In the very center of the North Sea, rises the Dogger Bank — in places less than sixty feet below sea level. Two bodies of water separate Great Britain from the mainland; to the east is the North Sea, and on the south the English Channel; they are connected by the Strait of Dover, which separates England from France by a water-parting twenty-one miles wide.

Britain and
the main-
land

The insular character of Britain and its nearness to the continent have been of the greatest importance historically. Because of the separation from Europe, these island peoples entered rather late into European affairs as a strong force. For centuries they were little known and of less influence. This isolation was by no means a misfortune inasmuch as it left the islanders free from much of the strife that has devastated, time and again, the Low Countries, Germany, and France. The British Isles were invaded frequently in the early centuries, as we shall find. But the insular character of Britain and the familiarity of the islanders with the sea limited the invasions, and also kept the islands free from a continuous influx that would have made the welding together of the inhabitants a difficult matter.

Effect of
British in-
sularity

Englishmen were able to develop their peculiar institutions and ideals with relative freedom and rapidity because their home was distinct from the continent. National in-

dividuality and a forward civilization are not a little the result of the physical conditions. Even though the islands were subject to successful attack in the earlier centuries their separation from the continent helped much to neutralize weakness within Britain as the result of a royal minority, or of military incapacity, or during a temporary weakness of the country for other reasons. It made possible steady unification.

The individuality of the Britisher, his love of personal liberty, his disinclination to support or tolerate a large standing army, all can be to some extent explained by his island home. The insular character of Britain has seemed to produce of every inhabitant an island, to make a people who were "secure and cocksure" in the situation that nature had granted them.

Although insularity has been of great importance, it must not be forgotten that the narrowness of the sea wall has not made difficult the transfer of influences from the Cultural influences from the Continent, and the easy infiltration, the peaceful invasion of ideas. Great Britain is especially well adapted for intercourse with the mainland. The narrow Strait of Dover is located at the point where England would naturally come into easiest contact with early and mediæval culture. Moreover, the whole eastern part of the island faces that part of the Continent that in the course of time was to prove best fitted for a highly developed life. It is a fact of very great value that the lowland plain across the North Sea is a rich region with many harbors, rivers, and broad estuaries pointing, as it were, to the western islands. Fortunately for Great Britain, the eastern lowland plain was of the same type and the best fitted shore line of the group to receive foreign influences.

The British Isles have been peculiarly favored not only in location but in the physical and climatic conditions of the islands themselves. The present political groups within Great Britain have grown up in the course of time largely as a result of physical factors. Thus it is not difficult to explain the separation of the western mountain re-

gion of the Cambrians as Wales. Scotland is more complex, for it consists of two distinct regions, the Highlands which occupy the northwestern part of Scotland, and the Lowlands to the south. The Highland region is to be classed with the Scandinavian peninsula rather than with the country to the south. In the Highlands disorder persisted and a centralized government was not in control until long after the rest of Great Britain was unified.

The Scottish Lowlands are to be thought of as a part of the great lowland region that includes England, France, Germany, and the Low Countries. But its ^{Scotland} comparative smallness and remoteness led to a later development in the valleys of the Forth and the Clyde than in the larger river basins to the south.

England can be divided into two approximately equal parts. The western and northwestern districts are higher and wilder than the southeastern and eastern ^{England} parts of England. A rich lowland plain stretches from the Welsh uplands and the Pennine chain to the eastern and southern coasts; there, as has been pointed out, it faces the rich lowland plains of the mainland. In this region agricultural and urban development took place. It was in this part of the British Isles, naturally, that European culture first took root. Here also the invaders — Celts, Romans, Angles, Saxons, Danes, and Normans — found their richest rewards as a result of conquest, and drove off or subjugated their less fortunate predecessors. It was here that the Government grew that was later to include in its sway all of the great island as well as its neighbors.

The diverse surface character of Great Britain has aided rather than hindered the growth of its influence. The island was large enough to take a strong place as a unit in the political development of Europe so ^{Physical diversity of the island} that Great Britain did not become an appendage to a country on the mainland as in the case of Crete or Sicily or Corsica. England did not serve as the home of nomadic shepherds only, or of mountaineers or of seafarers exclusively, nor was it dominated wholly by the agricul-

tural interest; it became the seat of a complex society. The discovery of rich mineral wealth added to the power of Britain at the same time that the many-sided interests of the islanders led to commercial expansion and to empire.

Ireland has been less favored. Its location prevented easy and early touch with Europe. It seemed inevitable

Ireland that the western isle should develop as a dependency of Great Britain. The physical character of Ireland as well as its location proved a hindrance to rapid growth, for the island is fringed, or rather cupped, with mountain ranges enclosing a great central basin that is insufficiently drained. Bogs are common and the most important river, the Shannon, unfortunately flows in a westerly direction. Because of its distance from Great Britain, separated by the rough Irish Sea, Ireland was to prove difficult to conquer and control as the British Isles moved toward a single government. Physiography has its part in the explanation of an Irish question that was to be perennial throughout the centuries of British development.

The islands lie between the fiftieth and sixtieth parallels of north latitude; the British Isles reach as far north as

southern Alaska and Labrador, and do not extend as far south as the northern boundary of the United States. If other factors were not taken into account, their position would give a very wrong impression of the favorable climate of the group. For one thing, the islands are protected from the cold waters of the deep Arctic currents by the continental shelf that extends to the west of Ireland. The prevailing winds come from the southwest and west, and bring water-vapor from southern regions that help to make the British Isles far warmer than most other places in the same latitude. In January the mean sea-level temperature does not go below 38° Fahrenheit. In July it ranges from 54° to 62° for various parts of the group. In consequence, the British Isles are free from extremes of heat and cold.

The winds from the southwest and west are moisture

Climate of the British Isles

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laden, and the rainfall as a result is heavy, especially in the western and mountainous regions. In sections of the Highlands, of the Lake District, and of Wales the annual rainfall exceeds one hundred inches. The winds find convenient passages through the Bristol Channel, the Cheshire Gap, the Solway Firth, and the Firth of Clyde to penetrate the eastern parts of Great Britain and to give adequate moisture for lowland plains that might be rainless deserts were the mountains impenetrable. The extreme humidity of the winds helps to produce in Ireland and Great Britain the rich verdure for which they are famous, and sustains the numerous river systems which served so effectively to give entrance and exit before the railways largely replaced the rivers and canals one hundred years ago.

The equable and mild climate of the British Isles is in many ways ideal, for it permits physical work throughout the year, and yet by its variability is highly stimulating. It has produced a vigorous people, who love the country and have a passion for out-of-door sports. Climate no less than physiography and location has been of great importance in conditioning a group of islands so well fitted for the development of a white man's civilization.

As we carry on the study of the historical development, many opportunities will be found to verify the generalizations that have been made regarding the physical character of the British Isles, and to add further indications of the influence of geography and climate on British history.

PREHISTORIC BRITAIN

We shall never know just how long the British archipelago has been under the physical and climatic conditions that have been described as characteristic of the historic period. A definite knowledge of the British Isles does not go much back of the Christian era, for the inhabitants kept no records previous to the invasion and occupation of Great Britain by the Romans.

Nevertheless, the work of the archæologist and the study of prehistoric material remains have made it possible to conjecture with considerable certainty what sort of conditions existed prior to the invasions of Julius Cæsar. Although the prehistoric period is not strictly a part of British history, brief reference should be made to the conditions as they probably existed; they help to explain much that happened later.

Anthropologists are accustomed to refer to prehistoric man according to his tools, inasmuch as they are the principal means of distinguishing the various stages of development. In the dim past the most primitive men fashioned rude implements from imperfectly shaped and chipped stones; their time is known as the Palæolithic or Old Stone Age. In the course of centuries greater skill was acquired, possibly by altogether new races, and the implements received a finer edge and better adaptation to the uses for which they were intended, a stage that is known as the Neolithic or New Stone Age. After many centuries, bronze — an alloy of copper and tin — became known and served as the common metal before iron was utilized. A brief summary of British conditions during the long centuries before the Roman invasion will show that the Palæolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze Ages were eras of progress, even though it was painful and slow.

The Palæolithic Age in Britain was of great extent; it is to this long epoch, known to geologists as the Pleistocene Period, that the most remote of the human remains are referred. This geologic time was characterized by alternating epochs of very cold and moderate climate. There were four Ice Ages when an icy covering spread over northern Europe, including the British Isles, although the glacial periods were separated by warmer epochs. The human struggle against the recurring ages of cold, when men were driven southward or caveward, was relieved by periods of comparative mildness that enabled Palæolithic man to penetrate farther to the north.

The tools of
prehistoric
man

The Old
Stone Age

During this time the British Isles were a part of the mainland. The narrow seas did not exist, but the English Channel and the North Sea were well-watered Prehistoric fauna plains where man and animal wandered and hunted without hindrance. Proof of a condition that no longer holds is found in the animal remains that indicate a fauna connected with the Continent. The mammoth, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, cave bear, and hyena lived in Britain during this time. Remains of the great Irish elk have been found on the Isle of Man. Fishermen have repeatedly dredged up remains of these animals on the Dogger Bank in the North Sea.

A comparatively abrupt change separated the Old Stone Age from the New Stone Age, a change that is most clearly registered for us by the partial submergence of The New Stone Age the continental shelf as a result of which the British peninsula became a group of islands. It may have been 15,000 years ago that this physical modification took place. Most of the palæolithic mammals disappeared from Britain during this transition. Probably the woolly rhinoceros, the woolly mammoth, arctic fox, and musk ox retreated to more congenial northern regions, but the elk, the wild bull, and the reindeer lingered down to historic times. The reindeer was to be found in remote parts of Scotland as late as the twelfth century of the Christian era.

The life of man changed also. His tools became better, though still largely of stone, and the period is known as the New Stone Age. The race that overspread the Neolithic remains British Isles at the beginning of this period were long-headed (Dolichocephalic) and buried their dead in tombs that were oval in form, known as long barrows. The most typical physical remain of this time is the dolmen, a burial place formed by placing enormous stones upright and capping these sarsen stones with other enormous slabs. Although these neolithic constructions were most common in France, where over four thousand exist to-day, they are numerous in England. The early neolithic people were primarily hunters, herdsman, and fishers. They had do-

mesticated the dog, the ox, the sheep, and the hog, but do not seem to have carried on agriculture.

At the very end of the Neolithic Age, probably four thousand years ago, a new race of men conquered the is-
 The Bronze Age lands. These people had heads that were round in shape (Brachycephalic) and they buried their dead in round barrows. Great advances had been made in the use of tools. Stone continued to be employed, of course, but for many purposes it was being replaced by bronze; hence the period following is often designated as the Bronze Age. Bronze is obtained by adding ten per cent of tin to copper, and the alloy has a much sharper cutting edge than pure copper. Both metals were mined in Britain in very ancient times; the copper was obtained from Wales, the tin came from Cornwall. Yet it must not be thought that flint was no longer used. The use of bronze for many implements serves modern investigators as a distinctive mark of the time. These people were much in advance of their predecessors, for they cultivated the soil, and knew how to weave. Spindle whorls of stone, bone, and even of baked clay have been found in abundance among neolithic remains. The most notable monuments of this period are the circles of standing stones widely spread throughout the British Isles, of which the best known is Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain. There are many other groups of standing stones in the British Isles — sometimes wrongly referred to as “druid circles” — that probably served their builders for religious ceremonies and for the rude determination of the sacred calendar.¹

At the time that bronze was being replaced in Britain by iron as a metal for tools, a new race began to overrun
 The Celts the more favored portions of the archipelago. With this people, known as Celts, the real history of the British Isles begins. It was probably about 600 B.C. that the first wave of the Celtic migration reached

¹ Investigators of Stonehenge have pointed out the interesting fact that a person standing at the “altar stone” and looking at a great pillar to the east at sunrise on Midsummer’s Day will see the sun rise exactly in his line of vision.

Britain. It is possible that their use of the superior metal, iron, may have been the reason for the conquest of a poorly defended country.

The Celts came in two or three distinct movements. The first invasion was by a group known as the Goidels or Gaels. They spoke a language that is represented for us to-day by the Gaelic of Ireland and of the Scottish Highlands, and by the Manx of the Isle of Man. The Goidels were succeeded by a second immigration of Celts known as Brythons or Britons. These tribes spoke a language somewhat different from that of their predecessors although they were of the same racial stock. The Goidels were driven westward or subjected in much the same way as they had treated the people they found in Britain. The Brythons came to the island about four hundred years before the Christian era. They overran Great Britain and have left remains of their language in the Welsh, the Breton of western France, and the old Cornish tongue. It will be noticed that the districts where their language survived were almost as remote as those of the Goidels. This is to be explained by the later invasions of the Anglo-Saxons, who treated them as they had treated the people they found in this land of promise.

None of these successive conquerors of Britain was sufficiently literary to keep a record of his life and doings. It was only when man from the more highly advanced Mediterranean lands came to Britain that written records were kept of the conditions in the islands. A traveler by the name of Pytheas, who lived at Massilia (Marseilles) in southern Gaul, visited the islands in the middle of the fourth century, B.C., for the purpose of learning about their resources. He found the people of Cornwall already trading in tin, and he voyaged along the west coast, possibly as far as the Shetlands, seeking for the sources of the amber trade. But only fragments have survived of the record kept by this adventurer. For a fuller and more satisfactory knowledge of Celtic life in Britain we are indebted to Julius Cæsar and later Roman

The various
Celtic mi-
grations

The visit of
Pytheas

invaders. With the Roman interest in Britain a new epoch began.

THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

Julius Cæsar, one of the best-known figures of ancient times, had been busy subduing Gaulish tribes when he decided to visit the island off the coast. His motives were mixed. The Celtic tribes in Britain had aided Cæsar's opponents in Gaul. He also wished to report further victories to the Roman people and to keep in popular favor, by additional plunder and slaves, the party of which he was a member.

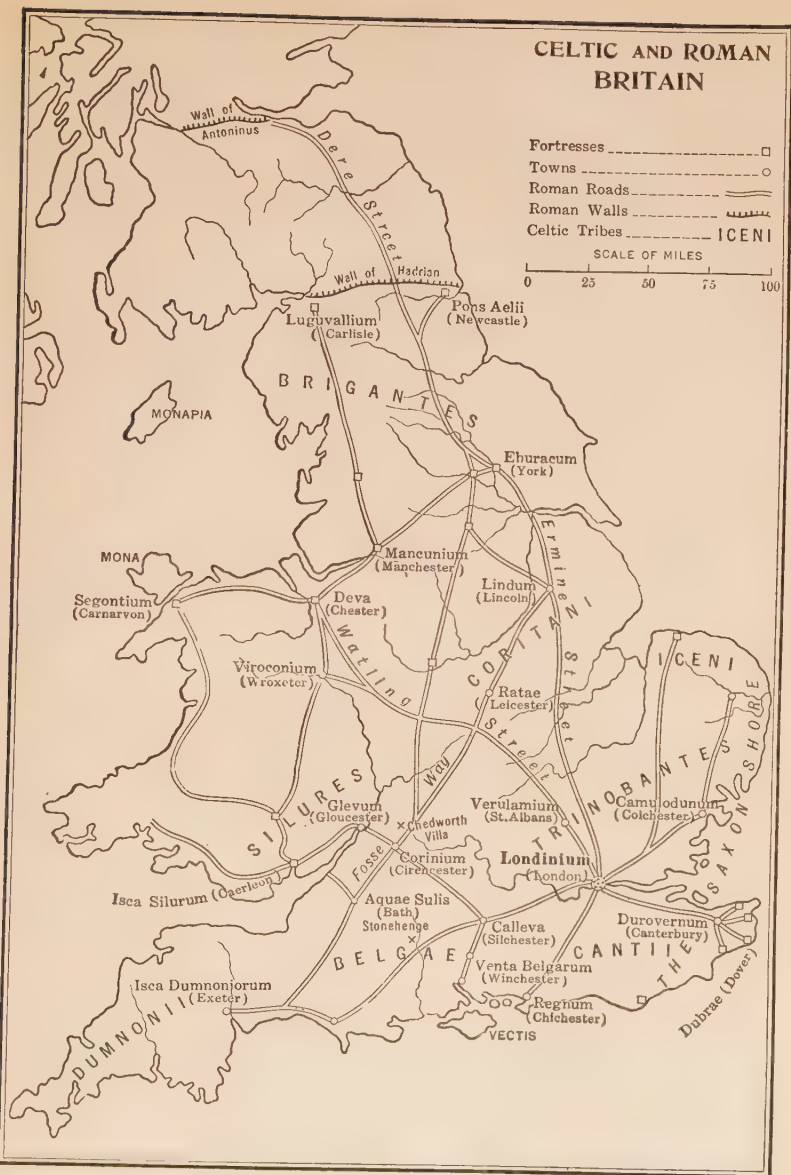
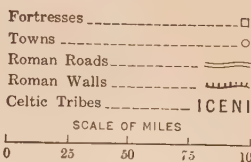
In 55 B.C., the proconsul crossed the strait and landed near Dover. After a few slight combats near the coast he

returned to the Continent. In the next year a more elaborate expedition was organized in the hope of producing a greater effect on the Britons.

After the tribes near the landing-place had been defeated, an expedition ventured inland south of the Thames through what is now Kent and even across the river in order to attack the overlord of the central plain. A victorious campaign resulted in hostages and tribute, which Cæsar carried back to Gaul in the fall of the same year. He never returned to Britain, as a serious Gallic revolt was already brewing. As the years passed his interests were centered more and more in Rome, where he entered on a distracting civil war for the control of the Empire; Britain became relatively unimportant. His chief significance for British history rests in the knowledge obtained of this distant region as a result of his visits which were recorded by himself in the fourth and fifth books of his *Gallic War*. The historian Tacitus, writing over a century later, aptly characterized Cæsar as "the discoverer, not the conqueror of the island."

Just about one hundred years later the Romans began a conquest of Britain that resulted in their control of the islands for nearly four hundred years. But before we appraise the results of the later Roman interest in the islands, it will be well to obtain some conception of the life and ideals of the Celtic peoples who were forcibly subjected to Roman civilization.

CELTIC AND ROMAN BRITAIN



The population was seemingly large to Cæsar, as he speaks of the "infinite multitude of men." Of the forty tribes scattered throughout Great Britain, the most important and advanced were those with whom Cæsar came in contact, and others in the great lowland plain. Notable among the tribes were the Cantii in Kent, the Belgæ in what is now Hampshire and Wilts, and the Silures around the Bristol Channel. The powerful Trinobantes had London as their chief city. To the north of them in Norfolk were the Icenî, and in the land later known as Yorkshire the Brigantes exercised dominion.

Britain was a wild country when the Romans came. There was considerable cultivation in the south, but it was limited on account of the great extent and density of the forests. The advanced tribes were not unlike the American Indians of the eastern forest regions when the Europeans found them in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the south, weaving was well known and the garments worn were not unlike those of their continental neighbors and kinsmen. The Belgic tribes lived in huts and kept their grain in barns. In the less advanced and northern parts of the island agricultural pursuits gave way largely to a pastoral life. The trade in the tin of Cornwall had been carried on for centuries before the Romans came. The resources of the island, however, were much greater in the Roman mind than in reality, reminding us again of the conditions out of which the European settlements in America grew. Tacitus declared that there were in Britain mines of gold and silver and other metals to reward the conquerors. The exports were held to consist of grain, cattle, gold and silver, tin, lead and iron, skins, slaves, and dogs.

The Celts painted and tattooed their bodies and, especially in battle, gloried in this adornment. In fact, war took much of their time. There was no unity in the island to prevent the almost incessant internecine strife of peoples that were independent, fierce, and obstinate.

The religion of the Britons was polytheistic. The Ro-

mans usually identified the British gods with their own deities who were held to possess like characteristics and power. The Britons had a priesthood known as the Druids, who were more powerful even than the medicine men among the American Indians. They dwelt apart and were held in great reverence. This priestly order was venerated for its sacred knowledge, since it monopolized most of the Celtic wisdom by the careful handing down of oral tradition. Its position was not dissimilar to that of the Christian priesthood in the earlier Middle Ages. Powers of divination were claimed and exercised. It is not surprising that the Druids should have served as judges in public and private matters.

The Celts indulged in the sacrifice of human beings. The victims were burned alive in wicker cages as part of funeral ceremonies or as a thanksgiving for victory or to propitiate the gods. The Celts held in high regard that monarch of the forest, the oak; this phase of their religion would seem natural in a country where frequently clouded skies prevented an elaborate development of sun-worship. This tree was holy. Its leaves formed the chaplet worn at the time of sacrifice. The mistletoe, a parasitic growth found but rarely on the oak, was regarded as sacred when found growing in the branches of the sacred tree. A Druid, robed in white, climbed the oak and cut the mistletoe with a golden knife after an appropriate preliminary sacrifice.

The Britain of Julius Cæsar's time had not greatly changed when the Roman Emperor Claudius determined on the conquest of the island about one hundred years later. The tribes of the southeast where the Claudian invasion was made had been somewhat unified under the suzerainty of Cunobelinus; on his death shortly before the invasion the power went jointly to his two sons, of whom the better known is Caractacus.¹

¹ Cunobelinus is the Cymbeline of Shakespeare. Two other legendary British kings, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth's fabulous *British History*, are of interest because their names have figured in literature; Hudibras was supposed by this credulous writer to have been a ruler of Britain back in the days of the Hebrew prophets, and his grandson was King Lear.

The conquest of southern Britain by Claudius was made certain by the elaborate preparations for a large invading army of about fifty thousand men. A senator, Invasion of Britain by the Emperor Claudius Aulus Plautius, was in command of the expedition that crossed the Channel, but Claudius, with additional equipment, even including elephants, joined his victorious army before the decisive battle was fought north of the Thames somewhere between London and Colchester. Caractacus with a small personal following fled to the west, where he long remained a trouble-maker for the Romans. The victorious Emperor shortly returned to Rome, where a triumphal arch was duly erected upon which the names of eleven conquered British kings were inscribed. The senate voted the Emperor and his son the title of Britannicus.

The downfall of the house of Cymbeline resulted in the rapid conquest of southeastern Britain. The Silures, indeed, proved particularly stubborn. Caractacus, not long after a defeat inflicted on him in Expansion of Roman power in Britain the western part of the island, was captured and taken to Rome to grace a further triumph. During the century following Cæsar's invasions the Britons of the southeastern lowland region became more and more familiar with Roman culture through friendly intercourse. Latin civilization was making a silent conquest long before Claudius invaded the island. The populous and already somewhat Romanized regions where Cymbeline had lorded it as *Rex Brittonum* made but little resistance. Five years after the first expedition of 43 the island was under Roman control as far west as the Bristol Channel and as far north as the Humber.

There was but one serious effort to check Romanization. While Nero was Emperor (60 A.D.) the governor of Britain attempted to win further laurels by the conquest of the island of Mona — the modern Anglesey off the coast of Wales — the stronghold of the Druidic priesthood. Scarcely had the sacred groves of the island been cut down when word came of a serious revolt of The revolt of Boadicea

the Iceni, in what is now Norfolk. The Romans had been unduly severe, and the Queen of the Iceni, Boudicca or Boadicea, and her daughters were shamefully mistreated. Thousands were put to death in the harshest manner during the rising. It is significant that the slaughter included many Britons who were "unpatriotic" enough to have accepted the Roman sway. But the revolt was short-lived. The conqueror of Mona hastened back and succeeded in restoring Roman control. Boadicea, in despair, took poison.¹ Henceforth, the Romans had no serious trouble in south-eastern Britain.

The effort to extend the Roman domination beyond the Lowlands was stubbornly resisted. The hill country to the west and north greatly impeded advance. Note-
worthy among the Roman generals to spread the The work of Agricola power of the conquerors was Agricola. He was the father-in-law of Tacitus, to whom we are indebted for a full account of Agricola's work and of the Britain of his day. Agricola completed the conquest of the island of Mona which had been interrupted by the revolt under Boadicea, and added to the size of the province by conquering what is now northern England. He even carried Roman arms into the Scottish Lowlands. There he established a line of garrisons against the wild and unconquerable Caledonians of the Highlands. When he was recalled in 84 A.D., the Roman conquests had reached about their farthest limits, although much remained to be done in the subjugation and organization of the conquered districts.

The history of Roman Britain after Agricola's time is not sufficiently eventful or important to take much of our attention. Apart from the attempt to imprint Roman civilization on the province, the matter of chief interest is the strengthening of the northern boundary, for the Romans were unable to conquer the whole island.

The Emperor Hadrian, who ruled from 117 to 138 A.D.,

¹ At the end of Westminster Bridge across the street from the Houses of Parliament, is a colossal statue of Boadicea in her war chariot. Tennyson's poem pictures the spirited Queen as she aroused her people to attack London, Colchester, and other Romanized centers.

visited Britain early in his reign. He seems to have felt Hadrian's the need of protecting what is now Yorkshire wall from the continuous attacks of the northern tribes by the construction of a wall across the island. The course of this extensive piece of engineering extended from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne; Carlisle is located near the western end and Newcastle near the eastern terminus of this wall. The structure was over seventy miles long, and was defended by fifteen forts. There was a road along its entire course with numerous small stations for additional protection.¹

The next Roman Emperor, Antoninus Pius, strengthened the provincial frontier on the north by the construction of The wall of another defensive barrier. His wall of turf was Antoninus at the narrowest crossing of the island of Great Britain, from the Forth to the Clyde in the Scottish Lowlands.

But this additional defense did not solve the problem of the northern boundary. Increasingly, the unconquered Roman tribes, known as the Caledonians or Picts — inability to make a complete conquest because they painted their bodies — occupied the Roman outposts from the north while the revolting tribesmen of the future Yorkshire added to the difficulties of the legionaries. Early in the third century the Emperor Severus went to Britain to take up the struggle against the Caledonians. Several severe campaigns were carried far north into what is now Scotland, but with indecisive results. Scotland hardly felt the Roman influence; Ireland, not at all. The Romans, limited by native valor and geographic conditions to what is now England, Wales, and the lowlands of Scotland, were content through the later centuries of the occupation with garrisoning the outposts. Three legions kept the *pax Romana* along the borders; they were located at Caerleon, at Chester, and at York. Numerous smaller forts were of use as well. But they were, for the most part, beyond the Severn and the Trent.

¹ The remains of this wall are still to be seen.

The effects of the Roman occupation are difficult to estimate on account of the Saxon inundation of the island in the fifth century. Archæology has, in recent years, revealed ever-increasing evidence of a well-established Roman culture in southeastern Britain. For one thing, the characteristic city life of the Empire was early adapted to Britain as a means of civilizing the island. Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, London, Exeter, Bath, Silchester were typical urban communities where the military aspect was not so dominating as at the seats of the three legions. Silchester, which has been systematically excavated, shows every evidence of a thoroughly established Roman culture. The checkerboard layout of the streets, the amphitheater, the public baths, the forum, made the discharged Roman soldiers and the emigrants from across the Channel feel at home in a remote province.

The towns were systematically connected by the interlacing Roman roads that radiated in all directions from London Bridge. The development of communications, which was felt to be essential for military reasons, was particularly needed in an island where no previous provision had been made for the rapid transport of troops and supplies. The remarkable system of roads opened up all parts of the province with highways that served as trunk railways do to-day. They were so splendidly constructed that there is little doubt but that England had better roads in the days of the Romans than at any other time previous to the roadbuilding of Telford and Macadam about a century ago. The Roman roads were usually of liberal width, often with curbstones; ditches on the sides received the water that flowed from the convex, paved surface. The traveler in England to-day can find many evidences of the Roman roads and ride for miles on modern highways that are on the precise course of the old Roman routes.

A road of great importance led from Kent to London and across the Midlands to Chester, and on into northern

Extent of
Romano-
British cul-
ture

Town life

The Ro-
man roads

England and the walls; this artery was later known as Watling Street. Ermine Street led north from London to the Humber, Akeman Street crossed from London to the Bristol Channel, and Fosse Way served as the artery from the mines of Cornwall through Bath and Cirencester to Lincoln.

In the country districts, too, there is evidence of Roman influence although the rural life was undoubtedly affected less than that of the towns. Villas were scattered over the southern part of the island, some of them elaborate, many yielding interesting proof of the spread of Roman customs. These country houses had their mosaic floors and elaborate heating arrangements that helped to make life tolerable to the Romans in a climate less pleasing to them than that of Italy.¹

It was during the Roman period that Christianity first came to Britain. Although Jesus Christ died but ten years before the successful conquest by Claudius, Christianity was slow in reaching this out-of-the-way part of the Empire. It had its martyrs in Britain as well as in other parts of the Roman dominions in the days before the new religion was tolerated. The most noteworthy was a Saint Alban, who is supposed to have suffered for his faith on the site of the future Abbey of Saint Albans. Probably much of the population remained non-Christian during the years of Roman rule. Constantine, the first Emperor to accept Christianity, was proclaimed head of the Empire at York in the year 306. In the same century three British bishops went to a church council held in Gaul. The last century of Roman rule produced two celebrated British churchmen. Pelagius is chiefly known in the history of the Church for his unwill-

¹ The finest example of a Roman villa in England was uncovered at Chedworth about fifty years ago. In the Cotswolds, a few miles from the Fosse Way, rabbit hunters accidentally came upon some tesserae in searching for a lost ferret. On clearing away the dense woods that had shielded the ruins of the villa for over a thousand years, the excavators found elaborate remains of a Roman country establishment. In the Chedworth villa there were numerous articles for domestic use, indeed, almost everything that would be needed, from horseshoes to hairpins and curling irons.

lingness to believe certain received doctrines. His commentary on Paul's Epistles is the oldest book known to have been written by a Briton. Saint Patrick is best known for his work in Ireland; it will be considered in a later chapter.

By the time of Pelagius and Patrick the "glory that was Rome" had already passed its prime in the British province. In the fifth century Roman rulers were having increasing trouble with the barbarians along all the imperial frontiers. In Britain the land around the walls was continually harassed. The inhabitants of northern Ireland, known as the Scots, began to cross the Irish Sea in order to plunder the country made prosperous by the imprint of Roman civilization. Barbarians from beyond the Rhine as well were crossing the North Sea to carry fire and sword along the east and south coasts, significantly named the "Saxon Shore." Troops were withdrawn for the defense of Italy very early in the century. But it was not so much the departure of troops that weakened Britain as the lack of administrative officers from the central government.

The effects of the Roman occupation are difficult to estimate. On account of the Saxon inundation of the island in the fifth century, much of the civilization, both Roman and Celtic, was submerged or destroyed. This was unfortunate, for the Romans brought to Britain a higher culture than the land had yet known; it became a part of the civilized world. The roads and the defensive walls remained. British Christianity survived in Wales. But the towns were abandoned, and the province relapsed into semi-barbarism; the tribes that conquered the land were less advanced, if anything, than the Celtic inhabitants. The Roman period in British history is largely an interlude.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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by William Hunt and R. L. Poole (1905-10), and *A History of England* in seven volumes, edited by Charles Oman (1904-14) are very useful. They will be referred to henceforth as the Hunt and Poole series, and as the Oman series, respectively. *The Cambridge Mediæval History*, edited by H. M. Gwatkin and others, is in process of publication (1911 ff.). A work of great value is *The Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, 63 vols. (1887-1901); there are three supplementary volumes covering the decade 1901-11 (1912). The best guide to the study of British History in the Middle Ages is Charles Gross, *Sources and Literature of English History* (1914). A convenient companion to English mediæval history is *Mediæval England*, a new edition of Barnard's *Companion to English History*, edited by H. W. C. Davis (1924). All the works mentioned are valuable for bibliographical guidance.

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CHAPTER II

THE MIGRATIONS

THE Britons faced a menacing situation early in the fifth century. During four hundred years they had enjoyed the culture of Rome, even though one of the Empire's most distant provinces. But all became changed by the pressure of the barbarian movements. Early in the fifth century even the center of the Roman Empire was threatened by uncivilized hordes from the north and east; indeed, in 410 Rome itself was sacked. Roman legionaries were withdrawn more and more from remote provinces to defend frontiers of greater moment to the inhabitants of Italy. Such action was doubly hard on the Britons, who had become accustomed to depend on the legions for security and whose young men had been largely drafted for service on other frontiers. The increasing pressure of invaders found the people of Britain unable to hold their own.

For a century and a half after the departure of the Romans the island, where peace had existed for many generations, was the scene of constant tribal movement and of bitter racial struggles. The course of events in these years can never be known in detail. Even though the Britons were of a comparatively high degree of culture, they have left but few accounts of the critical fifth century; the struggle for existence took all of their attention. A certain Briton by the name of Gildas wrote about 545 a fierce denunciation of his people who were being deservedly punished by God for their sins. But this lamentation tells very little that we want to know. His "epistle," which would fill nearly one hundred pages of this volume, was never intended for history, and serves but poorly that purpose. Another Briton of the name of Nennius — he lived toward the end of the eighth century —

The fateful
fifth cen-
tury

The "his-
torians,"
Gildas and
Nennius

has left an account of that time, but his *History of the Britons* is far from being a contemporary record of the invasions.

On the Anglo-Saxon side there is even less upon which to base a judgment. The uncivilized tribes who came to conquer the island were interested much more in plunder and battle than in keeping an account of their progress. The earliest English narrative is the *Ecclesiastical History* of the Venerable Bede, who wrote in the first part of the eighth century. The island relapsed into a state of barbarism. Darkness spread over the land, a darkness that can almost be felt, and that is very difficult to penetrate.

*Bede's Ec-
clesiastical
History*

On the north the Picts were causing trouble even before the Romans departed. From the northwest and west came Irish raiders who not only attacked the northern part of the country but came by sea to the west and the southwest coasts. Nennius complains that the "Britons, unprovided with means of defense, were unanimously and incessantly attacked both by the Scots from the west and by the Picts from the north."

*Picts and
Scots*

From the east came the German tribesmen, often known collectively during these years as Saxons. The Romans had felt the need of protecting the eastern coast from the Wash to the Isle of Wight by appointing a special officer of defense, who was known by the meaningful title, Count of the Saxon Shore. With the withdrawal of the Romans that shore became in very truth Saxon. Gildas laments in vivid language the lot of his people: "The Roman legions had no sooner returned home than their former foes, like hungry and ravening wolves, rushing with greedy jaws upon the fold that is without a shepherd and wafted both by the strength of oarsmen and the blowing wind, break through the boundaries and spread slaughter on every side, and like mowers cutting down the ripe corn, they cut up, tread underfoot and overrun the whole country."

*The Saxon
Shore*

13068

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THE GERMANIC INVASIONS

The Anglo-Saxon marauders who came across the North Sea did by far the greatest harm. Picts and Scots never succeeded in obtaining a permanent foothold in southern Britain, although their movements in what is now Scotland were to prove of importance. But the Saxons are found in control of the whole eastern half of the island when the darkness enshrouding the invasions became less dense in the seventh century.

Fortunately we can realize fairly well the character of these German peoples who fearlessly "braved the sea-streets" to conquer Britain. The Latin writer, Tacitus, whose life of the Roman general, Agricola, is of so much value in understanding Roman Britain, also wrote a description of the life and tribal divisions of the people of Germany in his day. Although the *Germania* was written toward the close of the first century after Christ, the conditions he described had probably not changed materially during the intervening years.

In addition to the record of this Italian observer, there are the Saxon songs that have come down to later centuries, for the Germans loved to recount their deeds. Glee-men warmed many an heroic heart by telling the exploits of brave chieftains. Two such songs of those days have received poetic form and reveal something of Teutonic life and interests. The *Widsith* and the *Beowulf* are early English poems that probably came to Britain during the age of the conquest and later were put into written form. The story of *Beowulf* is that of a chieftain who, about 500 A.D., did wondrous deeds of valor in Denmark not unlike in spirit the work of the conquerors who crossed the North Sea.

These bold seafarers were a fierce folk, large-boned, with long fair hair and confident gray-blue eyes. They were merciless, bloodthirsty, hungry for adventure. Their chief joy was to be found in war. The bards loved to recount the exploits of those who had been able to "hold rule over men." "To cultivate the earth," says Tacitus, "and wait the regular produce of the seasons,

Early Eng-
lish poems

Anglo-
Saxon life

is not the maxim of a German; you will more easily persuade him to attack the enemy, and provide honorable wounds in the field of battle." The chieftain was clad in a coat of mail and a crested helmet, and wielded the sharp two-edged "war-sword." His followers, defended by greaves and the shield, carried a seven-foot spear, a stout dagger, and a battle-axe.¹ They were wellnigh resistless in battle. Untouched by Christian teachings, they were haughty of heart, hungry for glory, fearless of death. Deep passion ruled their action as "swollen with rage" they joyfully engaged in a "grim fight." When not battling they found pleasure in hunting or in carousing in the lordly hall of a chieftain where they listened to the stories of the glee-men while feasting and drinking deeply of their mead.

And yet these men, warriors born, were not all bad. There was a simple manliness about their actions, a large-heartedness that finds expression in spite of much brutality. There was in their lives a sense of awe aroused by the world of nature to which they were so close. Through their priesthood they paid much heed to auguries, and were bound by the mysteries of the forest and of the sea and of the sunrise over the waters.

At the time they came to Britain tribal organization had not yet been developed to any extent. The warriors were grouped around some leader; they became his companions or "gesiths" in the chase, the battle, and the feast; it was the greatest disgrace to outlive the chieftain whom one served. The idea of loyalty to a country would have seemed a strange thought. They came to Britain in great numbers, or half of the island could not have been conquered so quickly. Yet the bands were usually small, and the leaders owed little if any fealty to an overlord. The knowledge and love of the water emboldened many a small group to cross the sea and to venture past the wind-swept headlands and up the rivers. The Anglo-

¹ Many of the weapons found in the earlier Saxon cemeteries on the eastern side of the North Sea came from workshops in the Roman provinces, as their markings prove.

Saxons came in oaken vessels, even seventy-five feet long, with curving prows and a mast; rowlocks on each side may have provided for as many as fifty rowers.

It was about the middle of the fifth century, according to Nennius, that three long ships arrived on the coast of Kent in command of two brothers, the exiled chieftains, Hengest and Horsa.¹ They were received as friends by the British rulers, and were given the island of Thanet as a home. Soon their numbers increased; at one time sixteen vessels came, later a group of forty longships. Evidently there was no intention of returning to the old home, for the women soon followed their warriors. The British presently found that these whom they had welcomed as assistants in holding back Picts and Scots were determined to occupy the best portion of the land for themselves.

Even though we can never know in detail the course of the conquest, the general trend of the English invasion is clear enough. As war bands, large and small, the Teutons came in great numbers during the latter half of the fifth century. First they ravaged and plundered. The Anglo-Saxons, careless of civilized life and particularly of urban communities, destroyed many of the British-Roman cities or left them as empty shells with almost no inhabitants. An old Anglo-Saxon poem on *The Ruined City* may have reference to the sack of Bath in 577:

Wondrously wrought and fair its wall of stone,
Shattered by Fate! . . .
..... Its battered ramparts
Are shorn away and ruined, all undermined
By eating age. The mighty men that built it,
Departed hence, undone by death. . . .
Wide-wasting was the battle where they fell.
Plague-laden days upon the city came;
Death snatched away that mighty host of men.²

¹ The details of the invasion of Hengest and Horsa are highly doubtful, as well as the traditional date (449); even the existence of the two chieftains is open to question.

² Cook and Tinker, *Select Translations from Old English Poetry*, pp. 56-57. Ginn and Company, publishers.

Cities were of little use, but the country was rapidly appropriated. Small agricultural settlements in family groups were set up in the conquered territory. It is probable that relatively few Britons remained in eastern England, save when the men became menial slaves and the women the chattels of the conquerors. In the western parts of the conquered districts the Britons were probably more intermingled with the Saxons. A civilization, four centuries old, was virtually uprooted.

After about fifty years of struggle the Germanic invaders had wrested from the Britons the eastern half of the island. For some reason the farther movement seems to have been stopped about 500. It was just at ^{Mount} ^{Badon} the close of the fifth century that a decisive battle was fought at Mount Badon, near Bath in the Severn valley. If the British chronicler, Gildas, is correct, it was a great victory for the Britons. As a consequence, the refugees in the western part of the island were left at peace for over fifty years, although the borderland between Saxon and Briton remained a desolate waste.

The other chief authority for the time, Nennius, makes the battle of Mount Badon the culmination of a series of twelve great battles in which the Britons were uniformly victorious. The most interesting ^{"King"} ^{Arthur} detail of his account is the name of the British leader. The battles were fought and won under a certain "magnanimous" Briton named Arthur, who was chosen the general-in-chief, not because of noble birth, but on account of his merit. In the last battle, according to Nennius, he slew nine hundred and forty of the enemy by his own hand, "no one but the Lord affording him assistance."

This is all that a chronicler who wrote three hundred years after the event has to say of the prowess of Arthur. It was in later years that legends grew and gathered about the name of this national hero. ^{The Arthur-} ^{ian legends} Bards and pseudo-historians vied in recreating the life of "King" Arthur and his knights of the Round Table. The later stories are familiar to readers of literature in Geoffrey

of Monmouth's "History," the *Mabinogion*, and Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, or in beautiful poetic form in such poems as Spenser's *Faërie Queene* and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*.¹ There seems no good reason why Arthur should not be regarded as an historical figure. But all that we can be sure of is that he led the Britons in successfully halting the Anglo-Saxon conquest about the year 500.

THE ANGLO-SAXON OCCUPATION

Although there was no great national movement, the invading bands from Germany were very largely from three tribal groups, the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles. Angles, Saxons, and Jutes The Jutes, not a large tribe, have left their name in Jutland, the northern peninsula of Denmark. It is probable that the settlers in what became Kent were of this people. The Saxons dwelt in the country north of the Elbe, now known as Holstein. This powerful tribe had extended its confederacy over much of what is known to-day as Hannover. The Angles dwelt between the Jutes and the Saxons in what is now Slesvig. Probably war bands from other stocks came over the sea to share in the conquest. But these three tribes were the only ones that took a large part in the subjugation of Britain. Neither Jutes nor Saxons came over in such numbers as to destroy their tribal influence on the continent. "Old" Saxony remained important. On the contrary, the Angles seem to have emigrated almost *en masse*.

The process of forming "kingdoms" in eastern England was naturally slow. Only in time, out of wars between chieftains over conquered territory, would there arise a dominant chieftain, whose powers would culminate in the establishment of an overlordship more or less permanent. Possibly the numerous disagreements over the disposition of the despoiled lands gave the Britons a breathing spell after fifty years of stubborn but

¹ Geoffrey's fabulous "History" was written in the twelfth century. The *Mabinogion* took form shortly afterward. Sir Thomas Malory lived in the fifteenth century, as the Middle Ages were coming to a close.

ENGLAND

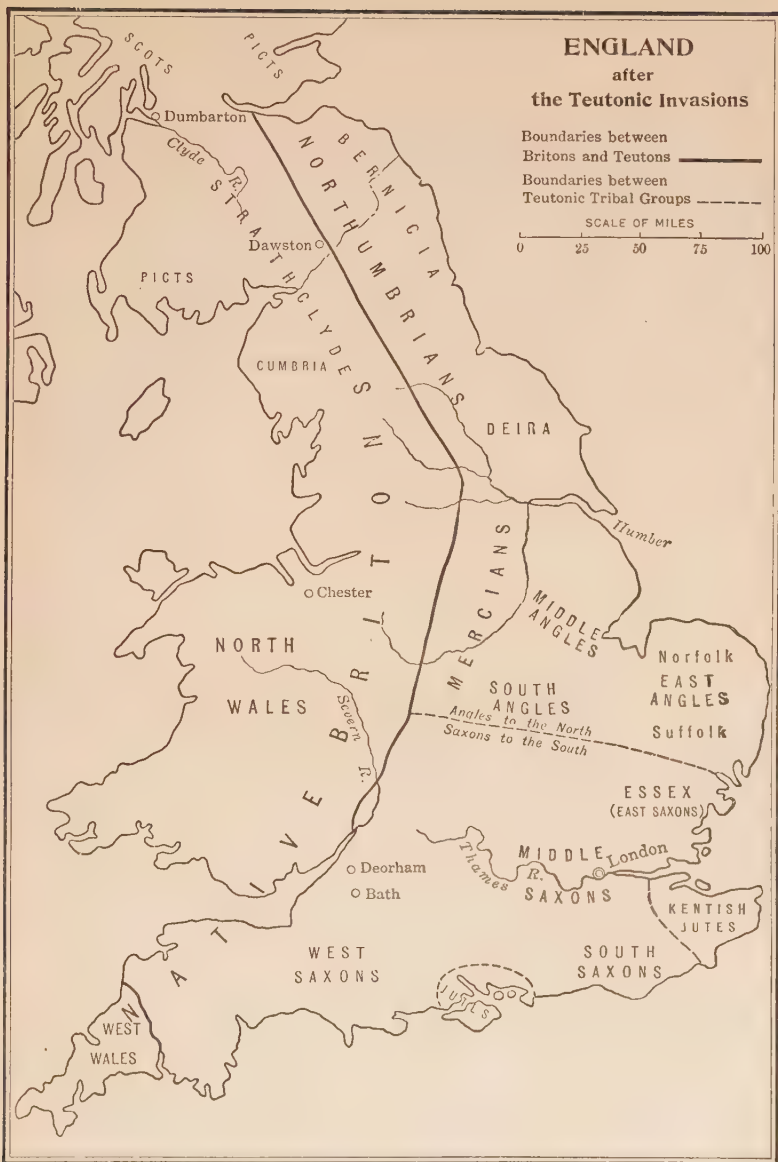
after

the Teutonic Invasions

Boundaries between
Britons and Teutons —————
Boundaries between
Teutonic Tribal Groups - - - - -

SCALE OF MILES

0 25 50 75 100



hopeless resistance. Certainly by the end of the sixth century it is possible to distinguish a number of kingdoms or lordships which were to grow more definite only with the lapse of time.

In what is now the county of Kent the invaders carved out a Jutish kingdom. Elsewhere in southern England the

Saxon and Jutish kingdoms Saxons were dominant. But they formed no single government. North of the Thames, in

what is now Essex, the East Saxon group took form. A little to the south and west, about London, were the Middle Saxons (Middlesex). West of Kent on the south shore grew up the small kingdom of Sussex (South Saxons). But most important of all the Saxon groups was that in the southwest, the kingdom of the West Saxons (Wessex). Originally, it appears, this group had penetrated up the Thames valley, settling beyond the seat of the Middle Saxons. In the sixth century, the kingdom of Wessex under its leader, Ceawlin, was to prove the most aggressive of all the southern states.

The Angles occupied the central and northern portions of the captured country. In what is now Norfolk and

Anglian settlements Suffolk, the Anglian groups of "northfolk" and "southfolk" united to form the kingdom of

East Anglia. Farther inland the numerous Anglian settlers were for a long time disunited. The Midland region was valuable and undoubtedly served long as a bone of contention among the conquering groups. But in time a kingdom of the Middle Angles emerged just west of East Anglia. The land in the Trent basin and next to the Welsh kingdoms was known as Mercia, the "march." Later it was to absorb the Middle Anglian power and to form one of the most powerful of the early political units. Mercia did not become a strong kingdom until its ruler, Penda, dominated that part of England in the seventh century.

All along the east coast, above the Wash, Anglian settlements took place. Here as elsewhere, kingdoms were

Deira and Bernicia gradually formed; it was probably a century after the invasions that Deira took shape in the land north of the Humber and that Bernicia became a king-

dom occupying the present Durham and Northumberland. Just at the close of the sixth century these two principalities were united as Northumbria under the rule of Æthelric and his son Æthelfrith.

Thus as we enter the sixth century it is possible to distinguish a number of dominant kingdoms that had grown at the expense of many weak rulers, whose names are unknown to history. There are the Kentishmen, the South Saxons, East Saxons, Middle Saxons, and West Saxons in southern England. Anglian settlements have shaped themselves into three important groups in central England, the East Angles, the Middle Angles, and Mercia. The northern part of the island, east of the Pennines, has become the possession of two closely related peoples, the Deirans and the Bernicians.

This simplification of tribal antagonism was not achieved in a year or a decade. We can never know in detail how the various chieftains struggled for supremacy, and how out of the conflict strong overlords developed. A gradual occupation It would be tedious to recount the story were it known. All through the conquered part of the island this struggle for the survival of the fittest to rule was taking place during the years of migration.

By the latter part of the sixth century, however, internal strife had somewhat ceased, at least sufficiently for the marcher Saxon kingdoms to resume the attack on the British lands they had not yet captured. The peace, of which Gildas wrote, following the great victory near Bath in 500, came to an end.

The second wave of conquest surged westward in the last quarter of the sixth century. The West Saxon King, Ceawlin, had created a powerful position for himself by force of arms. He had defeated the Kentishmen near London (Wimbleton)¹ and Ceawlin enlarges Wessex wrested from the Mercians some territory north of the Thames. The climax of his activities was a renewed attack on the Britons. They still held the land about the Bristol

¹ For Wimbleton, see Map IX.

Channel which served to connect the British kingdoms in what is now Cornwall with those of Wales. It was at this narrowest point of the British belt of states that Ceawlin struck. In 577 he fought a great battle with three British kings at a place called Deorham, near Bath; his three enemies were slain. More important than a mere military success was the acquisition of the country on the east side of the Severn and its settlement by Saxon colonists. As a result of this victory Ceawlin became the dominant Teutonic ruler of southern Britain.

In the meantime similar activity was going on in the north. Æthelfrith, "a most worthy king and ambitious of glory, governed the kingdom of the Northumbrians and ravaged the Britons more than all the great men of the English. . . . For he conquered more territories from the Britons than any other king or tribune."¹ This aggressive conqueror even crossed the Pennines to the shores of the Irish Sea in his ambition for glory and land. In two widely separated regions he was conspicuously successful. An important victory was gained over Scottish and Welsh forces at Dawston near Jedburgh about the year 600. The English historian, Bede, wrote over a century later: "From that time no king of the Scots durst come into Britain to make war on the English to this day." Although Dawston served to narrow the scope of British power, a much more decisive battle was fought ten years later in the valley of the Dee near Chester. The British were so conscious of the crucial character of this conflict that over a thousand monks came to assist in staying the pagan Æthelfrith. But it was in vain. Scarce fifty of the thousand monks escaped alive in a battle that was long known in Celtic annals as the "Slaughter of the Saints." Strategically, the battle of Chester cut off the British of Wales from their northern kinsmen, as Deorham had severed their connection with Cornwall.

The battles
of Dawston
and Chester

¹ Bede, I, 34.

THE CELTIC SURVIVAL

Our survey of the period of the migrations would not be complete without reference to the tribal changes and reorganizations that occurred among the Britons in western England, and among their cousins, the Gaelic Picts and Scots of north Britain. The Great Britain of later days was to comprehend all these peoples.

In the first fifty years of Anglo-Saxon effort the best lands of the eastern half of the island were wrested from the natives. They retained, nevertheless, a broad Celtic refuge-areas belt of territory from Lands End to the Clyde.

If only the native tribes could have laid aside petty jealousies and narrow ambitions the various kingdoms might have kept back the Saxon hordes. But such was not to be. By the victories of Deorham, Dawston, and Chester this solid wall of Britons on the west was broken at two important points into three divisions. "West" Wales, south of the Bristol Channel, no longer had a land connection with "North" Wales¹ after the victory of Ceawlin. The latter district was likewise separated from the British kingdoms to the north by the victory of Æthelfrith.

The north British dominion of Strathclyde included that part of England known as Cumbria, of which Carlisle was the chief seat. During the sixth century this British unit came to include all the country Strathclyde south and west of the river Clyde. Of this enlarged kingdom Dumbarton became the most important center.

In what is now Scotland the organization and relationship of the various kingdoms were becoming clearer. Important changes were taking place that brought Emergence of Scotland Scotland for the first time into the course of history. The Northumbrian Angles had settled the country south of the Forth. They might well have succeeded in conquering much of the western country had the two parts of the kingdom, Deira and Bernicia, been able to coöperate

¹ The British were given the name of Welsh by the Teutonic conquerors. This Anglo-Saxon word means stranger or foreigner, some one not of their own group. Compare Wallachian, Walloon, walnut (a foreign-grown nut). The conqueror curiously regarded the displaced native as the foreigner.

at all times. But frequently they turned their swords against each other to the salvation of Scot and Pict and Briton.

The Picts had been in Scotland from prehistoric times. These people were Goidelic Celts, mixed to some extent with the pre-Celtic inhabitants; their wild looks and painted bodies had caused terror to many a Briton before the Angles appeared. The Romans, unable to conquer these mountaineers, had constructed walls to bar them out. By the sixth century the land of the Picts began to be much better known. As elsewhere in the island tribal groups were numerous. The tendency toward unity brought these northern tribesmen into two general groups: northern Pictland included the upper part of Scotland; southern Pictland bordered on Northumbria and Strathclyde. It was rare when the Goidelic Celts of these regions found a leader strong enough to unite all the tribes.

We have glimpses of the conditions among the Celts through the pages of Gildas. Family feuds and inter-tribal struggles seem to have been constant in Wales. The strain and stress of war had brutalized and barbarized a people who still were tinctured by Christianity. But to Gildas they are an "indolent and slothful race," whose groans are unheard because they have fallen away from the religious ideals of their ancestors. "Britain has kings but they are tyrants; she has judges but unrighteous ones; generally engaged in plunder and rapine, always preying on the innocent, they make war but their wars are against their countrymen and are unjust ones." Gildas selects five kings who ruled over separate districts of Wales upon whom he pours out the vials of his wrath. Even discounting the warped point of view of this tearful chronicler, one can realize that the Celts who were forced westward were also pushed downward in the scale of civilization.¹

¹ A large emigration of the harassed British took place, during the Anglo-Saxon conquest, to the mainland peninsula known formerly as Armorica but which, in consequence of the settling there of the numerous immigrants, became known as Britannia Minor, or Brittany. The Bretons founded churches and monasteries, and established a culture which left so strong an impress that it is one of the most distinctive to be found in modern France. It was from one of the monasteries of Brittany that Gildas fulminated with perfect safety against the apostate kings of Wales.

IRISH INFLUENCES

Britain was receiving newcomers not only from the east but from the west. Irish pirates had raided the land even before the Romans left. Most important of the tribes on the western isle was that of the Scots, ^{Irish Scots in Dalriada} who dwelt in northeastern Ireland. Raids finally led to settlement, for about the year 500 a colony of Scots settled north and west of the Firth of Clyde in what came to be known as Dalriada, a settlement that was for a time precarious enough.

This backwash from across the Irish Sea differed in one important particular from the Saxon invasions; the Scots brought with them a form of Christianity. In fact, their success in holding Dalriada and later in unifying the complex tribal life of northern Britain lay in this Christian character of the newcomers.

The Scots had received Christianity only about one hundred years before the settlement was made north of the Clyde. In one of the numerous Irish raids on the west coast the raiders had carried off to Ireland a ^{Irish Christianity and Patrick} group of captives as slaves, one of whom was to prove uncommonly important. It may have been in 411 that the future missionary to Ireland, Sucat or Patricius, became a bondman. The story runs that Patrick was set to hard labor as a swineherd in the mountains of Antrim. After six years of bitter experiences he escaped, not to organize an invading force, but to prepare as a missionary for evangelizing the land where he had been enslaved.

About the time of the first Anglo-Saxon invasions Patrick recrossed the Irish Sea to begin his task. The Irish probably knew of Christianity before he came, but ^{Accomplishments of "Saint" Patrick} his work was so important in the overthrow of the old paganism that the credit for introducing Christianity was early given to Patrick. According to tradition, he worked in all parts of the western isle, but his greatest influence was among the Scots. Even in the earliest chronicles of this wondrous "saint" — he has never been canonized by the Roman Catholic Church — miracu-

lous exploits occupy the chief place. "Endued with apostolic powers, he gave sight to the blind, cleansed the lepers, gave hearing to the deaf, cast out devils, raised nine from the dead, redeemed many captives, wrote 365 canonical and other books relating to the catholic faith, founded as many churches, ordained three thousand presbyters, converted and baptized twelve thousand persons in the province of Connaught, and in one day baptized seven kings."¹ No wonder that in later centuries Patrick was believed to have found Ireland without a Christian, and to have left it without a pagan. When he died about the year 470 — it may have been on March 17th — there was no night in the land for twelve days.

Discounting, as we must, the enthusiastic record of his acts, students of the history of the British Isles must nevertheless regard him as responsible for the spreading of Christianity in Ireland just at the time that paganism was conquering Britain. His work seems to have been well done, for monasteries and churches sprang up in large numbers. The new religion showed its vitality in many ways. A zeal for learning arose in this remote district that soon made Irish monks famous as teachers. More than that, the Church produced bold missionaries who labored far and near. During the sixth and seventh centuries they planted the beliefs and customs of the Irish Church, not only in Scotland, but even in Gaul, northern Italy, and Switzerland.

It was in 563 that Saint Columba with twelve companions came to Dalriada and established a monastery on the small and rugged island of Iona. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Scottish history began with this landing of Columba. Of royal blood, of high repute for sanctity and wisdom, he immediately became one of the great forces in unifying northern Britain. The Scots of Dalriada had suffered serious reverses in their efforts to obtain a hold in Pictland. Columba seems to have been the decisive factor in giving his people the strength to form a powerful kingdom.

¹ Nennius, 54.

Even more significant was his conversion of the Picts. Two years after his arrival at Iona he went on a mission to the king of Pictland. The doors that were in- Conversion of the Picts hospitably closed against him flew open when he made the sign of the cross. The king, impressed by his power, soon became a Christian, and, as was natural in the days of tribal organization, his people at least nominally embraced the new faith. In time, the Picts became of the same faith as the Scots of Dalriada, and received directly the higher influences then radiating from Ireland. It is not surprising that gradually the name of the Irish group to which Columba belonged should be given to the land so much benefited by their culture. Northern Britain ceased to be Pictland and became Scotland.

Columba died in 597. The church that he introduced into Scotland spread not only among the Picts and Scots, but gradually worked southward until it became Difficulties between Irish and Roman Christianity an influence on the pagan Angles as well. It must be remembered that the Irish type of Christianity was distinct from that of Rome. The original influences were Roman and continental, but the isolation of Christian Ireland had severed that Church and its monasteries from the growing dominance of the Roman Church of the Continent. In consequence, there arose a number of marked differences as the Irish retained many old customs or developed in a peculiar way. Of course, Irish Christians did not own the Pope as head of the church. Their liturgy was peculiar. In addition, the monks were more dominant in the Christianity of Columba than in that of Rome. Celibacy was not required of the priests. The Irish differed from the Roman Catholics in their reckoning of Easter. The divergences were largely superficial. Yet they were to cause difficulty when Columba's church came into contact with the Church of Rome. Indeed, it was in the very year of Columba's death (597) that Roman missionaries landed in Kent and began their work among the Anglo-Saxons.

With the advent of Christianity both in the north and

the south, the life of the island entered a new epoch. Confused tribal movements and harsh readjustments were replaced by the growth of strong kingdoms, the reëstablishment of Christian and continental influences, the renewed advance of civilization. Even so, the years of the fifth and sixth centuries were of outstanding importance; in the strain and stress of tribal clash the foundations of a united country were laid.

Place of
Christianity
in the is-
land's his-
tory

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CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIZATION OF ANGLO-SAXONDOM

THE history of the Anglo-Saxon groups in the centuries after the completion of the settlements is a tangled narrative. Jarring tribes and numerous chieftains fought indecisive but seemingly interminable wars. Only slowly out of this internecine strife grew a unity that brought England under the rule of the West Saxon kings in the ninth and tenth centuries. The main features of this evolution now call for our attention.

The introduction of Christianity in the seventh century is the most important factor marking the new epoch, for by its influence the civilization of the ancient world ^{Christianity} became the heritage of a savage people. ^{and Britain} It is true that the Irish and the Welsh possessed Christian conceptions long before 600. But their religious life had long been isolated as a result of the pagan inroads on England. Differences, in consequence, grew up between the Church of Rome and that in the western part of the British Isles. During the period of isolation the Roman Church had grown in influence and in the definition of its practices and beliefs to such an extent that its domination of the western world became certain. Its bishop, the Pope, claimed to be superior to other bishops by virtue of the importance of the Roman Church and because of its "foundation" by the apostles, Peter and Paul. Just as the conversion of the English began to be undertaken by Roman Catholic missionaries, an extremely vigorous Pope, Gregory I, was shaping the character of the mediæval papacy by his extraordinary claims, his real leadership, and his missionary zeal.

THE ENTRY OF THE ROMAN CHURCH

A well-known story professes to account for Gregory's interest in England. Whether or not he saw fair-haired

pagan Angles (Latin, *Angli*) in the Roman slave-market and expressed the pious wish that they should be co-heirs with the angels (Latin, *angeli*), it is certain that he was sufficiently aroused to send a mission to England after he became Pope. His apostolic zeal found visible expression in 597. A certain Augustine (known as Augustine of Canterbury to distinguish him from his greater namesake, the Church "Father") was sent to Britain at the head of some forty companions. The party, after some trepidation and the desire to back out of their dangerous mission, finally landed on the island of Thanet in Kent, whence Augustine sent word to King Ethelbert that he brought a joyful message. The King, though willing to hear what Augustine had to say, met the missionaries in the open, because he feared the magical powers so frequently attributed to the priesthood. The King himself seems to have had few determined pagan convictions, for he tolerated the Christian practices of his Frankish wife. The King also allowed Augustine to reside in Canterbury. Three months later the ruler submitted to baptism into the new faith. Naturally the people in great numbers accepted the religion of Ethelbert. A propitious beginning had been made.

In due time Augustine received the pallium, with power to establish bishoprics and to exercise authority over the expanding Church in Saxon England as well as over the Celtic Christians to the west and north.¹ Thus Canterbury became the center of the new Church in spite of the fact that Augustine was to have been archbishop of London. But a change of residence by Augustine would have meant a departure from Kent where he had been received so graciously. As a result, Canterbury remained throughout the centuries the center of Christianity in England.

The new gospel spread rapidly. There seems to have been little real vitality in the dying paganism. And what

¹ The pallium is a band of white wool sent by the Pope to bishops and archbishops as an indication of their place and power.

little remained was further weakened by the large tolerance shown the new converts. On Gregory's advice well-built pagan temples were easily transformed into Christian churches by the sprinkling of holy water and the depositing of relics. Even practices and beliefs were treated with leniency. "There is no doubt," wrote Gregory, "that it is impossible to efface everything at once from their obdurate minds, because he who endeavors to ascend to the highest place rises by degrees, and not by leaps." Yet the missionaries did not go so far as to countenance the caution of the East Anglian King who for a time had two altars in his place of worship, one Christian and the other pagan.

Spread of
Roman
Church

The most notable early advance of Christianity was into Northumbria. This was especially significant since that Anglian kingdom was waxing so strong as to be the dominant English state during much of the seventh century. In 625 the Christian bishop, Paulinus, went to York with a Kentish bride for pagan King Edwin of Northumbria. The King of Kent had scruples about giving his Christian sister to an unbeliever, a feeling that was overcome when Edwin permitted the queen to bring her bishop along. Shortly afterward Edwin was won to the new faith. As in Kent, the conversion of the ruler meant the conversion of his people. Paulinus was kept very busy by great baptismal gatherings, one of which lasted for thirty-six consecutive days, so we are told. And Bede records Edwin's great military successes as a result of his alliance with the Christian god of battles; he carried the Northumbrian power "to all the borders of Britain, . . . a thing which no British king had ever done before."¹

Christianity
in North-
umbria

The spread of the Roman faith went on apace in other parts of the country. Vassal kings naturally imitated their overlord. Edwin carried his religion far to the north where the later Edinburgh rose about the royal castle. Paulinus introduced the faith successfully in East Anglia. By the middle of the century

Completion
of the Chris-
tian con-
quest

¹ Bede II, 9.

Wessex and Essex were also Christian. There was some delay in the christianizing of Mercia because its powerful King, Penda (626-55), refused to accept the new religion, although he was not above allying himself with the Christians of Wales in fighting Northumbria. After Penda's death, his Christian son allowed the new faith an entrance into central England. Sussex held out the longest, largely because of its isolation between the Channel and the forest of the Weald. But even here and on the Isle of Wight the new faith at last found a home.

An obstacle that Augustine and his successors found impossible to overcome was the bitter opposition of the Roman Christian Church in Wales. Imputations of *versus* Roman superiority as expressed by the presum-
Welsh Christianity ing Augustine were deeply resented. Much time was to elapse before the Welsh Church would conform to Roman usages.

The relation of the Pope's emissaries to the Irish Christianity of Scotland was no more fortunate when the two Churches came into contact rather early in the seventh century. The changing political fortunes of Northumbria led to the introduction of Irish Christianity into northern England. It happened in this wise. Edwin was slain in battle by the pagan Penda in 633, and his wife and bishop fled to Kent. Thereupon Oswald, the representative of a rival royal house, assumed the throne after several years spent in exile. Oswald was as devout a Christian as Edwin, but he had learned the Irish form of Christianity while in exile at Iona, far to the north. Naturally the Irish faith was introduced when he returned to Northumbria; the saintly Aidan replaced Paulinus. Aidan lived on an island off the coast named Lindisfarne, but commonly known as Holy Island from its use by the monastics of this and later centuries. Both King and Bishop worked to good effect. By the time of Oswald's death (he, also, was slain by Penda) the Irish faith had become a strong rival of the Roman religion in Northumbria. Oswald left so great a reputation for saint-

liness that numerous miracles were thought to have been wrought by his bones and even by the dust of the battle-field on which he had fallen.¹

His successor, Oswy, is of such slight importance as to deserve no place in this survey were it not that he presided at a celebrated synod in which the Northumbrian ruler decided that but one of these two forms of Christianity should be the religion of his country. The Council of Whitby (664) was called because of the confusion of the two differing Church practices, a difference that tended to produce political weakness, since the tribal organization was none too effective at its best.

Council of
Whitby
(664)

The Irish and Roman forms of Christianity were distinguished at a number of points. The Celtic Church was loosely organized. Moreover, its unity was frequently better expressed in the abbot and the monastery than in the bishop and the cathedral. The Celts had a peculiar tonsure; instead of shaving a circle on the crown of the head they cut the whole front half of the hair. This practice was dubbed by the Roman Catholics the tonsure of Simon Magus. The greatest difficulty occurred over the date of Easter. The equinox, from which this church day was reckoned, was set by the Celts four days later than in the Roman computation. Hence it might happen, if a full moon and Sunday came between these two dates, that the Celtic Christians would celebrate Easter four weeks later than the Roman Church. The fact that Easter was the starting point of the Church calendar increased the confusion.

Differences
between the
Roman and
Irish
Churches

King Oswy heard the rivals in a synod held on the cliffs of Whitby at the monastery over which Abbess Hilda presided. The Easter date took the most attention in a lively debate that has been preserved for us by the historian Bede. The Roman advocates argued that their practice was generally accepted in contrast with the customs of the Picts and Scots "who foolishly in these

The victory
of Rome

¹ Bede's account, book III, chapters IX-XIII, well illustrates the credulity of the time.

two remote islands of the world, and only in a part even of them, oppose all the rest of the universe." Appeal was also made from the authority of Columba to that of Peter, the gatekeeper of heaven. The King, according to Bede, seemed much influenced by this argument, and decided for the Roman Church, "lest, when I come to the gates of the kingdom of heaven, there should be none to open them, he being my adversary who is proved to have the keys."

Whether or not Oswy was so interested in his future, the decision was a foregone conclusion. The Irish Church was Its significance lacking in organization; it had not even served to unify the tribal groups where it was accepted. The Roman Church, moreover, represented the culture of an older civilization. Even apart from its better organization — so much needed in the England of those days — it became an effective channel for the civilizing influences of the Continent. At best, Iona was an outlying monastery whose missionary zeal had served to make it of great usefulness; it could not compare with the Roman Church for ultimate worth.

Five years after the Synod of Whitby the Pope sent to Britain a notable churchman, Theodore of Tarsus, for the Theodore of Tarsus purpose of putting the new Church into effective working order. Archbishop Theodore was from Asia Minor, a monk by training, and of decided vigor in spite of his sixty-six years. Above all, he was a scholar with a good knowledge of Greek. An African monk named Hadrian accompanied him, and from the Pope's own Church in Rome a certain John was sent to instruct the British clergy in ritual and music. The work of Theodore was especially abiding. Bishoprics, which had been too few and had been governed irregularly, were increased in number and more closely articulated. In place of six dioceses along tribal lines Theodore established fourteen. Synods of the united church were held at various times, an earnest of the approaching political unity. The Venerable Bede wrote enthusiastically of the work of Theodore, "the first arch-

bishop whom all the English Church obeyed." And the historian, who was a young man during Theodore's time, even went so far as to declare that there never were "happier times since the English came into Britain."¹

One of the most marked developments was the growth of monasticism. It was to play a large part in English life during the Saxon period as well as after the Norman Conquest. Naturally, quiet souls wishing to lead the religious and intellectual life, desired to live apart, in times and in places so unsettled and crude as the British Isles. Many were prompted to turn their backs on the world. We have already seen how strongly monasticism developed in the Irish Church and in Scotland as Iona radiated its influence.

The attraction of monasticism

Likewise in the Roman Church the spirit of renunciation was strong. Pope Gregory, who sent Augustine to Kent, was a monk before he became head of the Church. This "founder of the mediæval papacy" had lived in a monastery which followed the rule (Latin, *regula*) of the sainted Benedict of Nursia, a famous Italian of the early sixth century. It was largely through the efforts of Pope Gregory that the Benedictine Rule spread far and wide. The apostle of England, Augustine of Canterbury, was a Benedictine monk. The rule of Benedict was so widely accepted because it ordered the life of a monastery in a reasonable way. The specification of the times for worship, the nature and quantity of the food, the means of correction for those who did not abide by the fundamental requirements of obedience, chastity, and poverty were of great value as a general guide.² In the course of the eighth century the Benedictine rule was adopted by all the English monasteries, and they were numerous indeed. Many a king during these times voluntarily gave up his place to retire to a monastery far from the maddening problems of government with its troublous wars

The spread of Benedictine monasteries

¹ Bede, iv, 2.

² The rule is to be found conveniently in Thatcher and McNeal, *Source Book of Mediæval History*, and Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*.

and civil dissensions. We even read of pseudo-monasteries designed to obtain the privileges, if not the severities, of monastic life.

Many notable ecclesiastics were produced by the Church in the century of its foundation. There was Benedict Biscop who made at least five journeys to Rome, bringing back books and pictures and workmen to enrich his Northumbrian monastery at Wearmouth. One of the greatest benefits rendered by this important monk was the training of his more famous pupil, the Venerable Bede, who spent his life in the near-by monastery of Jarrow and carried on a literary activity that gives him the first place in the Anglo-Saxon Church. Not the least important of his works was the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, from which we have had occasion to quote. The monastery on the island of Lindisfarne, farther up the coast, was also a center of literary activity; one of the famous early Bible manuscripts of England is known as the Lindisfarne Gospels. In the Abbey of Whitby, along the coast to the south of Wearmouth, a noteworthy synod had been held, and it was here also that the poet Caedmon wrote biblical paraphrases that seemed so incomparable as to be the result of divine inspiration.

These were indeed auspicious times for the English Church. In its abounding activity the new mission field became a source for missionary workers. Saint Willibrord, a Northumbrian contemporary of Bede, went as an apostle to the Frisians. Even better known is the West-Saxon Winfrid (he was consecrated as bishop with the name of Boniface), who went from a monastery at Exeter to evangelize the people of Germany. The Northumbrian Alcuin in the eighth century so attracted Charlemagne by his learning that this English ecclesiastic became the head of the court school of the Frankish kingdom. Bede might well have been pardoned the mistake of thinking that a new age had come as a result of the "peaceable and calm disposition of the times." But he added, "What will be the end thereof, the next age will show."

The Venerable Bede
(d. 735)

The wider service of the British Church

THE OVERLORDSHIPS

Unfortunately the next age was to reveal a moral ebb and a chaotic political situation. The eighth century is one of the gloomiest in English annals. Progress toward a saner political condition was hindered by the decline in Church effectiveness, the veritable craze for establishing monasteries, and the segregation of land, wealth, and persons from public service as a result. The kingdoms did not develop consistently because as yet no definite system of succession had evolved. The fact that any member of widely ramified royal houses might succeed to the throne meant too frequently civil strife on the death of a king and continuous effort ever after to unseat the successful claimant. The kings were also weak because they no longer had an abundance of newly conquered lands to bestow on faithful subjects. The great nobles were indeed too well endowed. Only after a century of chaos was unity to become effective around the West Saxon house, and then it was to materialize as the result of terrible Danish raids.

The backward eighth century

Northumbria, which had been the most powerful state of the seventh century, fell very low in the eighth. Hope of a strong unifying power lay in Mercia if anywhere. In truth, the eighth century is the age of Mercian domination, as the seventh had found Northumbria the leading state, and the ninth was to see Wessex supreme. The power of the midland kingdom was the result of the vigorous and lengthy rule of two strong kings. Ethelbald kept the power from 716 to 757, to be succeeded by the greatest of all the Mercians, Offa, who held the throne from 757 to 796. To an observer in the eighth century it must certainly have seemed probable that England was about to unify around Mercia as these kings strengthened their hold on all of England south of the Humber.

The Mercian overlordship

Unlike Penda, Offa was interested in the spread of Christianity. He wished his realm, like Kent and Northumbria, to possess an archbishop. After negotiation with the

Pope, the "King of the English" obtained an archbishopric for Lichfield. In gratitude he granted the Pope a donation of 365 mancuses, one for each day of the year, to be used for alms and for the lighting of Saint Peter's. This is the beginning of the famous Peter's Pence.¹ Lichfield, however, did not hold its place beside York and Canterbury after the reign of Offa. In fact, his death ended all hope of a permanent Mercian overlordship. His successor was weak, and early in the next century central and northern England were overrun by foreign invaders. What was left of Mercia became a part of the growing kingdom of Wessex.²

The earliest Danish attacks came before the death of Offa. In the year 793, so the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* informs us, "heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne through rapine and slaughter." Just about the same time three ships of Northmen landed on the coast of Wessex and slew the sheriff who "would have driven them to the king's town." These attacks, neither of which affected Mercia, were but isolated efforts. They were not repeated for nearly forty years. In the meantime the fluctuations of power had transferred the overlordship of the country to Wessex. Had the early attacks of 793 been immediately followed by the systematic effort to conquer England that occurred half a century later, it is not improbable that the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms might have permanently united around Lichfield instead of Winchester, and that the Danelaw might have been in West Saxon territory instead of in Mercia. It was Wessex that led in the battle for the preservation of the English heritage under one of the most remarkable kings the country has ever had, Alfred the Great.

¹ The mancus was worth much more than a penny; it corresponded to a half crown or sixty cents.

² An evidence of Offa's prowess still exists. An earthen embankment with a ditch on its western side was built "as a boundary between him and Wales to enable him to withstand more easily the raids of the enemy." It was about one hundred and thirty miles long, extending from the mouth of the Wye to the mouth of the Dee. Portions of Offa's "Dyke" are still distinctly visible.

WESSEX

Alfred the Great's success was only possible because of the foundations laid by his predecessors in Wessex. Before studying the Scandinavian invasions we shall, therefore, survey the rise of Wessex as the supreme state.

The West Saxon kingdom had not a distinguished record throughout the Mercian and Northumbrian centuries. It was usually at war with Mercia over the bound-
ary line and the control of border principalities.

The rise of
Wessex

The only noteworthy ruler before the ninth century was Ine, who succeeded in 688 to a throne left vacant by a king who went on a pilgrimage to Rome. Ine is best remembered for his code of laws, so valuable for the light they throw on early Anglo-Saxon society. Even he resigned his arduous task to go to Rome that he, too, might spend his remaining years "in the neighborhood of the holy place."

Wessex attained distinction with the accession of Ecgbert in 802. Although he was an underling of Mercia at first, Ecgbert was biding the time when the overlordship could be discarded. Early in his reign he resumed the conquest of South Wales

King Ecgbert of
Wessex

(Damnonia), long left unmolested. Devonshire was also incorporated in Wessex, and before his reign ended all of Cornwall had become a part of the enlarging kingdom. Ten years before the end of his reign Ecgbert was able to invade Mercia, to conquer the whole country, and to annex the title "King of the Mercians." At the same time the overawed Northumbrian ruler did homage to the West Saxon king. Before Ecgbert's death (839) the Scandinavian invasions were resumed on a scale and with a fury that threatened to engulf England and Anglo-Saxon civilization. And Wessex was the only state in a position to weather the onslaught.

The attacks of the Vikings or Northmen in the ninth century are in many respects remarkably like the Anglo-Saxon invasions four hundred years earlier. These people came over the North Sea in large rowed vessels similar to the Saxon boats. Like the Teutonic tribes they were at first led by numerous chief-

The beginning of Viking raids

tains in small groups. They were armed in similar fashion. In both cases the hordes were pagan. They were alike in coming at first for plunder and later in organized bands for settlement.

The invaders of the ninth century came from the coasts of the Scandinavian peninsula and from Jutland, which they had overrun after the Jutish invasions of Kent. Naturally they were a sea-people, trained to daring exploits and to venturesome journeys on the open sea. Many of the Vikings came from the deep fiords of the west Norwegian coast.

The movements of the Northmen were by no means directed only at England. These seamen were quite unrestricted, for they held the mastery of the sea. The Christian peoples to the south were not prepared to cope with such aggressive and well-armed pirates, who came along the coasts and up the rivers hunting for gain. The desire to retaliate for the northward advance of Charlemagne's Christian empire into Frisia may have been a motive; certainly the Northmen sacked monasteries and churches with peculiar relish.

The Vikings ranged far and wide. Everywhere that their ships could take them these freebooters carried fire and slaughter. Every important navigable estuary and river was explored by their vessels in the effort to find wealth and adventure. Time and again they rowed up the Seine, the Loire, the Rhine, the Thames. Such important cities as Paris were attacked more than once. Often their raids were carried forward on both shores of the North Sea in a single season. If the defenders of the Seine valley proved stubborn, the Northmen might turn to the Humber or the Thames or the Severn. They even went around Spain into the Mediterranean. In the Baltic Sea they were active. In what is now Russia, the Scandinavians conquered the Slavs and helped to lay the foundation of the Russian Empire. They even coursed down the great Russian rivers to the Black Sea and attacked Constantinople. Others journeyed west-

Whence the
Vikings
came

Wide range
of the
Northmen

ward to conquer or visit the Faroes, Iceland, and Greenland. Even America was probably visited a few centuries later, for the journey of Leif Ericson to Vinland is supposed to have occurred about the year 1000.

In the British Isles the Vikings were active from the time of their first appearance at Lindisfarne. During the forty years' respite enjoyed by England their at- Attacks on
tacks were directed especially at Ireland. In 795 Ireland
a fleet of over one hundred ships crossed the Irish Sea and despoiled the monastery on the sacred island of Rechin near Dublin. A few years later Iona and the Isle of Man were ravaged. Ireland was especially vulnerable on account of its chaotic tribal condition, and the wealth of its numerous monasteries made it so attractive a field for plunder that it suffered continuously in the first part of the ninth century. In the western isle civilization and literature were well-nigh blotted out.

England, although it did not suffer a similar fate, was hard beset after 834. The record of these years, to be found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,¹ is a mono- The North-
tonous recurrence of entries that tell of attacks men and
met by desperate, if frequently futile, defense. England

Such entries as the following are typical. In 834 "the heathen men ravaged Sheppey." Two years later Ecgbert "fought against the men of thirty-five ships at Char-mouth and there was a great slaughter made, and the Danish men maintained possession of the field." In 838 "a great hostile fleet came to the West Welsh, and they united together and made war upon Ecgbert." Hardly a year passed in which there was not "great slaughter." A very significant record is that of 851: "In that year came three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames and the crews landed and took Canterbury and London by storm. . . . And the heathen men, for the first time, remained over winter in Thanet." Four years later they wintered in Sheppey. In 865 they again "sat down" in Thanet; in the following year "a great hea-

¹ See below, p. 59.

then army took up their winter quarters among the East Angles."

Indeed, the character of the Viking attack had changed by the mid-century. The invaders were united into "armies," and settlement had begun to take the place of pillage. Not only was the country much more inviting than their own, but the resistance thus far encountered was not in the least discouraging. Everywhere the advantage lay with the invaders, who in their swiftly moving ships could quickly transfer the attack from one place to another. Since their command of the sea was undisputed, they could establish a base of operations on some island close to the coast. Even in the field the English were unable to cope with the "heathen men." The levies of the ealdormen¹ were composed of men taken from the peaceful occupations to fight; more often than not they were easily slaughtered by the well-armed and well-trained invaders. The danger of a complete conquest by the Danes became even more imminent when, in 866, they took up their winter quarters on the main island within a stockade. Thence they ranged far and wide with as great celerity as on the sea, for, as the Chronicle quaintly puts it, "there they were horsed." Year by year the danger loomed greater and greater. It was not until 871, when Alfred became King, that something like a halt was put on their occupation of the country.²

ALFRED THE GREAT

Alfred is without question the greatest English prince of pre-Norman days. When he came to the throne the outlook was anything but encouraging. But this King Alfred West Saxon ruler organized his people for a vigorous defense. When he laid down his arms thirty years later the country had been saved from complete inunda-

¹ The ealdormen were originally officers appointed by the King, often over a shire. They became a landed nobility, in time. See below, p. 69.

² Egbert's son Ethelwulf reigned from 839 to 858. The latter's four sons succeeded their father, reigning in turn. Alfred, the youngest, ruled from 871 to 900.

parts, one of which was in service at a time. By this means he could have a fighting force always at hand without stopping the production of supplies so necessary in long periods of war. In addition, he increased the professional military class, who were in duty bound to give military service, by ennobling the more prosperous members of the middle class. The resistance of the country was bettered by the fortification of numerous important towns. Old walls were rebuilt or new ones constructed that the towns might serve as cities of refuge.

An important resource was the navy. Alfred determined to contest with the Vikings the command of the sea. Here-
 England's
 first navy before they had coasted at will in shifting their rapidly delivered blows. Although it is incorrect to call Alfred the "founder of the English navy," his provision of ships manned by Frisians helped to weaken the Viking attacks. At least twice in the reign whole Danish fleets were captured.

During the later years of the century the constructive character of Alfred's work began to tell. Mercia, North-
 Alfred and
 Guthrum's
 peace umbria, and Anglia were settled by the invaders, but no such opportunity came to them in Wessex. Yet in 878 a surprise attack in winter by the "Great Army" of King Guthrum nearly ruined Alfred's kingdom. He was compelled to retreat to the marshes of southwestern England, where he took refuge on the island of Athelney.¹ But in the spring he led the battle "with the rush of a wild boar" and administered so decisive a defeat that Guthrum and his associates not only made peace but accepted Christian baptism as well. Alfred served as Guthrum's godfather at the ceremony. The king of the Danes returned to East Anglia and settled down as a Christian ruler who kept faith henceforward with his conqueror. A few years later they made a famous agreement called "Alfred's and Guthrum's Peace." Not only

¹ The story of the cakes burnt on the cowherd's hearth as a result of a fugitive king's carelessness is usually assigned to this time of his reign. But the story cannot be traced back even to Anglo-Saxon times. The King never was in such straits as to be alone and in disguise.

were regulations drawn up to prevent a further outbreak of hostilities but the boundary was defined. London was included in Wessex by a line that followed the Lea northward from the Thames, thence to Bedford and the Ouse, and then west along Watling Street. Henceforward most of the Danes settled down to the less spectacular occupations of civil life within that part of England that came to be known as the Danelaw.

For fifteen years during the middle of Alfred's reign the kingdom was unmolested. That gave to this great King the opportunity to prove himself as able in peace as ^{Alfred's} he had been in war. For one thing, he was a ^{government} great lawgiver and judge. The varied laws in use throughout his kingdom were codified, and selections from former codes were made in such a way as to serve best the needs of the people. His biographer elaborates on the way Alfred corrected unjust and incompetent judges to the end that they turned "with all their might to the study of justice."

No one could have been more conscientious than he in the field of administration in spite of the constant hindrance of an unidentified disease from which he suffered most of his life. His revenue was divided into two equal parts, one for secular, and the other for religious uses. The secular part of his budget was so distributed that one third was used for court expenses, one third for the numerous "workmen whom he had collected from many nations, . . . men skilled in every kind of building," and a third for "foreigners who came to him out of every nation far and near." The half designed for religious purposes was used to assist the poor, to support his favorite monastic establishments, and to provide for the school which he had so much at heart.

The King's interest in education was marked. Learning had fallen to a low state when he became king of Wessex. Alfred bemoans in pregnant words the state of learning among the priests. As he looked back to the earlier days — "and what happy times there were then throughout England!" — he lamented the

The educational revival in Wessex

decay of learning: "there were very few on this side of the Humber," he declared, "who could understand their rituals in English, or translate a letter from Latin into English; and I believe there were not many beyond the Humber. There were so few of them that I cannot remember a single one south of the Thames when I took the realm."

Such a condition he set about remedying by paying attention to his court school, by attracting foreign scholars

to the country, and by the translation of essential books into the language of the people.

The King himself could not read before he was twelve, and it was long after he became king that this great patron of learning could read and translate Latin easily. As the nucleus for a learned clergy he selected four Mercian ecclesiastics for prominent positions. Two of the foreign scholars who came to his court were John the Old Saxon, and Grimbald, a Frank. His biographer, Asser, was a south Welshman. In the court school both languages, Latin and Saxon, were read diligently. He succeeded, if Asser's word is to be taken, in breeding up a nobility who were "carefully learned in the Psalms and Saxon books, especially Saxon poems, and were in the habit of making frequent use of books."

The King, himself, did effective service in translation. He has to his credit the "englishing" of four Latin books,

"which are most needful for all men to know."

The work of translation The *Pastoral Care* of Pope Gregory (who had sent Augustine to Canterbury) was translated for the benefit of the clergy. The *Consolation of Philosophy* by Boethius also received an English dress. In order that his people might know of their own and the world's past, and not be helpless and hopeless in their narrow and troubled little sphere, he translated Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* from the Latin as well as the seven books of Orosius' *History against the Pagans*. Although the work of Orosius was decidedly polemical and revealed the past as a succession of calamities, it was the best compendium available at the time. Alfred is also credited with having

given an impulse to the production of that great compilation known as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This brief record of events which reached back to the beginning of the Christian era was continued for two hundred and fifty years after Alfred's time. In spite of its unsatisfactory character in many respects, this chronicle ranks as the first great historical work in any of the vernacular languages of western Europe.

In 892 Alfred was rudely interrupted, after fifteen years of peace, by one of the fiercest of all the Danish attacks. A distinguished leader by the name of Hasting ^{Death of Alfred} carried terror into Wessex for several years. But this danger was over by 897. Three years later the great King died. His work had been well done. Whether we think of his ability as a military leader, or of his guidance in the peaceful and wise administration of the kingdom, or of his service rendered the cause of education, Alfred well deserves the name of Great.

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CHAPTER IV

ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND AT NOONTIDE

ALFRED bequeathed to his son Edward a Wessex that had been dearly saved from overthrow by the Danes. The invasions that he had repulsed in 897 were the last to trouble the country for over three quarters of a century. During this brief heyday the strong Wessex kings enlarged their dominions to include the parts of England that had been occupied by the invaders. They also brought the Anglo-Saxon civilization, essentially untouched by outer forces, to its culmination. These seventy-five years, when the strong kings of Wessex became rulers, were followed by a period of equal length in which the island kingdom was again and more thoroughly conquered by Danes and by Normans. These later invasions were to work far-reaching changes in every department of life and government. It will be well, therefore, to make a study of Anglo-Saxon institutions and customs at this point previous to their Normanization by William the Conqueror.

NINTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

Edward the Elder ruled Wessex effectively during the first quarter of the tenth century. As Edward had been reared in the energizing atmosphere of war, it was but natural that the cessation of Danish aggression should be followed by his attempt to treat the Danelaw as the Scandinavians had treated Wessex. Much ravaging of Danish settlements and lands took place. More important was the gradual recovery of much of the Danelaw by Edward through a systematic conquest and occupation. His sister, Ethelfled, greatly assisted in this work. Her husband, the ealdorman of English Mercia,

Reconquest
of the
Danelaw

naturally regarded the reconquest of Danish Mercia as part of his task. After the ealdorman's death, the "Lady of the Mercians" as Ethelfled was called, carried on this work with even greater vigor.

The method used is of interest. The King and his Amazonian sister would invade a part of the enemy's country and establish an outpost, or burh; that is, a stockade on earthen ramparts would be erected Method of conquest for the protection of a garrison whose task it was to retain the captured district. Often the burh was but a small place, occasionally it was a populous and important center. Again, it might be an old abandoned city even of Roman times that was repopled at the same time that the walls were sufficiently repaired to be defendable.

The *Chronicle* for these years is full of entries illustrating this piecemeal conquest. In 907 "Chester was repaired." Three years later "Ethelfled built the fortress The fortified burhs at Bramsbury" and in the year 912 "the Lady of the Mercians came to Scaergate on the holy eve, and there built the fortress; and the same year that at Bridgnorth." It is recorded that in the next year "King Edward went with some of his forces to Maldon in Essex, and there encamped, while the fortress at Witham was wrought and built. . . . This year, by the help of God, Ethelfled, the lady of the Mercians, went with all the Mercians to Tamworth, and there built the fortress early in the summer; and after this, before Lammas, that at Stafford." When the King went to Nottingham in 922 he took possession and "commanded it to be repaired and occupied as well by English as by Danes."

These typical entries record graphically the nibbling tactics of Edward and his sister. The town and its garrison were assigned a stretch of surrounding territory to defend. From this it naturally happened The formation of shires that the burh became the center of a district which corresponds often to the modern shire; in the midlands the shire town has frequently given its name to the county. Examples of burhs which became important are

Hertford, Bedford, Stafford, Warwick, Buckingham, and Nottingham.¹

By the end of Edward's reign East Anglia and much of the Danelaw had been won back. In fact, Edward was king of England south of the Humber. If we are to believe the *Chronicle* his powers were at the end of his reign more far-reaching even than that: "Then chose him for father and for lord the king of the Scots and the whole nation of the Scots, . . . and all those who dwell in Northumbria, as well English as Danes, and Northmen and others, and also the king of the Strathclyde Britons, and all the Strathclyde Britons."

Edward's son, Athelstan, who reigned for most of the second quarter of the century, was a worthy successor of Alfred and Edward. The submission which the rulers of northern Britain seem to have made to his father became a real dependence on the vigorous son. In 926 he drove the Danes out of what is now Yorkshire and annexed the kingdom (Deira) — a very significant occurrence. Athelstan did not reëstablish an overlordship such as existed in the earlier centuries. For the first time there was a kingdom of England such as we know it to-day, under one ruler.

The Scots, the Strathclyde Britons, and the Welsh might well fear the ambition of Athelstan, for he did claim the control of the whole island, as "lord of all Britain." All of his enemies finally united to crush the overweening ambition of this man. It was in 937 that the mighty battle of Brunanburh was fought near the Solway Firth between Athelstan and an army composed of Danes from Northumbria and Iceland, of Scots, Picts, and Britons. The decisive victory of Athelstan at Brunanburh, remembered for generations as "the great battle," is

¹ It is not improbable that the English were inspired to the establishment of burhs by the Danish example. In the Danelaw, for instance, there had been the confederation of the Five Boroughs of Leicester, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby, and Lincoln. At least the first three were burhs of Edward or his sister, and may have contained some Danish inhabitants as well as loyal English colonists.

vividly pictured for the modern student by a spirited battle-song that somehow got into the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.¹

Athelstan seems to have made a great impression on continental princes if the numerous marriage alliances are a test. He was a brother-in-law of Charles the Simple of France, and of Hugh the Great of Paris, the founder of the Capetian house; another sister married Otto the Great of Germany, who reëstablished the Holy Roman Empire as a German organization. Athelstan himself even used the title of "Basileus," a Greek word that meant to westerners much more than "king." At the time of his death this prince had brought the West-Saxon line of kings to a position it had never occupied before.

The only other ruler of importance in the golden age of Anglo-Saxonism was Edgar, whose reign covered most of the third quarter of the century (959-75). It was his privilege to enter into a great heritage. Unbroken prosperity, freedom from external attack and internal revolt resulted in making this period the reign of Edgar the Peaceful, for "without war he ruled all that himself would," and "dwelt in peace the while that he lived." This feat was all the more remarkable inasmuch as Edgar exercised real lordship over sub-kings. There is a story that Edgar, at a meeting with these subordinates, was rowed up the Dee at Chester by no less than eight royal oarsmen.

Unfortunately for England this peaceful reign was to prove an Indian summer. Edgar died while still but thirty-two, handing his kingdom over to incompetent leaders just at the time that Danish invasions were resumed with deadly vigor.

Let us now consider the life and government of England during the flourishing years of Edgar. It was long regarded as a golden time, and it furnishes the best point at which to review the contributions made by Anglo-Saxons to the later civilization of the island.

¹ Tennyson's modernization of the poem, the "Battle of Brunanburh," retains the spirit and the metrical form of the original.

COUNTRY LIFE

The population of England in the tenth century is unknown, nor can estimates be made with any accuracy. Population of Anglo-Saxon England Probably there were considerably less than two million people in a country now occupied by over twenty times that number. In consequence, there were few towns of any size, though the burhs established as posts of defense naturally served as centers of a growing community life. Then, too, certain places of which London was outstanding were of importance because of their trade and commerce. As yet, however, England had almost no towns. Even London, York, and Exeter were not much more than big villages. The impulse to town life was to come with the Norman Conquest.

The natural unit was the rural village. Ties of kinship brought the original settlers together in the township, as it was called. Or the small unit might be formed by a group of dependents on the holding of some chieftain. Undoubtedly war leaders received large grants as a result of their position and success. Our word "town" and its shortened form "ton," common as a suffix, meant originally the enclosure or fence that surrounded the village. Each house was in turn within its own yard, for early laws indicate the necessity for fencing each "homestead" in order to keep out the neighbor's live stock, large and small. Population varied, of course, from village to village. The land that was cleared from the forest might serve the needs of twenty-five families or more, or the holding might furnish the supplies for some individual family with the various servants and slaves that had become attached to the homestead.

The land of a village was definitely marked out. There were meadows for hay, a common pasture and wasteland that served the community for firewood, building material, and "pannage" for swine. The Methods of agriculture The arable land was divided into two or three great fields, and was worked under a system of cultivation that has obtained its name from this peculiarity. Each field, which might be

of several hundred acres, was divided into strips usually a furlong (furrow-long) in length and containing, probably, about one acre. The various strips were held by the different villagers, the number varying with the individual's position in the social scale. If a family held more than one strip in a single field, the strips were not likely to be together, but scattered among those of other families. They were not separated by fences; only narrow ridges of unploughed land, or balks, divided the snake-like acres. Cultivation was carried on by all in much the same way. If a two-field system was in use, one field would lie fallow while the other was under cultivation. Thus land was given a rest each year in order to regain its strength. A more advanced scheme of cultivation was the three-field system where a rotation of crops was practiced. For example, if one field was put into wheat, the second field might be given over to oats, and the third would lie fallow. In the next year the former wheat field would contain oats, the former oat field would be fallow, and the field unused the year before might be set aside for wheat. The strips of the villagers and the lord would be scattered in these fields, but all would grow the same crops, and plough, plant, and harvest at about the same time. In the autumn the stock would be turned into the stubble field for pasturage. Grain was not cut so close to the ground in those days as it is by modern harvesters.

The villagers kept oxen for the ploughing. A plough-team consisted usually of eight oxen, yoked two by two. If a farmer had but two or four oxen it was customary for several to combine just as neighboring farmers of to-day lend and borrow important machines or horses, or combine to form a threshing crew. The land that could support a family was known as a hide; in northern Britain it was called a ploughgang; in later Norman times the Latin word for plough gave the name of carucate to this unit. The amount in a hide varied but was most commonly about one hundred and twenty acres. If a man possessed but two oxen, he would be entitled, prob-

Allotments
of land

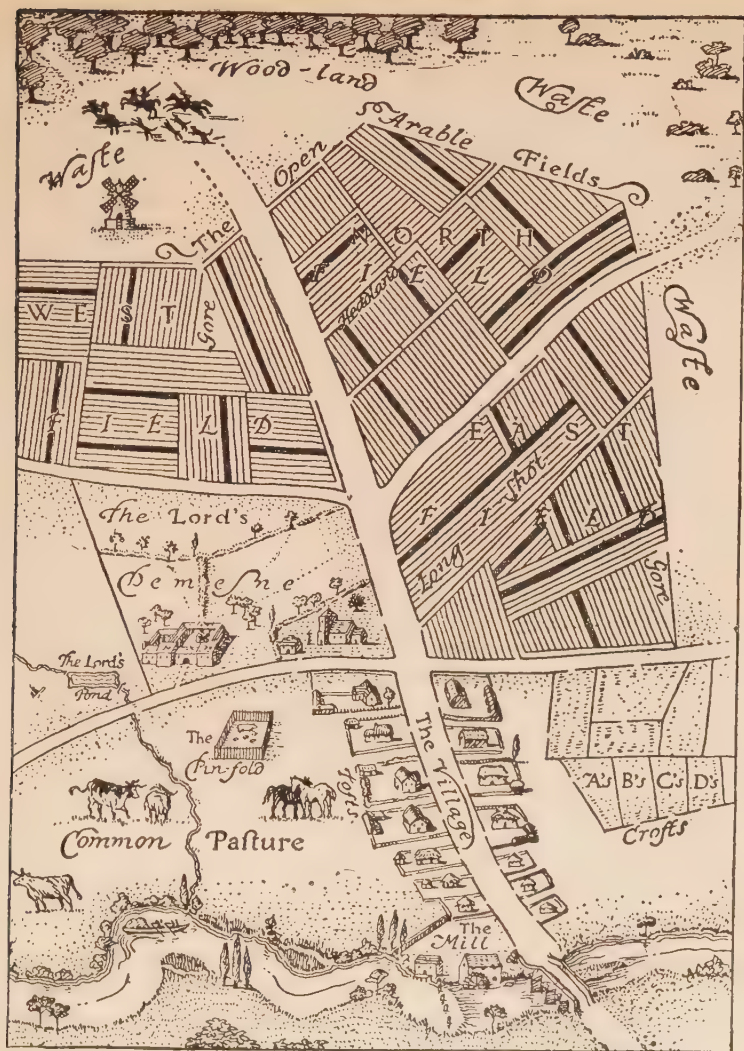
ably, to use but thirty acres of land, called a virgate or yardland. Thus, if a person held a virgate, he might possess as many as thirty one-acre strips, eight to ten in each field, if the three-field system were in use, and his strips in any one field would not be together. Strips were scattered and changed hands from year to year in the interest of fairness, for some land would be better than other land and nearer the village.

Besides the oxen the more important cattle were cows, sheep, and swine. The horse, used for food in the early Saxon period, was not a common draught animal. A great amount of stock could not be kept over the winter on account of a lack of forage and of root crops (hay was not sown, of course) and of adequate barns. The lord might have separate enclosures, but generally the poor farmer shared his house with his animals. Salted meat was the common winter food, although the abundance of game furnished some variety. Beekeeping was general. The ordinary drink was mead, made from fermented honey. If wine was used (it was not common) it was sweetened by the admixture of honey. Bread, made of wheat and rye and barley, and even of acorn flour, was abundant, but such modern "necessities" as potatoes, carrots, parsnips, and rice were unknown. Fish were largely consumed, and eels were much more in use relatively than in later times, for marshes were more numerous before large inroads had been made on the forests for fuel.

By late Anglo-Saxon times the land was held in two forms; there was folkland and bookland. The former was handed down by a traditional title; bookland was so called because the title was written. The tendency grew up to make folkland into bookland, although we are not to infer that all the land originally was a common holding of the folk of the country. These two forms of land were liable for certain public services. The burdens of bookland seem to have been less heavy than those of folkland, possibly because the demands

The stock
and produce
of the
town

Folkland
and book-
land



THE PLAN OF A MEDIEVAL MANOR
Showing a Virgater's holding in the Common Fields

were more definite. It was not until after the time of King Edgar that a general tax of any kind was paid to the state. The king received revenues from his own land in Anglo-Saxon times, and could demand entertainment and local public works, such as the building of fortresses and bridges.

The land unit was the town or township, and was more a unit of villagers than in any way a political division. It naturally consisted of land in addition to the village, so that our word "township" is a better one to use than "town." Next above the township was the hundred; little is known of this unit before Edgar's time.

Probably this combination of townships developed from the need for warriors. This seems confirmed by the name for the hundred in northern Britain; there it was (and the word is still in use) called a wapentake. The weapons were assumed by the warriors in groups. By the time of Edgar the term had come to have territorial existence.

Above the hundred was the shire, which was a subdivision or "share" of the kingdom. In Edgar's day most of the shire divisions that now exist had taken their present form. In Wessex there had been shires before Alfred's day, the divisions possibly conforming to tribal units or to sub-kingdoms. As Wessex absorbed small neighboring kingdoms they, in turn, became shires; Kent, Sussex, and Essex are examples. With the reconquest of Mercia the country was divided by the West Saxon kings in the tenth century. Their system of conquest, which has already been described, affords the explanation of the cutting up of the Midlands.

A fortified burh served as the center of a comparatively artificial unit for the defense of which it served as the mainstay. By Edgar's time most of England, especially in the center and south, had been divided into what seems at first glance a very irregular patchwork quilt. As in so many other departments of interest, the historical explanation furnishes the key.

ANGLO-SAXON SOCIETY

Society, as well, had come to have definite divisions and gradations by 975. At the bottom of the social scale were the slaves, who were slaves by heredity, or on account of crime, or by sale. The thrall or serf

— called in Anglo-Saxon “theow” — worked for his keep at any task set by his master, and lived in some outhouse attached to his lord’s dwelling. The slaves were but a small percentage of the population.

Above the slaves were the freemen, noble and non-noble, gentle and simple. The simple freemen or *ceorls* (churls) were, in turn, of several kinds. If a *ceorl* was ^{Anglo-Saxon} landless, he would be little better than a slave, ^{ceorls} but he would be distinguished from the slave in his ability to rise in the social scale. Again, *ceorls* might possess various amounts of land, stock, and implements. Their position and names depended on their status. When the Normans came they called the *ceorl* with but a few, say five, acres of land, a *bordar*. The *villein* was one who had a quarter of a hide of land. It was possible for a *ceorl* to have much more than this and to rise in society as a result. If he “throve so that he had fully five hides of his own land, church and kin, bell house and burh-gate-seat,” he became a *thane*. The *thanes* connected with the king were more highly regarded than those who were in the service of an *ealdorman* or bishop. As a class, the *ceorls* were distinct from the slaves in having certain definite legal rights.

The noble class, or the *eorls*, consisted of the great land-owners, and those close to the king and the administration, who claimed relationship with the nobility by ^{Anglo-Saxon} blood. Often, of course, there was a family ^{eorls} connection with the reigning house, or relationship by descent from some royal family that had once ruled a subjugated kingdom. The title for a tribal head in earlier days than the tenth century had been *ealdorman*. This name, however, had already become that of a governor of a shire by Alfred’s time.¹ By Edgar’s reign the ordinary *eorls* or noblemen were clearly distinguished from the immediate family of the king, whose sons and brothers were called

¹ An *eorl* should not be confused with the later *earl*. The name *earl* (Danish “*jarl*”) replaced that of *ealdorman* in the next period, as the title of the governor of a shire. The word *alderman* remained only to designate borough officials. See below, p. 84.

athelings. The latter ranked above the remote relatives of the king, and above the rest of the nobility.

At the head of Anglo-Saxon society were the king and the queen. The queen, indeed, seems to have been of considerable importance and to have had many privileges; the Anglo-Saxon respect for women was a characteristic Teutonic trait even in Tacitus' time. The upper classes The clergy, too, were highly regarded, for they had almost a monopoly of education. The Anglo-Saxons have left an interesting record by which we can know how the various classes of society were valued, for if a person was killed a money compensation had to be paid to his kindred. The wergild, as it was called, for a simple ceorl was two hundred shillings; for an ordinary thane six hundred; and for a king's thane twelve hundred shillings. An ealdorman was worth twice a king's thane, an atheling three times, and a king six times as much as one of his thanes. In this scale of values an ordinary priest ranked on the same level with a thane; a bishop was equal to an ealdorman, and an archbishop to an atheling.

The king had grown greatly in importance by the tenth century, since Wessex had absorbed many lesser kingdoms, and no longer exercised the earlier kind of overlordship that allowed subordinate rulers to hold the title. Instead of numerous royal families there was now but one, the West Saxon house. The increase of royal power in the tenth century is indicated by the use of grandiloquent titles, especially those assumed by Athelstan. As yet the selection of the successor was not limited to the former ruler's eldest son or even to his own immediate kindred. Alfred was one of four brothers who reigned in succession after their father, and Alfred was selected in spite of the fact that his brother who died in 871 left sons that under a strict law of primogeniture would have had better claims to the throne than the greatest of all the Anglo-Saxon kings. The king's duty of leading the army in time of war had much to do with choosing a mature man who would prove a strong ruler. It was uncommon among

the Anglo-Saxons for a king to ascend the throne as Edgar did at the early age of fourteen.

The life of the royal court was very different from that of later days. The king possessed a large retinue of thanes, and clerks, and servants of various kinds. His ^{Life at the} court was more elaborate than that of his lords, ^{king's court} but nothing like the life of a modern capital was in existence. The court resembled a big household rather than a central government. Nor was there a definite capital. Some kings preferred one residence, some another. Winchester was probably the most favored residence of the West Saxon rulers. Yet Alfred's father was much at Wilton, and the great Athelstan was crowned at Kingston on the Thames and buried at Malmesbury. As a matter of fact, the court was like a great camp. The king was often on the move, stopping for a time at one of his numerous estates in a leisurely journey through his kingdom. His officers accompanied him, and business was transacted wherever he happened to be. It must have been a busy time indeed when a king's reeve prepared for his lord's annual or even less frequent visit to some royal estate. Only as the ruler moved about to his various estates was it possible for him to collect adequately in kind the dues that were actually his.

In Anglo-Saxon days the ruler was not the absolute monarch that he became in later centuries. With him there was associated a body known as the Witan or Witen- ^{The Witan} agemot. It was composed of the upper members of the nobility, the wise men, as the word signified. They were not in any way chosen by the people; custom and the king's will were decisive in the selection of a body that seldom numbered more than one hundred. It was in no sense, therefore, a representative body. The Witan simply served the king, with whom it was usually in harmony. Only in cases of very evident misuse of the royal power would the Witan dissent. There are instances where it actually deposed the king. Probably its most conspicuous duty was the selection of the ruler. As we have already found, a certain amount of freedom was used by the Witan in its

choice. In addition, this body was a sort of supreme court in judicial matters; it acted with the king in preparing laws, levying taxes, making treaties, raising forces, etc. By the tenth century the Witan met usually three times a year — at the time of the great Church festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

LAW AND ORDER

The judicial system in use among the Anglo-Saxons is one of the most interesting parts of the life of the times.

The various
judicial
courts The courts, or "moots," corresponded to the larger territorial divisions already described.

At the top of the judicial ladder was the Witan; next below it was the shire-moot; below that there was the hundred-moot. There may have been a town-moot for the village, though of this there is little evidence. If it existed, the village court was probably not a judicial, but an economic, assembly. The moot for the hundred, which was more of a popular assembly than a court in our meaning of that word, served as the primary judicial unit. Indeed, this was the principal significance of the hundred, although in earlier times, as we have found, it seems to have had military importance. The idea of appellate jurisdiction did not exist. Yet a case might be taken to the shire court or even to the Witan if justice seemed unattainable in the hundred-moot. But this was not encouraged. Edgar's law had it: "Let no one apply to the king in any suit, unless he at home may not be worthy of law or cannot obtain law." Judgments were based on the unwritten customary law. In the course of time it was partially crystallized in the laws or "dooms" of the king. Often a monarch would select or republish the laws or judicial customs that had been in use. For example, those of Ine were famous, and Edgar's laws were often referred back to in later times as very important. But such collections of dooms are not to be thought of as comprehensive judicial codes. The cases were concerned largely with injuries to persons and with the punishments for violence and robbery. Society at best

was crude. Personal injuries, even murder, had to be dealt with frequently, for brawling seems to have been only too common. The offenses of cattle stealing and of robbery in general required much attention.

In the days before any judicial organization the aggrieved individual or his family would have avenged the injury or death by attacking the offenders or his relatives. The Anglo-Saxons, in order to prevent this, had worked out a system of fines, by which the wer-gild of each member of society was definitely established. This was paid in case of death; not only the murderer but his kin were responsible for the payment. A smaller fine, or "bot," was required if a person was only injured or disfigured. For example, the "bot" for the breaking of a rib was three shillings. Certain acts were considered so serious that a person would suffer death in consequence, be "death-worthy," as the Anglo-Saxons put it. This was especially true of offenses against the king; in such a case the criminal was unable to pay "bot," that is, he was "botless," or bootless, as the word is now. Exile might be a penalty, and then the offender was liable to the same treatment as a wild beast received. Imprisonment was not in use, nor was the barbarous custom of mutilation practiced until later times.

If a person was accused it was necessary to state the law that was applicable. In the shire-moot, for instance, the presiding magistrates whose duty it was to "expound as well the law of God as the secular law," were the ealdorman or the shire reeve (sheriff) and the bishop. Then came the question of the facts regarding the crime. The accused obtained relatives or friends who would swear his oath was not perjured; compurgators, they were called. These witnesses to a person's trustworthiness were usually twelve in number, but in spite of their number they did not in any way correspond to a modern jury. A compurgator's oath varied according to his position in society and to the amount of land he owned. If a person was oath-worthy, it was even common to state the value of his oath in hides. The court might award the

Nature of
punishments

The "trial"
of the ac-
cused

right of "proof" to the plaintiff, although it was common to grant the defendant the privilege of oath-helpers. Evidence was not considered. If the person to whom compurgation was allowed could produce the needed amount of supporting oaths, the presumption in his favor was confirmed, and the case decided.

If a person was a persistent offender — not a "well trusty man," as Edgar's law puts it — it would naturally be harder and harder for him to obtain the right of proof or to secure enough oath-helpers. In such a situation, and when the person was not caught in the act of committing the crime, the very curious test of ordeal was practiced. That of red-hot iron was carried out within the church. The accused person, after his hand had been sprinkled with holy water, took the red-hot iron and cast it to a mark nine feet away. Then his hand was bound up. If, after three days, when it was unwrapped, no blister was found, God had proved the person innocent. Ordeal by hot or cold water was also used. For the cold water ordeal the person was bound and thrown into the water. If he sank, he was innocent; if he floated, it meant that the pure nature of the water rejected him. The ordeal of hot water was used especially for priests and was tried in the church. A ring was put in the bottom of a kettle full of hot water, and the accused had to pick out the ring. If his flesh suffered no harm, he was innocent. The ordeal by the corsned, or morsel, was another form used. A morsel of bread was consecrated and given the accused person to swallow. It was supposed that the corsned could be swallowed by the innocent, but that it would stick in the throat of a guilty man. Ordeal by battle was not used by the Anglo-Saxons; it was introduced into England by the Normans. A more blundering system of justice than the test by the Anglo-Saxon ordeals could hardly be conceived unless it be the ordeal by battle that was soon to occupy a prominent place. Yet the ordeals may have served as deterrents from crime or as incentives to bribe officials, or to confess one's guilt. They were based on the sincere and universal

belief that God could and would show his will in these ways. Indeed, a realization of the religious background of the ordeals is of fundamental importance if we would appreciate their place in Anglo-Saxon legal procedure.

THE CHURCH

Turning to consider the Church, we find that it had not lived up to the standard set in the golden age of its foundation. Following the landing of the Benedictine monk, Augustine, at Canterbury, and the holding of the decisive Council of Whitby in 664, Theodore of Tarsus had organized the youthful Church in England. But Alfred in the ninth century had found it in a deplorable condition, and his efforts to cleanse the situation were only partially successful.

The Church
before
Alfred

In the tenth century the Church in England was profoundly affected by a reform movement that was doing much to uplift and to purify ecclesiastical life in general and monastic life in particular. Monasticism in its original Benedictine form was about lifeless. Benedict's rule demanded a certain rigorousness. Every hour of the day was to be filled with some task. The monks were to live a common life, sleeping in a dormitory, eating a common meal, worshiping and working together. It was the duty of the abbot to see that they conformed to the general demands of obedience, chastity, and poverty as well as to the additional Benedictine requirements of stability, obedience to the Benedictine rule, and a new life of holiness in contrast to that of the world from which they had come.

The Bene-
dictine
movement

These requirements were no longer regarded with great seriousness in England, if they were still known to any extent. There had grown up a hybrid sort of monk known as a "canon." He lived in a monastery and yet mingled with the people of the world. These semi-secular clergy violated the rule also by frequently being married men and possessing property. Not only were the monasteries no longer Benedictine but many of the older foundations had been allowed to go to

English
monasticism

rack and ruin. It is hardly too much to say that in the tenth century monasticism was but a dim memory. The seriousness of the situation lay in the fact, possibly hard for the modern student to appreciate, that the monastery was the center of the literary life, of the reduplication of books, and of the schools for the training of priests; it was the keystone of the ecclesiastical structure.

The decay, so patent, was checked by three notable ecclesiastics with the able assistance of several tenth-century kings, particularly Edgar the Peaceful. Dunstan was the most outstanding reformer; at least his name has come down the centuries with that reputation. Born near Glastonbury about the time that Athelstan began to reign, Dunstan became abbot of the monastery there at the surprisingly early age of twenty-one. This monastic school soon grew famous, although there is no evidence that the Benedictine rule was still strictly enforced. Dunstan rapidly became one of the principal men of the realm. On the accession of Edgar's predecessor, whom Dunstan had displeased in some way, the abbot of Glastonbury was exiled. He went to Ghent, where he lived in a monastery in which the Cluniac reform movement was accepted. It was this experience that led him to the realization of the need of a reform in England.¹

On Edgar's accession, Dunstan returned to be the greatest figure in England during the peaceful reign of this young king. In 960 Dunstan was made Archbishop of Canterbury, a position he held for twenty-eight years. If the tenth century were known more in detail, it is probable that we should find the reputation of Dunstan a well-deserved one; much of the success that came to Edgar was probably the result of the wisdom of his chief churchman.

¹ The restoration of the older Benedictinism on the Continent began at Cluny in central France about 910. Thence radiated a style of monasticism even more strict than that of Benedict. Instead of singing the whole of the Psalms once in a week, for example, it was to be done once in twenty-four hours. Meat was entirely prohibited, nor could monks hold any private property, according to the Cluniac reform. Celibacy was required as of old.

Dunstan himself does not seem to have been so harsh a reformer as some others, in spite of the credit he has received for such work. Two other laborers deserve mention. Oswald, who became Archbishop of York, had also spent some time in a continental monastery, and was imbued with the Cluniac reforming zeal. His favorite work was carried on quietly and smoothly throughout northern and central England. The most uncompromising of the reformers was a certain Ethelwald, who became Bishop of Winchester in 963. He had been a pupil in Dunstan's Glastonbury school, but he did not acquire the tactful character of his teacher. Ethelwald bluntly drove out of the monastery at Winchester all the canons who would not put away their wives and take the full vows of a Benedictine. He likewise purged many of the foundations in his own diocese, and even traveled throughout England as a sharp inquisitor, "terrible as a lion" in the great reform movement.

The re-
forming
Ethelwald

Many of Ethelwald's pupils became bishops and abbots of the reformed Church. One of them, Alfric, wrote a life of his teacher, and also did important service by writing school books in Latin, and by translating into Anglo-Saxon the first seven books of the Old Testament, as well as by preparing sermons in popular simple language for the people. From his writings much can be learned of the work in the monastery and in the parishes throughout the country. The priests were to drink sparingly, not to sell things, nor to wear weapons, nor act as reeves. Each was to have his little library, and to take seriously the task of driving out superstition and of uplifting the life of his community. Practically every village and estate had its church; in the little community the priest was an honored member. If married, he frequently possessed a portion of the common land.

Alfric the
writer
(Grammaticus)

Such, briefly, were some of the conditions governing the life of the people, the work of the Church, and the guidance of the king, in the days of Edgar. The strong kings of England had done much to retrieve the position lost as a

result of the Danish invasions. England was again in close touch with the continent. Kings such as Athelstan had made marriage connections with monarchs across the Channel. Great ecclesiastics had brought the Church again to a state of usefulness by reëmphasizing the relationship to Rome and to the older Benedictinism. It was in many ways a golden age. Strange as it would have seemed to Edgar, his reign is the high point of this development. Anglo-Saxonism had suffered much from the Danes, but very soon it was to endure even severer tests. In addition, the continental influences were to be more powerful than ever until they culminated in the conquest by the Normans. Yet the severe trials that were at hand did not serve so much to stamp out as to submerge for several centuries some of the more important aspects of English life and institutions that have come down to modern times from the days of Alfred and Edgar.¹

Golden Age
of Anglo-
Saxondom

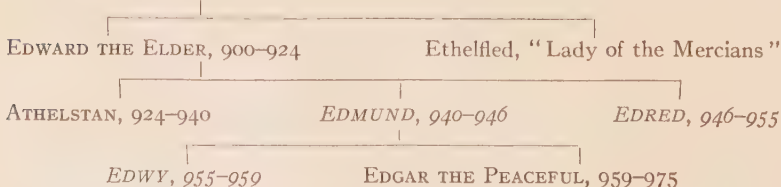
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For **Dunstan**, see Clive Bigham, *The Chief Ministers of England, 920-1720* (1923).

¹ The descendants of

ALFRED THE GREAT, 871-900



Dates are for reigns.

Names of rulers in capital letters.

Names not mentioned in text are italicized.

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CHAPTER V

THE SUBJECTION OF ENGLAND TO DANE AND NORMAN

THE golden age of Alfred's house was brief. The death of Edgar the Peaceful in 975 led to a chaotic condition which Portentous times the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* — our chief source of information for those times — records with vividness. Portents of various kinds seemed to foretell to the pious chroniclers only too clearly the "Lord's vengeance." In the year of Edgar's death the dreadful appearance of a comet was seen. Three years later the Witan, while holding a session in an upper chamber, suddenly fell by the collapse of the floor, and only the "holy archbishop Dunstan" supported himself on a beam. In the next year a "bloody cloud" seemed to the people a warning of approaching disasters even more direful than the murder of a king or a nation-wide murrain among the cattle. Not long afterward a "northern ship-force" of Danes inaugurated a renewed attack on England, to be more devastating than any the unhappy country had yet endured.

THE DANISH CONQUEST

The condition would probably not have become acute had there been a king of any competence on the throne. Ethelred the Redeless (978-1016) Unhappily the house of Alfred was represented by one of the most ineffective men it ever raised to leadership. Ethelred the Redeless, son of the great Edgar, ruled England from 978 to 1016. His spineless kingship resulted in the transfer of the country to the Danes. The epithet "Redeless" has frequently been translated "unready," but it really means "wanting in counsel." It describes Ethelred exactly; he was totally unfit to do the right thing at the right time. His efforts, spasmodic at best, were usually misjudged attempts to stem the invasion. As the *Chronicle* puts it: "all these

misfortunes befell us through unwise counsel, that they (the Danes) were not in time offered tribute or fought against; but when they had done the most evil, then peace and truce were made with them."

There seems little question but that the raids of the northern ship forces would have been relatively harmless had vigorous measures of defense been adopted at first. The initial invasions were in the west, and were by stray pirate bands from Ireland and the north. Successful attacks on Chester and Southampton were followed by more formidable movements that emanated from the center of Scandinavian power.

By the close of the tenth century the evolution of the Scandinavian peninsula had reached an interesting stage. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark were becoming unified, although as yet there was no clear overlordship in the peninsulas. In Norway, Harald Fair-Hair, who reigned until about 950, succeeded in centralizing the control under himself. His grandson, Olaf Tryggveson, was the exiled but popular pirate leader who began more systematic attacks on England after 991. In a few years he was joined by a Danish leader, Sweyn Forkbeard, who was in much the same position as Olaf. Sweyn's father, Harald Bluetooth, was the powerful ruler of Denmark, who had subjected much of Norway to his rule before he died about 991. Sweyn, who found the Swedes in turn too powerful for him, was unable to recover his father's lands, and as a result he too took to harrying England. It was the struggle of various rulers for the overlordship in Scandinavia that brought about the new Viking attacks on England.

Internal conditions in Scandinavia

Olaf had caused such terror by his raid in 991 that the King and Witan adopted the useless expedient of buying the departure of the Danishmen by a tribute of ten thousand pounds.¹ Three years later Olaf reappeared, with Sweyn as a companion, at the head of ninety-four ships. Again Ethelred tried to buy off the in-

Sweyn and Olaf

¹ This and other payments came to be known as Danegeld.

vaders; this time a tribute of sixteen thousand pounds of silver was collected and given them for a promise to cease the raids. Thereupon the two leaders, returning to the north, proceeded to conquer their respective kingdoms, Norway and Denmark. Olaf kept his promise — he had become a Christian while wintering in Southampton — but Sweyn renewed his attack on England after some years. The massacre in 1002 of the Danes who had settled in Wessex may have been the cause of the second and more determined attack of Sweyn. Certainly from then on his attacks became regular and sweeping, for he was determined to add England to his dominions.

By the year 1013 the climax was reached after numerous ravagings and further tributes. The inhabitants of the former Danelaw accepted Sweyn as their king. Soon after, he became ruler of the whole realm on Ethelred's retirement to the continent. Just as this powerful leader had added England to Norway as another subject State of Denmark, the whole structure was endangered by his death in 1014. Sweyn was succeeded by his favorite son Canute, a youth in his teens. At this juncture the Witan and the people were willing to make another trial of Ethelred, but the reviled Saxon rule was brief. Ethelred died in 1016 and his son, Edmund Ironsides, six months later. Whereupon the Witan accepted Canute.

KING CANUTE

The Danish conquest of England was by no means a dire happening. If the cruel and pagan Sweyn had lived to rule the land, the consequences might have been unpleasant. But Canute was of a different sort. He was a devout Christian and deeply conscious of the higher culture of the land he had added to his ancestral estates. Canute was willing to accept the customs, language, religion, and laws of the country. Nor did he regard England as an appendage to Denmark. The great empire which he ruled really centered in the south.

The end of
Alfred's
house

King Canute (1016-35)



Though he conquered England, it is almost equally true to say that England conquered Canute. In this rests one of the principal differences between the Danish and Norman invasions. William the Conqueror introduced much that was Norman, even though he observed many of the old English forms. Canute reorganized and ruled the country as an English kingdom, and his governance (it lasted until 1035) was one of the best England had ever enjoyed. In no way were his sincere intentions better shown than in the revision and reënforcement of the laws of the country he had conquered.

It is worth while to note the various ways in which

Canute showed his sincere desire to be an English ruler.

He married the widow of Ethelred, Emma of Normandy, after a marriage agreement in which both declared that their children by former marriages should not succeed to the English throne. The Dane's connection with the former royal family was a decidedly politic move. An even more welcome step was the disbanding of his northern army and of his navy, with the exception of forty ships. Shortly after he became King, Canute paid off his Scandinavian warriors by a Danegeld, and sent them back to the north, except for a few thousand "housecarles," retained as a personal bodyguard. The dispersal of his army meant not only relief for England from the maintenance of foreign troops but comparative freedom from the wholesale confiscations of land such as had taken place in earlier days and were to occur under the Norman leader. Although Canute retained Denmark as a part of his dominions, he seldom left England.

The government was thoroughly anglicized. In 1018 at an important meeting "the Danes and Angles agreed, at Oxford, to live under Edgar's law"; Canute promised to give "good and strong government" to the land. Not only was Canute willing to abide by the legal traditions of the country, but from the first he gave positions of authority more to Englishmen than to Danes.

So broad an empire compelled the King to delegate his power by dividing the country into the four great divisions of Wessex, Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria. Over them he placed men whom he could trust. For a few years Wessex was retained under Canute's control; in time, however, even this province came under an "earl."¹ These great earldoms remind one of the former dominant kingdoms, and the subdivision in this way of a unified England would seem a backward step.

¹ A change of usage was coming in at this time. "Eorl" among the Anglo-Saxons had meant a member of the blood nobility. The Danish "jarl," or earl, corresponded more exactly to the Anglo-Saxon ealdorman, as a royal vicegerent.

Yet under Canute the danger was not serious, since he was entirely capable of giving strong government to the country. There was an almost inevitable tendency, nevertheless, for the greatest landholder of the district to have the office of earl, and for a son of the former earl to succeed on his father's death.

Two powerful families appeared in Canute's reign. In Mercia Leofwine became the earl. He was of a family that for generations had been prominent in that part of the country, and the great house of Leofwine was to be important for many more years as well. Another outstanding earl was Godwin, to whom Wessex was given in 1020. In contrast to Leofwine the new earl of Wessex was so humble in origin that stories have come down to the effect that his father was a cowherd. At any rate Godwin was one of Canute's most faithful favorites. This upstart was to have a numerous family by a Danish wife of royal blood. It was inevitable that jealousy should exist between the aristocratic Leofwine and the plebeian Godwin.

It must not be forgotten that Canute ruled much more than England. Nor was Canute allowed to forget it. He had hardly succeeded his father before a younger brother attempted to seize the Danish peninsula, and one of the numerous Olafs of Norway raised the standard of revolt. Olaf Tryggveson, the accomplice of Sweyn in Danish raids, had later been killed by Sweyn in battle. Norway was thereupon put under loyal earls in much the same way that Canute ruled England. The revolt of Norway, after Canute became king, was led by Olaf Haraldson, a cousin of Sweyn's fellow pirate. This Norwegian leader was known as Olaf the Thick on account of his sturdy build. In 1025 Canute after a second attempt recovered Norway; Olaf was dethroned and later was killed in one of the wars of his troubled country. It was not long before he became glorified as the great national hero of a country ground down under the harsh rule of the Danes. Thus in time it happened that Olaf the Thick became the

patron saint of Norway; Saint Olaf was known in England as Saint Olave.¹

Canute is said to have had a high temper and to have possessed a brutal disposition in his earlier days. But age and the espousal of Christianity seem to have softened the character of the northerner. He even made a pilgrimage to Rome to pray for the forgiveness of his sins, and to make important diplomatic arrangements with the German emperor. He is reported in his later years to have enjoyed living near the abbey which was to become Westminster. The royal attempt to stay the oncoming tide, as it approached the King in his throne chair on the shore, is said to have taken place near by. He was liberal in his gifts to churches and monasteries, and commanded the people to pay faithfully the dues to the Church in order to avoid the "unpitying justice" that would be visited on the defaulter. Although he was almost continually on the move about his great dominions, Canute was responsible for the beginnings of the old Palace of Westminster.

Disorder replaced order with the death of Canute in 1035. It will be remembered that he had married Emma of Normandy. Their son, Harthacnut, was intended as the successor, but other claimants contested his primacy. Among his older half-brothers — sons of Canute by a previous marriage — was Harold Harefoot, who received the crown from the Witan on Canute's death, because Harold was on the ground and Harthacnut "stayed too long in Denmark." Harthacnut, indeed, had his hands full in the northern part of his father's dominions, where he had already acted as viceroy. To make matters still more complicated, Emma by her former husband Ethelred had children of whom two, Alfred

¹ Saint Olave was a popular saint in England. Two churches of St. Olave exist in the London district; past the one on the south side of London Bridge extends Tooley Street, an almost unrecognizable corruption of "Saint Olay." There were Danish churches as well. Saint Clement Danes in the Strand is on the site of a very ancient church said to have been the burial place of many Danes, including Harold Harefoot, a son of Canute.

and Edward, were important enough to be considered as representatives of the old Wessex line. When Alfred landed with the hope of making an attempt at the throne, he was cruelly blinded by the usurper Harold, and Emma fled to the Continent.

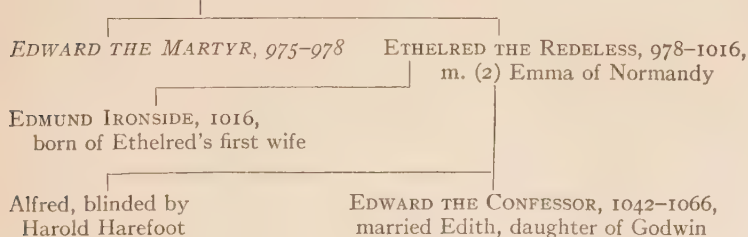
Harold Harefoot held the throne until his death in 1040, just as Harthacnut was planning an attack on the land of which he had been deprived. Thereupon Harthacnut became king, only to die suddenly two years later at a marriage feast. The brief experience of Canute's two sons had convinced Englishmen that the strength and wisdom of the great Dane had not been transmitted to his children. In their search for a king the Witan, therefore, willingly turned to Edward, the surviving son of Ethelred and of Emma. Edward was in England at the time of Harthacnut's death, and was the obvious claimant; in history he is known as Edward the Confessor.¹

The selection of Edward marked the permanent severance of the political connection with the Scandinavian nations that had been threatened as early as the ninth century, and was actually consummated for a short time in the eleventh. England was indebted to its northern conquerors for much new blood.

¹ Genealogical notes:

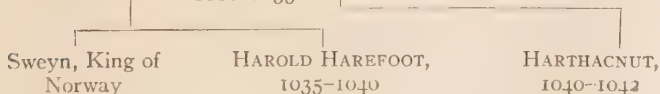
(a) The descendants of Edgar the Peaceful:

EDGAR THE PEACEFUL, 959-975



(b) The Family of Canute

Elgifu, m. (1) — CANUTE — m. (2) — Emma of Normandy
1016-1035



Names and customs were added, especially in certain sections, to the Anglo-Saxon heritage. The Northmen who settled in England proved adaptable, and made valuable additions to the life of the country. During the brief time that the land was actually a part of the great Anglo-Danish empire the government was as good as it had been for many a year.

Edward the Confessor was not so English as his ancestry might imply. His mother was a Norman, but he himself was much more than half Norman. For a quarter of a century — he was thirty-seven years of age when he became king — Edward had been in exile in Normandy. He there became a Norman of the Normans. Hence Edward throughout his reign tended to pursue a policy contrary to that of Canute; Normans were placed in positions of responsibility even though loyal and insular Englishmen resented this Normanizing of England.¹

Yet if Edward was a Norman he was not typical of that passionate and turbulent people who were to compass the conquest of England after his reign. The King was an extraordinarily weak ruler. Probably his most pronounced characteristic was his devout religiosity; by fasting and prayer, by almsgiving and the strict observance of religious ritual he proved himself more fit to be a hermit than a king. He even kept the vow of chastity, and left no heir, though he was a married man. The violent language as well as the violent temper of a Danish "jarl" or a Norman duke was totally absent. As Edward grew old his unworldliness, his benevolence, his majesty increased by his "long down-silvering beard," gave to his people a respect for their king that he never warranted. It is not surprising that he was half canonized in later years — hence the title of "Confessor" — and that

¹ The feeling is well phrased by Tennyson in "Harold":

They have built their castles here;
Our priories are Norman; the Norman adder
Hath bitten us, we are poison'd: our dear England
Is demi-Norman.

the reign of the good king Edward was incorrectly remembered as a time of felicity and prosperity.

The very weakness of the King accentuated the internal troubles arising out of jealous efforts of great families to hold the reins of power. The houses of Leofwine and of Godwin were in constant rivalry in a land where the king was a cipher. Leofwine was now represented by his son Leofric, who held the Mercian earldom. Godwin, who lived half through the reign of Edward, had numerous sons who were growing to manhood and adding to the power of the family by their control of other earldoms in addition to that of Wessex. Two of Godwin's children, Sweyn and Tostig, caused their father much embarrassment. But the Earl's second son, Harold, was of another sort, a strong leader and a capable general. Godwin's dominance was further symbolized by the marriage of his daughter to the king.

About the middle of the reign civil war nearly embroiled the country as a result of the jealousy of these noblemen who were no longer curbed by Canute. And the cupidity of Edward's Norman friends helped to make the matter worse. In general, it may be said that the house of Godwin championed the national interests against the Normans. In 1051, the whole family was exiled and the king's wife put in a nunnery as a result of the temporary dominance of the Norman party. But a year later they were back in England with the support of the people. This was largely because Godwin flatly refused to punish some Kentishmen who had stood up for their rights against a party of Normans.

When Earl Godwin died in 1053, Harold succeeded to the first place in the family by becoming Earl of Wessex. During the remaining thirteen years of the Con-
fessor's life, Harold was the real head of the kingdom. Edward did not count, and the house of Leofric was confined largely to Mercia. During these years — they might almost be called those of the regency of Harold — internal affairs moved along smoothly

Internal
trouble

The House
of Godwin

Harold as
Chief
Minister

enough. The only concerns of sufficient importance to arrest our attention were the relations of England to Wales and Scotland. In both these neighboring parts of Great Britain the national evolution was beginning to take form, although it was to be long before either Wales or Scotland was to reach the stage of development then attained by England. Henceforth, it will be necessary for the student of British history to carry forward these parallel threads of development along with that of England, for in time they became interwoven. In consequence, before we study the overthrow of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy by the Normans, we should notice the state of affairs in the neighboring districts of Wales and Scotland. They, too, were destined to be affected profoundly by the Norman Conquest.

WALES AND SCOTLAND

Wales in the eleventh century was in much the same state as that with which England had been cursed in the days of the overlordships. Numerous kings ruled the various districts with but an indistinct approximation to a centralized hegemony. The western Celts as a whole had no common overlord. In Wales itself, nevertheless, the dominant kingdom tended to be that of Gwynedd (northwest Wales). It was just at the end of the Danish supremacy in England that Gruffydd (Griffith), the most powerful ruler that Wales had yet possessed, became King of Gwynedd and overlord of the whole peninsula. In addition he harried the marcher districts of western England.

After Harold succeeded his father as master of England, he undertook the suppression of Gruffydd, who had sacked Hereford, killed a brother of Leofric in battle, and carried terror into western England generally. So far as the western shires were concerned this Welsh prince was as much of a pest as the Vikings of earlier days. Harold captured Gruffydd's stronghold, but the fugitive ruler carried on a guerilla warfare from the mountains until his own people killed him and

A decentral-
ized Wales

Temporary
English
conquest of
Wales

sent his head to Harold as a surety of peace. Just at the end of Edward's reign Wales submitted to England's overlordship, but the status was temporary, depending altogether on the relative strength of the two kingdoms and on whether the fortunes of the royal succession presented the one with a weak ruler while the other was in the hands of a strong leader. A permanent result of the Welsh wars was the annexation of lands on the west, where no advance had been made for three centuries. All along the boundary territory was added that extended the line of division to the point drawn by Offa in the eighth century by the construction of his "Dyke."¹

In Scotland there was much more unity. Before Alfred's times the Pictish and Scottish sovereignties had united, largely as a result of the pressure caused by Danish attacks. The relation to England was similar to that held by Wales. Border warfare, which was to characterize the relations of England and Scotland almost continually until modern times, had already begun its weary and blasting course. In the tenth century the great Athelstan, it will be recalled, had decisively defeated an allied army at Brunanburh. But the submission of Scotland to the English overlord could be no more permanent than that of Wales. In Athelstan's time there was yet a separate Strathclyde, and the union of Picts and Scots did not then include what we to-day know as southern Scotland.

The mists that enshroud early Scottish history began to clear away in the eleventh century. The rule of Malcolm II from 1006 to 1034 — roughly parallel to that of Canute in England — proved very important, for then the Anglo-Scottish relations became clearer. In the numerous border contests of the time, cruelty of the deepest dye was only too common; "the multiplying villainies of nature" found frequent outlet. At one time Malcolm penetrated as far as Durham, only to be defeated, and to have the heads of his fallen men decorate

¹ See p. 50.

stakes placed at intervals around the walls. This troublesome border lord was at last forced into submission by Canute, who invaded Scotland in 1027 on his return from the visit to Rome. Malcolm seems to have received, as the reward of his submission, the northern part of old Bernicia, known as Lothian.

The grant to the Scots of this district, including Edinburgh, was all important. It was not many years before the kings were using Edinburgh as their capital. Moreover, the addition of English-speaking people, who were non-Celtic, to the Scottish domains tended in time to make Teutonic culture more influential and to confine the old Celtic influences in their purity to the remote Highlands. As one looks into the "seeds of time" this development seems of very great moment.

The successor of Malcolm II in 1034 was his grandson, Duncan. This historical personage, who was the reigning king at the opening of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, was not an old man when his death came in 1040, nor was he slain by Macbeth in the latter's castle of Inverness, as the dramatist would have his readers believe. He was, however, treacherously slain and, as far as history goes, he seems to have well deserved death, although there is no historic evidence that Macbeth or Lady Macbeth was connected with the murder. Duncan's family had slain members of both Macbeth's family and that of his lady; he had even killed the first husband of Lady Macbeth and one of her brothers. It was enough to have warranted her wish, as Shakespeare pictures her, to be unsexed and filled "from the crown to the toe, topful of direst cruelty." There were few "compunctious visitings of nature" in those days.

Macbeth succeeded Duncan and reigned for seventeen years (1040-57), a period that seems to have been a prosperous one for the northern realm. Macbeth was not an "untitled tyrant, bloody-sceptred"; he even imitated Canute by making a pilgrim-

Importance
of Lothian
to Scotland

Duncan
(1034-40)

King
Macbeth
(1040-57)

age to Rome. He died three years after the well-known battle of Dunsinane.¹

On Macbeth's death, Duncan's son, Malcolm, succeeded to the kingship, and ruled for the last half of the century with which we are now concerned (1057-93). Although most of the reign of Malcolm Canmore (Bighead) lies beyond the scope of this chapter, it is worth while recalling here that Scotland during his time was becoming especially open to influences from the southern kingdom. Malcolm, during his enforced exile, had spent much time at the court of Edward. He was English by education and married an English princess, Margaret, the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. Queen Margaret exercised a pervasive influence during the long reign of her husband. Her saintly character affected the Scottish Church considerably, and many social changes came from her welcome to English fugitives and as a result of the place that English favorites played in the life of the Scottish court. The reign of Malcolm was almost as important for Scotland as that of William the Conqueror for England.

As we have found, Harold's years of power in England were undisturbed save for border relations with Scotland and Wales. Not until the death of Edward in 1066, when the succession problem presented itself in rather acute form, was the country upset by troubles that proved to be epoch-making for the future.

NORMANDY

The dukedom of Normandy was certain to have relations with England sooner or later. There were two distinct districts, the valley of the Seine around Rouen and the country about Caen. Both faced the sea where but a short distance across the Channel lay the most populous parts of England, the seat of the

The Norman
dukedom

¹ The legends on which Shakespeare based his play grew up in later centuries. Their harsh treatment of Macbeth, in so unhistorical a way, was the result of a wish to have an unbroken line of Scottish kings from the beginning. From such a point of view Macbeth was an interloper.

old West Saxon power and the focus of the united England of Alfred and Athelstan and Edgar.

The very accessibility of Normandy from the sea had subjected it to a treatment by the northern Vikings precisely like that endured by England. Roving Viking conquest of Normandy Danes and Norwegians found the broad estuary of the Seine as attractive as the Humber. Scandinavian hordes had plundered and despoiled French monasteries and churches, and laid siege to Paris and Rouen, only later to settle down, as they did in England. Normandy became a French Danelaw. There the northern masters of the sea brought the same sturdy qualities of nature that contributed to the making of England. They were domineering, proud, brave, turbulent, and yet easily affected by the mature culture and traditions that touched their lives. The Northmen in the lower Seine valley could not violate geography and remain distinct from France any more than the Northmen who settled in the English midland plain could be permanently separated from Wessex by a line drawn from London to Chester. The lack of natural boundaries for this borderland resulted in the constant interplay of influences, cultural and commercial and political, that made Normandy an outpost of European civilization.

The early years of Norman history are beclouded. It is only after 900 that events become somewhat discernible. In 911 a certain Rolf or Rollo was granted the fief of Normandy by the Carolingian, Charles the Simple. It seemed that this "jarl" refused to kiss Charles's foot, and his subject delegated to perform the homage did it so clumsily or designedly that he upset his overlord. The incident is significant; Rollo, doubtless, had little understanding of feudal relations or no intention of regarding himself as a subordinate of the French ruler.¹

There must have been a strong Norse influence in the

¹ The agreement entered into included the baptism of Rollo — this "Guthrum" of the Continent — in the hope that he might become a safer neighbor. In 1911 the city of Rouen celebrated with becoming ceremonies its thousandth anniversary.

district for some years before 911, for the relations with Scandinavia were not yet severed. In the century and a half before the conquest of England Viking immigrants were added to the Norman stock, although their numbers were insufficient to prevent the gradual Gallicizing of the adaptable settlers. By the eleventh century Normandy was French in language and culture and law. Even by the time of the second Duke, William Longsword, the Norse was no longer commonly spoken in Rouen; William Longsword found it necessary to send his son to the less exposed Bayeux to learn the language of his ancestors.

Influence of
French cul-
ture on
Normandy

The duchy, whose history before 1066 does not require detailed examination, remained semi-independent from the opening of the tenth century, with its dukes usually as important as their overlord, if not more outstanding. From the first the Norman vigor infused a power into the duchy that England came to feel. The Normans became devout churchmen, but retained much of their dauntlessness. Emma of Normandy, who figured so prominently in English affairs as the wife of Ethelred and later of Canute, was a daughter of the third Duke, Robert the Fearless. The sixth Duke, known as Robert the Devil, died in 1035 while on his way back from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It was his son who invaded England in 1066.

Normandy
before the
conquest of
England

THE NORMAN CONQUEST

William was but eight years of age when he succeeded his father in 1035. There was much objection to the succession, not only because he was a minor but also on account of his illegitimacy. His mother was a tanner's daughter of Falaise who had attracted Robert's attention. Duke William was a religious man according to his lights, infusing a pagan energy into the religion whose monastic side had received noteworthy enlargement in Normandy in the eleventh century. Nowhere in Europe was the law and authority of the Church

Duke
William,
born 1027

more respected, and yet subordinated to the civil government. William was an able general, who loved conquest; he was the stuff of which crusaders are made. Before he invaded England he had added the district of Maine to his original dukedom. He was crafty and imperious, domineering and pitiless. In 1066 the Norman Duke was at the height of his power. Naturally he turned to the west for more fields to conquer.

William had visited his cousin Edward at the time that the house of Godwin had been banished, but there seems to have been no promise of Edward's crown to his cousin. Had it been made, the word of Edward could have meant little, since in England the king was chosen by the Witan. More important was a visit made by Harold to William about two years before the invasion. According to that valuable contemporary source of information, the Bayeux Tapestry,¹ Harold in crossing the Channel fell into the hands of William, who forced the English viceroy to swear over relics, including bones of all the saints of Normandy, that he would help William to the crown of England.

But William's trick — the relics were concealed from Harold — was of no avail. Early in 1066 Edward the Confessor died and was buried in Westminster, "which he himself had built in a new style of architecture." On the same day that the burial took place Harold was chosen king; it seemed but right to Englishmen that one who had held the real power for over a decade should now have the title.

Difficulties immediately presented themselves. Tostig, the exiled younger brother of the new King, endeavored with Viking help to reëstablish himself in the earldom of Northumbria. The help from Scandinavia was brought by

¹ The Bayeux Tapestry is a valuable contemporary source, even though it is not clear that William's wife, Matilda, was the "author" of this remarkable record. The embroidery is a strip two hundred and thirty feet long by twenty inches wide. It recounts, with much interesting detail, the visit of Harold to Normandy, the death of Edward and the accession of Harold, the preparations of William to invade England, and the battle of Hastings. The tapestry is preserved in the museum of Bayeux.

the King of Norway, Harald Hardrada, a redoubtable soldier, said to have been seven feet tall. At first Tostig and his Norwegian companion were victorious over the northern earls. But they had enjoyed only a brief breathing spell before King Harold was on them at Stamford Bridge — a few miles east of York — and administered a crushing defeat in which both Tostig and Hardrada were killed. Just three days after this victory William landed with his army in southern England, and Harold rushed posthaste to the other end of his dominions to meet the new enemy.

Harold and
the Scandi-
navian in-
vasion

The Duke of Normandy had made no secret of his intended invasion. The preparations were most elaborate; ships, nearly seven hundred of them, were built for transporting the army of about twelve thousand men, of whom a quarter, possibly, were cavalry. The invaders were by no means all Normans. William had widely advertised his plans and made lavish promises of rewards to those who would share in this snatch for a crown. His army included adventurers from districts as far away as Aragon. The expedition seemed to have the blessing of heaven. In the spring there was a "token seen in the heavens as no man ever saw." Though this comet, which is pictured in the Bayeux Tapestry, is now known to have been Halley's comet on one of its periodic visits to the sun, Englishmen were depressed and Normans emboldened by what seemed a portent of evil omen for the new King of England. William also won the blessing of the Church, eager to push its power in England where at the time an uncanonical archbishop held the see of Canterbury. The Pope replied to William's request for a blessing by sending "a holy gonfalon and a blessed hair of Peter" and his benediction for a project that had in it something of the crusade.

William's
prepara-
tions for in-
vading Eng-
land

No opposition greeted the Norman fleet as it crossed the Channel. The army was landed safely on the beach at Pevensey and marched east to Hastings, where entrenchments were thrown up about the camp.

The battle
of Hastings

Harold, who had hastened south just in time, or possibly just too late, took a strong position some seven miles from Hastings on the brow of a hill, with the forest of the Weald at his back. It was there at a place known as Senlac that the momentous conflict took place on October 14, 1066. All day long they battled, until Harold was killed by an arrow that pierced his right eye. His disheartened troops at last gave way, and William ate his evening meal on the victorious field. In gratitude for the "assistance of heaven in his righteous cause," the victor founded Battle Abbey on the spot. Duke William the Bastard had become William the Conqueror and King of England. His next task was to insure his conquest and to Normanize the country.

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For Wales and Scotland, see bibliography at the end of Chapter XI.

CHAPTER VI

THE NORMANIZING OF ENGLAND

HAROLD's hastily gathered levies for the battle of Hastings did not represent the real strength of the country. This was especially unfortunate for the English, since Hastings proved to be one of the decisive points in English history. The death of Harold left Englishmen with no adequate leadership by which to organize the defense of the country against so vigorous a foe as the Norman Duke. Leisurely, yet with terrible certainty, the Saxon kingdom was conquered by William. And the conquest of the Norman was very different from that of the Danish Canute fifty years back. The Normans came with a culture that was in some ways superior to that of the islanders. Numerous foreigners crossed to reap the reward of the victory by imposing on the subjected land a strong government very different in many ways from that it displaced. In consequence, a Norman conquest was followed by Normanization. Hence, 1066 is much more important than 1016.

Importance
of the Con-
quest

The sons of Canute had proved unworthy of their father, but the children of William were capable of imprinting and continuing the innovations of the great conqueror. William lived for twenty-one years after his victory over Harold. On his death in 1087, he was succeeded by his son, William Rufus (Red), who possessed all the energy and strength of his father, even though he was lacking in his wisdom and moderation. When William Rufus was shot while hunting in the New Forest during the year 1100, his younger brother, Henry I, became King. Henry I reigned from 1100 to 1135 with such a sure hand that he received the title "Lion of Justice." Thoroughly Norman in his viewpoint, Henry even more firmly embedded Norman ideas in the Saxon structure.

The
Norman
kings

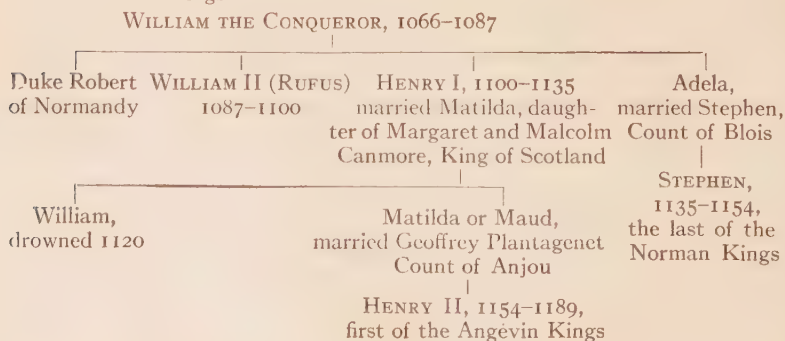
This period of seventy years (1066–1135), to which the present chapter is devoted, is so unified by the Norman influences that it seems wise to consider these years together. We shall not attempt to study the period in strictly chronological order, but rather learn how the conquest of William affected the life of the people, the place of the Church, and the workings of government.¹

THE CONQUEROR

After receiving additional reinforcements William moved on to Canterbury. The country was harried with no gentle hand in order to overawe his opponents, who had united under Edgar the Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside. But Edgar was not so strong as his grandparent, offering even less resistance to William than Edmund offered to Canute. It was on Christmas Day in Westminster Abbey, where Harold had been hailed as king less than twelve months before, that William received the new title; he gave oath to administer equal justice to Norman and Englishman — an oath that did not hinder him from distributing among his followers the forfeited lands of his opponents. At this time London received a charter, guaranteeing the privileges as enjoyed under Edward, while the Normans were busy erecting an adequate castle — the Tower of London — for watching the chief city of the realm.

¹ Genealogical note:

The Norman Kings



Thereupon the Conqueror proceeded to bring under control those outlying sections still in rebellion. The work was not rapid. For six years the harsh treatment of the Conqueror was felt in various parts of Eng-
The Con-
queror's
methods
 land before it could be said that the conquest was complete. Ordinarily, when a district was invaded, the inhabitants were cowed by atrocities and the show of force, a castle was erected and manned, and the old nobility were replaced by members of the invading army. An example or two will suffice. Exeter and its neighborhood proving hesitant, William attacked the town, even putting out the eyes of a hostage in sight of the walls to show the defenders the reward of stubbornness. When the town was taken the citizens were required to build a castle.

Yorkshire proved uncommonly obstinate. As early as 1069 a second rising of serious dimensions occurred, in which the revolting Yorkshiresmen were assisted by ten
The wasting
of York-
shire, 1069
 thousand Danes who had come across the sea in two hundred and forty vessels. The rebellion was futile; to prevent its recurrence the Conqueror determined to read the district a lesson that it would not soon unlearn. The country from York to Durham was systematically laid waste. The inhabitants were indiscriminately massacred, the villages uprooted, the cattle killed, until hardly a sign of life remained. Even farm implements were heaped up and burned. For years the land remained a waste. The harrying of the country was even worse for those fugitives who escaped to the woods and hills, for William's atrocious treatment of the land occurred just as winter was coming on; it was the prelude to his celebration of the Christmas of 1069 in the city of York.

Several western shires received a handling hardly less ruthless. In the city of Chester over two hundred dwellings were deliberately destroyed. It was common, if
Completion
of the Con-
quest
 the Conqueror wished to erect a castle, to requisition the best site, irrespective of the use to which it was being put. For example, we learn that twenty houses were torn down in Huntingdon to make ready for a

castle. The last resistance centered in the fens about Ely. There the irreconcilable fugitives held out as long as possible under a noteworthy leader by the name of Hereward the Wake. Yet even the natural advantages of that district did not suffice to stop William; Ely was captured in 1072. Hereward disappeared and little is known of his later life in spite of the popular place he has in legend.¹ With the capture of Ely the conquest was practically completed.

FEUDALISM

England was deeply affected by the feudal practices which the Normans brought from the Continent. The Conqueror was determined to rule his island estate, and not to continue the weak Saxon kingship of an Edward the Confessor. It was only natural for him to assure his position by applying practices in England that were already familiar and successful in Normandy. Changes were made, not for the sake of change, but in order to serve the interests of strong government. It is doubtful whether William consciously felt that he was altering English practices as much as students of later times have been able to perceive. Despite his desire to be an English king, William modified the spirit of the slow-moving Saxon state, hastening an evolution that might have come about in the course of time without his energetic leadership.

These changes were especially connected with what is called feudalism, that is, with the "system" of dependent relationships characterized by a close connection of lord and vassal, the one giving protection and the other rendering various services in return. Feudalism in the economic sense had existed in England before the Conquest. The lord of the manor had his court, and the free and servile alike were required to attend the lord's court and to give him other services of an economic character. But this relationship was largely confined to those in the lower strata of society. The landholding villagers, who cultivated the soil, were not considered noble.

¹ Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake* vividly pictures the last stand of the English.

The innovations of the Conquest did not greatly affect them, since their relationships were largely economic.¹

The political aspects of feudalism, however, were largely undeveloped before the Conquest even if the creation of the great earldoms of Canute and of Edward was a Political step in that direction. By feudalism political feudalism is meant the relation by which the manors were held for a set of services that knit the kingdom together and subordinated it to the ruler. The most common of these services was military, and land granted in this way was held on the condition of military service in return. Theoretically, all the land belonged to the king. At the Conquest, indeed, much was confiscated, for there was considerable resistance in the various parts of the country, as we have found. This gave William an ideal opportunity. Even when a native noble kept his land it was regranted after the Conquest in the feudal manner. The King could not, of course, keep all his manors himself. Numerous adventurers clamored for a share of the spoils. As it was, he retained about fourteen hundred estates for himself. Some of his especial favorites received manors in half the shires of England; his brother Robert's share totaled nearly eight hundred estates.

The lands granted by the King were held by vassals known as tenants-in-chief, for they held directly from the crown. They, in turn, might pass on some of their es- Feudal tates to others. This second grant, called sub- obligations infeudation, created much the same relation between the subvassal and the tenant-in-chief as between the latter and the king. Robert, the King's brother, would be certain to sub-infeudate some of his extensive and scattered possessions. When a lord granted land to a vassal the latter did homage by becoming the lord's "man from this time forward, of life and limb, and of earthly worship." The obligation was precise. The vassal must furnish a definite number of knights ready armed for the use of his lord, even

¹ The relations to their lords of the non-noble freemen and of the servile class were commonly called tenure in free socage and tenure in villeinage, respectively. These were the most important of a group of similar tenures.

though the amount of land in a knight's fee varied considerably.

In addition to military service, the vassal owed various customary obligations. He was usually required to attend his lord's court. He must, when becoming an heir to a holding, pay a relief in order to receive his father's estate. This was not a tax so much as a means of keeping alive "in every generation the fact that the holder of the land was a tenant merely and not the owner." There were also payments called aids, consisting of help in ransoming the lord's person, in making his eldest son a knight, and in once providing his eldest daughter with a marriage portion. If the heir to the holding was not of age, a situation called wardship existed.

Tenure by military service was regarded as honorable, and fitting for the holders of manors. But land might be held for honorable service on a non-military basis. Grand serjeantry was a feudal obligation for the holding of some office. It was connected with the administration of the kingdom, and thus ministered, as did military tenure, to the political needs. Petit serjeantry was not regarded as honorable, and was more like the services of the non-noble freemen on manors or in boroughs.

The system was based on primogeniture, that is, the eldest son was preferred to younger sons, and sons were regarded as above daughters. Land was not willed as if it were freehold. In theory it was held by the king, though the right to use the land, to hold it as a fee, became hereditary. Lands were forfeited to the lord through lack of heirs or by the commission of some serious crime by the tenant. They might then be regranted in the usual way.

It is important to bear in mind that church lands were no exception to the feudal obligation. They were also held usually by knight service, though a bishop did not fight and abbots did not ride into battle. If ecclesiastical land had not been held in this way, the King would not have had the military service due from

Incidents
and aids

Non-mili-
tary tenures

Primo-
geniture

The Church
and the
feudal State

the country, since the Church held about a fifth of the lands in England. Every bishop had his suite of knights corresponding to the number of fees held from the king.¹

The danger of the feudal system lay in the creation of vassals who were often so strong that they could ignore their overlord. William himself frequently de- Weakness of
feudalism fied the king of France, of whom technically he held his dukedom. This menace had already developed in England before the Conquest with the creation of the powerful houses of Leofric and Godwin. The Conqueror was well aware of this possibility, and guarded against it. The great earldoms, therefore, were abolished; Mercia, Wessex, and Northumbria ceased to exist. Instead, the old shires — or counties as they came to be called — were again regarded as the accepted units. Vassals whose lands were county-wide were known as earls, even if all the land of a county were not held by them.

In a few cases the feudal ideas of sovereignty were exercised rather fully. Odo, whom we have already mentioned, became Earl of Kent.² Three other earldoms The border
earldoms were in existence during William's reign, Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Chester. The bishop of Durham, also, exercised a power in that county that put Durham in this group. These apparent exceptions to the Conqueror's wish to avoid a feudalized political system are really exceptions that prove the rule. The lords of Kent and Durham were ecclesiastics who could not establish hereditary earldoms. All were on the borders of the country, and those in the west and north were so located that they were useful for defense. Odo soon proved so over-ambitious that he was deprived of his territories and imprisoned for the rest of the reign.

In spite of William's precautions there was an early baro-

¹ It should be noted that some land was held by the Church on a tenure known as "frankalmoign." Military service was not rendered in such a case, but religious service, such as the saying of prayers for the soul of the donor.

² But many non-feudal usages were allowed to stand, such as the peculiar custom in Kent known as gavelkind; under this non-military tenure, the land could be willed. It descended to all sons equally if there was no will.

nial revolt. The great vassals were discontented with his policy of direct government by which they were deprived of their fancied rights. One notable illustration will serve to show William's determination to be master in his own house. Late in the reign a serious Danish invasion seemed to loom on the horizon. William feared a further rising of the earls might accompany the foreign attack. To ward off this danger he determined to insure the loyalty of his subvassals as well as of his immediate tenants. A meeting was called at Salisbury in 1086 at which, according to the *Chronicle*, "all the landholding men in England, no matter whose vassal they might be, swore fealty to him that they would be true to him against all men." The oath arose from the need of the moment; it did not express a desire to replace feudalism by an idea that grew up in later centuries.

The Conquest changed to a marked degree the personnel of the upper classes, but there was no such upheaval of the people who lived in the villages and the towns. Still, William brought the lower classes effectively into his system of government.

SOCIAL CHANGE

It is fortunate for the student of Norman conditions that the Conqueror, toward the end of his reign, caused a comprehensive land survey to be made. He, of course, was not concerned in recording the conditions of his kingdom as a whole, but only those resources which could be taxed. William's demands had been heavy, but he was determined to increase the king's "geld" if possible. This tax, which originated as Danegeld, had been abolished by the pious Edward when he fancied he saw a devil sitting on the royal money bags. William had no such compunction. In 1086 he "sent his men into every shire all over England." Before them appeared the members of every hundred court to testify as to the resources of their districts. His officers were especially enjoined to ascertain "whether more can be had from it than is now obtained."

The survey was exceedingly comprehensive. The returns from each county were listed together beginning with the county town and ending with a record of the least important manor, as the village unit was called. Every shire was surveyed with the exception of Monmouth on the west and of Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and Northumberland in the north. The commissioners of the King inquired first as to the name of the manor, then by whom it was held in King Edward's time, and at the time of the survey. Thereupon followed questions as to the amount of the land, how many ploughs were on the domain of the lord, and how many were in the hands of tenants, and just how many and what classes of people lived on the manor. They noted also the amount of meadowland, woods, pasturage, mills, fish ponds. Lastly they recorded the value of the land in King Edward's time and in 1086.

Its character

The results of this detailed assessment were preserved in what is known as the Winchester Book. Later it received the name Domesday. The Conqueror died too soon after the survey to reorganize his demand for Danegeld on the basis of this census of the national resources, but it was used by later kings in that way for a century.¹

The Domesday Book

The life in the country was not much changed from that of earlier days, for the natural conservatism and limited experience of the villagers kept conditions relatively constant.² The village holding included the demesne of the lord, the common fields where strip farming was carried on, the meadowland, pasture, and woodland. A church and a mill besides the manor house and the homes of the tenants along the village street made up the community. The hide was still used as a measurement of land, though in certain sections it was known as a carucate; in Kent the unit was called a sulung,

Country life in Norman times

¹ The original Domesday survey is now in the museum of the Public Record Office in London. There are actually two books, the smaller containing the accounts of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk.

² See Chapter IV.

and it was equivalent to two hides. The hide was probably still one hundred and twenty acres. But in the time of Domesday the land for the support of one family was no longer one hide, but the quarter hide, or virgate. This and other facts would seem to indicate that the Englishmen — and they made up the population of a manor — had fallen somewhat in the social scale. The ceorl of older days was renamed, and the distinctions between the various grades became clear cut to the Norman lawyers. All the villagers were rather closely bound to the land and found after 1066 much greater difficulty in rising in the social scale.

The villagers, or villeins, who were most numerous, possessed normally a virgate of land. Over one hundred thousand of these are noted in the Domesday survey. Below them — because possessing less land — were the cottars, or bordars, as they were called by the Normans, who may have had five or ten acres of land and a cottage, but who combined with others to plough their bit of arable. This class was somewhat less numerous than the villeins. At the bottom, as before, were the theows, or slaves, who were outnumbered by the villeins five to one. The slave and the bordar tended to become much the same in Norman eyes in the course of the next century. It was not long before the term bordar went out of use.

Above these groups were socmen and freemen. These classes owed the lord services and payments, but as free tenants these services and payments were more definite than those due from the villeins. They were, in consequence, distinct from the unfree villeins. The lord of the manor held what came to be known as the manor court, which had a local jurisdiction in legal matters. The socman was so named because he was committed to "suit of court," that is, the lord of the manor had judicial jurisdiction over him. On account of this feudalization of all parts of English society, the Norman lawyers spoke of tenure in free socage and tenure in villeinage, even though military service was not a part of the obligation.

Something should be said of the urban communities of the eleventh century even though they occupied a relatively small place. The Norman Conquest gave a considerable impulse to the growth of boroughs and to the increase of their number. Numerous causes lay back of town development. Many grew out of villages where life became more complex with the growth of some form of industry, especially the production of cloth. The monastic revival, soon to be considered, accounted for the growth of many communities, especially if the monastery was large or a resort of pilgrims. The construction of a Norman castle might cause the growth of a town or the creation of a new one. Newcastle on the Tyne is an illustration. Trading developments were also potent forces in the enlargement of borough life. And the development of markets and fairs stimulated village growth and accounted for some towns. The Normans came over in considerable numbers to settle in the boroughs, where they often formed a separate group for a time. The more intimate relation with the continent established in 1066 was one of the chief causes for urban expansion. Excellent evidence of this is found in the influx of Jews, who began to take an important place as financiers as early as the eleventh century. Like the first Norman groups the Jews remained a class apart in the towns, and they remained distinct even after the Normans and Saxons had become one people.

The burgesses ordinarily had their borough court, although many urban groups might be made up of parts of adjoining manors. The town dwellers were essentially freemen, who enjoyed certain enviable privileges besides the privilege of their own court. In particular, a full-fledged town had the liberty of making its own assessments and paying its dues to lord or king by a fixed sum of money known as the *firma burgi*. They also had their own officers, including the town reeve. The very expansion of trade with the possession of ready money served as a peculiarly powerful talisman for acquiring additional privileges as time went on. The normal method of obtain-

Eleventh-
century
towns

The burgess

ing a charter of liberties was by purchase from some needy lord or improvident king. The status of the burgess was very different from that of the villein; in fact, if a villein lived in a town for a year and a day he was a free man. Hence arose the saying that the "town made free."

The modern student must guard against the mistake of overemphasizing the place of town life in early mediæval England. Boroughs that later became very important were but diminutive places in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Of the forty-one boroughs mentioned in Domesday Book hardly a score had over four thousand population. London was far and away the leading town with possibly thirty-five thousand people. York and Bristol seem to have come next with about ten thousand. Then followed Plymouth and Coventry at a slightly lower rating. Lincoln, Norwich, Salisbury, King's Lynn, Colchester, Exeter, Dover, and Oxford may have had four or five thousand residents apiece. These communities were organized very simply, as one would expect. Already the merchant gild was of importance, although the great increase in merchant and craft gilds can come only with the extension of trade and industry.

The great bulk of the people lived on the land; probably more than nine tenths of the total population were country people. Estimates have been made from the Domesday records of the number of people in England at this time. It has been conjectured that the population was still under two million. We are on safer ground in determining the distribution of the inhabitants. The eastern townships were the most thickly populated. Next to Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex came Middlesex, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire. The counties of the southeast also ranked high in the distribution of wealth throughout the land.

Scarcity and smallness of towns

Distribution of the population

A RENEWED CHURCH

An account of Norman England would not be complete without paying some regard to the growing place of the

Church in English society. The Church was reorganized with true Norman thoroughness. The papal benediction of the Conquest and the important place of the Church in Normandy argued for change. English bishops were largely replaced by continental ecclesiastics, and the abbots of pre-Conquest monasteries were gradually supplanted by Norman monks. If the former English bishop had governed his diocese from a comparatively unimportant place, the episcopal residence was transferred to a larger town. And the love of building, so marked with the Normans, led to the construction of elaborate cathedrals to adorn the episcopal cities. Everywhere in the sphere of the Church there was the same tremendous activity as was exhibited in civil life.

Effect of
Conquest on
the Church

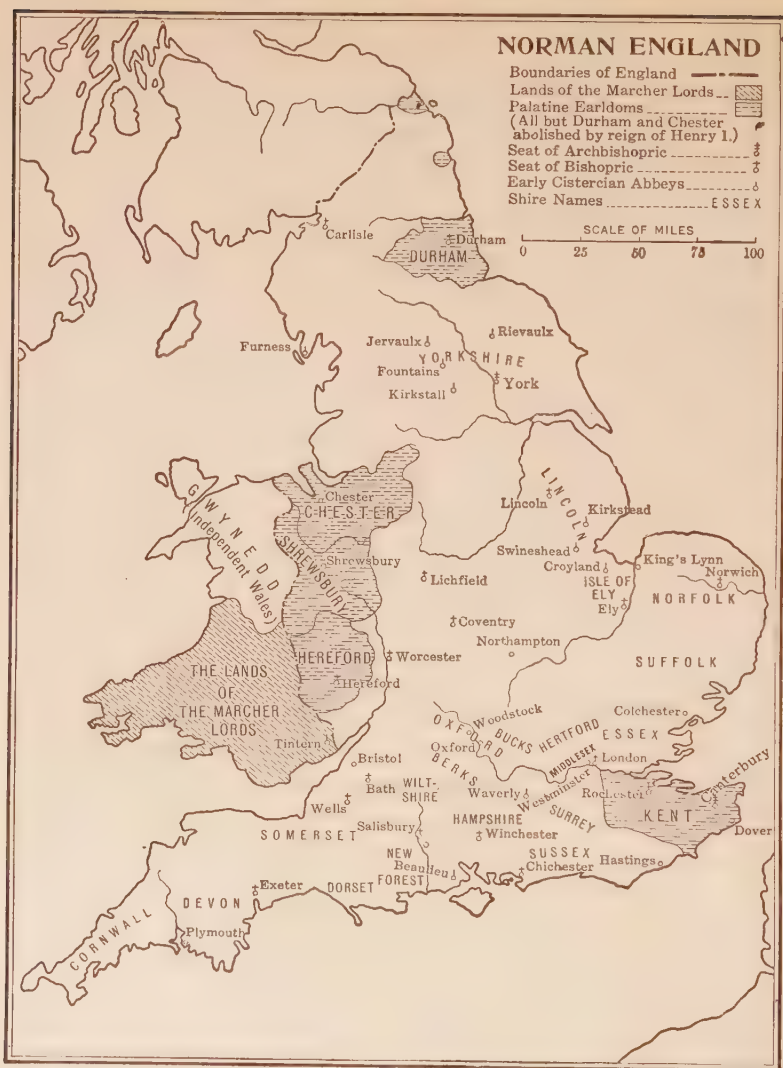
Indeed, there was need for reform in the Church of England where decline both in morals and in organization had weakened the power of religion since the efforts of Dunstan and his contemporaries in the tenth century. The Cluniac movement, which had aroused Dunstan,¹ was largely fruitless in England because of the chaos following the Danish invasions during the time of Ethelred. On the Continent, however, the reforming efforts had not so completely subsided. Especially in Normandy a stricter organization of the clergy and higher standards of conduct brought lasting benefit to the Church. The cathedral clergy were even organized in Normandy somewhat on the monastic scheme at the same time that they took an active part in directing the religious life of the parishes. English bishops, on the contrary, were often monks, a group that deeply resented the power of the semi-monastic "regular" canons, who became so important in England after 1066.

Earlier re-
forms in the
Church

The stimulus of Norman energy affected not only the ordinary and cathedral clergy, but also the strictly monastic foundations. So great a revival of Benedictinism followed the Conquest that over seventy new abbeys of the order appeared within

Spread of
Cistercian
movement
in England

¹ See above, p. 76.



sixty years. What is more, another reform of the abbeys received widespread acceptance just at this time; it was felt in England as well as on the Continent, and in England largely because of the Norman Conquest. The Cistercian movement was started by an English monk, Stephen Harding. While living in a Benedictine monastery in France, he

and several dissatisfied companions determined to lead by themselves a more rigorous life than the rules of their abbey required. In order to do this they removed to a desolate place in Burgundy called Citeaux (Latin, *Cistercium*). Their asceticism might have remained relatively unknown had not the famous Bernard of Clairvaux joined the new movement. Harding's revival prospered so exceedingly that over three hundred Cistercian abbeys were established within fifty years after Harding and his companions retired to the wilderness, about 1100. Toward the end of Henry I's reign Cistercians began forming abbeys in England, notably at Waverly in the south and Rievaulx in the north. Soon numerous additions were made of which those of Kirkstall, Fountains, Furness, and Tintern are still well known because of their magnificent ruins.

The Cistercian standards were severe. The monks slept on straw, possessed but one garment of rough, undyed wool, abstained from cheese, eggs, fish, and milk as well as meat. They had but one meal a day. Their churches were as plain as their diet. Painted glass windows were banned. Two bells could hang in a low turret, though only one of them could be rung at a time. Crosses were to be of wood and the lone candlestick of iron. That their mode of life might not lead to pride, the abbeys were founded in remote places where the monks could "not be seen of men." They were to live by the labor of their hands.

Another outgrowth of the Conquest was the closer relation henceforth between the English Church and the Papacy at Rome. It happened that just at this time the Pope was making and enforcing claims that had never been generally accepted. Rapid strides were taken in the eleventh and twelfth centuries toward the attainment of temporal as well as spiritual papal supremacy in Europe. No greater Pope had occupied Peter's chair than Gregory VII (Hildebrand), who was the head of the Catholic Church during the years that William was the ruler in England. Gregory was an ardent reformer of clerical

Require-
ments in a
Cistercian
abbey

Growth of
papal power
in eleventh
century

morals, prohibiting simony, or the purchase of Church offices, and enforcing celibacy. He went even further in his demands. The secular authorities should in no way interfere with the bishops and the clergy as a whole in their work. It was even demanded that the kings and the Emperor should regard the Pope as their overlord.

Such claims seemed extravagant to powerful princes like William. Bishops and abbots held extensive lands. If those lands were in England, did they not belong ultimately to the king? Because a bishop was a landholder as well as a spiritual leader, a lively controversy arose as to his allegiance. Should the king or the pope have a controlling part in his appointment and the investiture he received as he entered on his duties as a churchman and took over the various temporalities that were attached to his office? William naturally refused to acknowledge fealty to the pope or to relinquish his power over the bishop-barons in his domains. Indeed, the Norman King laid down three famous canons in the matter: the pope should be acknowledged in England only with the king's consent; decrees of church councils were binding only after the royal confirmation; English and Norman barons could be excommunicated only if the king was willing.

Yet it does not follow that William wished the Church to be weak. In the interests of unity and strength, the perennial jealousy between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York was settled in favor of the southern archbishop at a council held in Winchester in 1072. The position of primacy in the Church was given to a capable Italian monk named Lanfranc. The new Archbishop had formerly lived at Bec, where he won great fame as a teacher. Lanfranc's skill as a statesman and lawyer made him of more than ordinary importance in the Normanization of England.

Telling evidence of the Conqueror's willingness to have a strong national church is found in the grant to the Church of legal jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical cases. Before Norman times distinctions had not been made between civil

and religious matters in the courts; the hundred and shire courts handled all cases. From now on, however, the bishops through their archdeacons dealt with all legal questions involving persons connected officially with the Church, and all matters of ecclesiastical import even if they concerned laymen. As yet the church, or canon, law had not been carefully formulated. But when the study of church law became important in the universities of the thirteenth century the relation of the papacy to the state became a cause of much friction.

Separation
of church
and civil
courts

Church and State were harmonious during the reign of the first Norman. The same cannot be said of William II and Lanfranc, for the son had not the wisdom of the father, nor the respect for moral and religious ideals that so strongly and generally controlled men's minds. William Rufus (he reigned from 1087-1100) broke his promises to the Church, ignored the great Archbishop, and boldly took over for his own use church and abbey lands. Only the death of Lanfranc in 1089 prevented open rupture. The King was so glad to be rid of a troublesome churchman that he refused for four years to appoint Lanfranc's successor. The vacancy of the archbishop's office left Rufus quite unbridled. Lands were freely used and despoiled. Excessive requirements were placed on the abbeys and bishops under the guise of feudal rights by a King who boldly flouted religion, and who blasphemed with sardonic joy. Fortunately for the Church he became seriously ill in 1093. Fearful for his future the repentant monarch appointed Anselm as Archbishop of Canterbury, and invested the new head of the Church with the customary ring and staff.

Anselm as
Lanfranc's
successor

The new Archbishop is one of the best-known men of the Middle Ages. After studying under Lanfranc at Bec, this deeply spiritual man became a great student and writer. His uncommonly refined and cultivated mind produced theological works that led him to be called a second Augustine.¹ The patient, contemplative, saintly

Character of
Anselm

¹ The most important was entitled *Cur Deus Homo* (Why God became Man).

Anselm would seem to be no match for the rough King, who is said to have mended in health as soon as he had repented of his ways. But on his recovery he repented of his repentance, only to find that the new Archbishop was not in the least pliable. A deadlock resulted in the exile of Anselm in 1097 and an actual victory for the King, who again took over the Archbishop's temporalities as his own.

Henry I (1100–35) was a more reasonable ruler, but no more willing than his predecessors to lose his feudal rights, even though he promised not to abuse his privileges. Anselm held back in the matter of lay investiture and the King refused feudal homage to the Pope. The Archbishop again went into an exile that ended in 1107 with a compromise on the matter of investitures. The King gave up investiture with ring and staff, since these symbols were considered of spiritual reference. On the other hand, the churchmen agreed to pay homage to the King for temporal possessions. This reasonable arrangement was not really a victory for the Church, since Henry gave up essentially nothing that his father enjoyed. The King still influenced the elections to the great church positions.¹

NORMAN ADMINISTRATION

What effect had the Conquest on the administration and law of the country? William the Conqueror wished the

William's
desire to be
an English
king people to feel that he was the rightful successor of Edward. Accordingly, he was crowned in due and ancient form, and promised to enforce the Edwardian laws. Yet the necessity for strong government, the friction between Normans and English, and the feudal conceptions of the Conqueror modified old practices considerably.

The Witan of old was held thrice a year at the time of the great church festivals, and possibly at other times. It came

¹ Fifteen years later the Concordat of Worms, a similar agreement, though more favorable to the Church, was reached on the Continent, where the strife had been much more bitter.

to be known as the King's Court (*Curia Regis*). This meeting of the king and his tenants-in-chief, or the Council, as it was commonly called, became The Common Council modified in composition as well as in name by the injection of feudal ideas. Even though the gatherings of the great Council were largely ceremonial, public business would also be transacted. Naturally, the infrequent and short meetings of the great Council could not care wholly for the government of the kingdom. It happened, in consequence, that certain of its members would continue as a smaller council between the meetings of the greater body. Perhaps the matters of greatest importance would be left to the larger assemblies, but the work and power of the great and small councils would be much the same. The small Council was not an interim committee. The group of nobles who worked with the monarch as they followed him about his dominions would only gradually form a clear-cut and well-defined body, and the division of its functions would come but slowly. They were the king's servants. A writ issued at Windsor or at some hunting lodge or in York was essentially the pronouncement of the king. If he was absent in Normandy, the appointed vicegerent attended to the needs of the moment by presiding as chief justiciar over the work of those carrying on the administration.

The natives were deeply dissatisfied with some of the Norman innovations. The old method of trial by ordeal was now supplemented by wager by battle, a test Norman innovations in trial and punishment that was much more congenial to the warlike invaders. Punishment by death was abolished and mutilation replaced it, though the loss of eyes, nose, ears, or hands was not much of an advance in the treatment of criminals. Before the end of the Norman period the death penalty was reimposed.

The people cried out bitterly at William's forest laws. Previously the game had been for all. But such mighty hunters as the Normans wanted their enjoy- The forest lawsments guaranteed. Hence William confiscated vast tracts for royal forests, tracts that had hitherto been

populated. Over seventeen thousand acres were laid waste near Winchester to make the New Forest. In time dozens of other vast tracts, many larger than the New Forest, became royal demesnes under special and exceedingly severe forest laws. The penalty for killing a deer was blindness, "since the king loved the tall deer as if he were their father." The forest laws, soon to be made harsher, confined the killing of game as a pastime to the privileged few.

The law of Englishry deserves notice. It arose because of the assassination of the Norman lords by the lower Englishry classes, who carefully shielded the murderers.

William made the whole hundred where such a murder occurred subject to fine unless the murderer was apprehended or it could be proved that the murdered man was an Englishman. Proof that the victim was not a Norman must be furnished by the four nearest relatives. No better evidence of the rapid amalgamation of upper class English and Normans is to be found than the growing difficulty of proving Englishry for any one above the villein class. Within a hundred years the law became practically inoperative.

Under Henry I the administration made noteworthy advance. In truth, Henry's ability as an organizer is his chief claim to attention. At the outset he granted a charter of liberties in order to strengthen his hold on the crown. If he had few scruples in later violating his promises, his strength was not merely despotic, for he won the title "Lion of Justice" by the way in which justice was handed out to high and low, to the rich as well as to the poor. The turbulent baronage were held down by Henry, only to get completely out of hand after his death in 1135.

Under this king the Curia Regis became a more expert group of officials. The offices and functions were much more distinct than in the Council of the Conqueror. Of great importance were the justices, who saw to the keeping of the king's peace. During this reign they began to go out to the local shire courts, where they spread the use of a law that was to supersede the local.

customary law in the course of time. Judgments began to be enrolled carefully. Since the king's justices were expert and had a common point of view, there grew up a body of common law based on the enforcement of the king's peace. And the peace was enforced with great severity. Death was added to mutilation as a penalty for even violating the rights of property. Right well did the Chronicler record that Henry "was a good man, and great was the awe of him; no man durst ill treat another in his time; he made peace for man and deer."

Especial care was given to the matter of finance. Indeed, the wars he was waging on the Continent and the border, with recalcitrant nobles in England and Nor-^{The}mandy, were exhausting to treasury and people. ^{Exchequer} What was known as the Exchequer — simply the Curia Regis as a financial committee — carefully recorded receipts from the sheriffs on the Great Roll of the Pipe, whose record was as final as the valuations of Domesday Book.¹ The exceedingly efficient collection of royal dues did not mollify a people who found that the "manifold taxes" never ceased. The *Chronicle* for 1124 has this pessimistic comment: "Full heavy a year was this; he who had any property was bereaved of it by heavy taxes and assessments, and he who had none starved with hunger."²

In such fashion did three Norman kings rebuild the structure of government from 1066 to 1135. The rulers were essentially foreigners who spent much of their ^{A Norman-}time out of the country; England found them ^{ized} England hard and unfeeling taskmasters. The Anglo-Saxon heritage was greatly modified by Norman-French incrustations. A new language invaded the land. New names were attached to old institutions, and there were new interpreta-

¹ The annual records were kept on parchment rolled in the shape of a large cylinder. The oldest Pipe Roll in existence dates from 1131. The next extant Roll is for 1156; for the years since that time the Pipe Rolls are practically complete. They are preserved in the Public Record Office in London.

² The method of receipting for collections and loans was like that used in trade. A stick, often a foot long and a half inch in thickness, was notched to indicate the amount in question, and split so that the marks of the notches remained on the two parts. The tally was given to the individual and the counter-tally kept by the Exchequer.

tions of old names. The laws of Edward suffered a sea-change under usage by foreigners with feudal ideas. A new nobility with divided interests largely replaced the former thanes. Harold and Alfred and Edwin became less familiar names than William and Robert, Geoffrey and Henry, Roger and Ralph. Strong Norman castles, imposing cathedrals, and elaborate monastic establishments were visible signs of restless activity.

Certainly a general "toning up" followed the Conquest, even though it is by no means clear that harsh tyranny and the rapid introduction of foreign influences were entirely for the good of the nation.

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CHAPTER VII

THE ANGEVIN EMPIRE

THE Norman kings, whose governance has just been reviewed, made England the most powerful state in the islands. At the same time the Normanization of the land had drawn the country inextricably into the whirlpool of feudal rivalries that kept western Europe perpetually upset. Too frequently England was but a pawn in a complicated play for European stakes. It would not be untrue, consequently, to say that England during the two centuries following the Conquest was governed by foreigners, speaking a foreign language, and having foreign interests.

On the death of William the Conqueror his lands were divided among his sons; Rufus obtained England, Robert received Normandy, and Henry (later Henry I The Norman line of England) had to be content for the time with a sum of money. Robert soon mortgaged Normandy to Rufus to finance his crusading interests. When he returned Henry I was ruling both England and Normandy in the place of Rufus. Robert's futile effort to win back his patrimony resulted in his own lifelong imprisonment.

A DISPUTED SUCCESSION

When Henry I died in 1135 the problem of the succession resulted in broadening the holdings of the Anglo-Norman rulers. He left no successor save a daughter named Matilda, or Maud, as she was known in French. The succession problem in 1135 The barons' reluctant consent to accept her as the next ruler was only natural. A woman ruler was neither customary nor suitable in the violent feudalized society of the time. Unluckily for Matilda, she possessed an arrogance and a tactlessness that estranged many of her followers. Discontent was increased when she married Geoffrey, the Count of Anjou (southwest of Maine). Al-

though she had a son Henry, later known as Henry II, the child was but two years old in 1135. The prospect of a long regency under Matilda or, even worse, of Angevin control of Normandy and England was decidedly displeasing to a Norman nobility that naturally disliked the Angevin ambitions.

There was a way out. William the Conqueror's daughter Adela had married the Count of Blois (southeast of Maine and Normandy). One of the sons of this marriage, Stephen by name, perceived the opportunity that presented itself in 1135, and, appearing in England, seized the crown while others were still disputing on the Continent over the succession. His *coup d'état* threw the country into civil war and anarchy. Stephen had not the requisite personal qualities nor a sufficient personal following to make him a successful ruler during the nineteen years of English history (1135-54) known as his reign.¹

The whole structure of government built up by the Normans crumbled as the Angevins struggled with Stephen for the lands on both sides of the Channel. The conditions were terrible, for Stephen, according to the *Chronicle*, was "a mild man, and a soft, and a good, so that he did not enforce justice." The nobility found it to be their heyday, "for every rich man built his castles, and defended them against him, and they filled the land full of castles." It is said that over a thousand strongholds existed during this time as centers of license and robbery; to the common man they seemed full of "devils and evil men." Kidnapings and torturings, devastations and banditry, became everyday occurrences in a country that had felt the strong hand of Norman rule. Churches and monasteries were robbed, and every man plundered his neighbor as much as he could. "If two or three men came riding to a town, all the township fled before them, and thought they were robbers." So bad grew the conditions that people declared, according to the

¹ See genealogy of the Norman kings, p. 100.

Chronicle, that "Christ and his saints slept during the nineteen years that Stephen was king."¹

Toward the end of Stephen's life, Matilda's son Henry — now grown to manhood — greatly furthered the Angevin cause by his already evident qualities of leadership. The way to a solution was opened through the death of Stephen's son "by the favor of God" in 1153. The shadow-king at last confessed his failure by arranging that young Henry succeed to the throne. The change came in the next year.

End of
Stephen's
reign

HENRY II

Henry II, who became King in 1154, was one of the most powerful English rulers of the Middle Ages, and the greatest European monarch of his time. Nothing could be more striking than the way he converted anarchy into order in England, and built up an extensive empire that extended from the Arctic Ocean to the Pyrenees. The people were not unwilling for the change; the school of anarchy had taught them that a puissant king was after all better than mighty barons who had not the country's interests at heart.

Henry II,
born 1133,
died 1189

The succession of kings which Henry II initiated is known as the Angevin or Plantagenet house. Henry was a native of Anjou (though born in Le Mans), a county in the lower Loire valley with Angers as its capital.² The land of Henry's nativity is beautiful; the soft sunshine, the mild climate, would seem to have seduced the counts of Anjou to a weak and sensual existence. Henry, indeed, always preferred the Loire country to any other part of his wide dominions, especially the castle, imposing in its ruins to-day, of Chinon, where he died. Yet there was in him an overflowing energy, a restlessness, that drove this Angevin impetuously on an ambitious course.

The Angevin
or Planta-
genet line

¹ The *Chronicle* ends with the year 1154.

² Henry's father, Geoffrey, obtained the name Plantagenet from the golden broom, *planta genista*, that brightens the fields of Anjou and Touraine.

In this same year his marriage with Eleanor of Aquitaine spread his dominion to the Pyrenees. Eleanor, who had married the King of France, became disgusted with the monastic Louis VII, and obtained an annulment of the marriage. Shortly afterward she became the wife of Henry of Anjou, whose "countenance of fire" had attracted her attention when he came to the French court to render homage for his fiefs. This marriage was a momentous step, for Eleanor brought into Henry's dominions the broad lands of Aquitaine in southwestern France, including Poitou; certain claims over Toulouse even extended the sphere of Henry's activity to the Mediterranean. All these territories belonged to the young man just past twenty-one who became King of England in 1154. Not satisfied, Henry took Northumberland and Cumberland from the Scottish king, and established his lordship over Wales. Even Ireland came within the ken of his boundless ambition, and suffered during his reign the first of many "conquests" by English arms.

To Stephen such an accumulation of land would have been paralyzing. Henry succeeded in holding together this hopelessly artificial conglomeration by his un-^{Henry II's} remitting activity and by his powers as an or-^{character}ganizer. Stout, bull-necked, red-faced, with coarse hands, bowed legs, and a fiery temper, he proved a very dynamo of human energy. His superabundant vitality found expression in his love of hunting, his constant activity in business (even while attending mass), and his use of every spare moment for reading or for conversation. Henry was an excellent scholar; he knew a number of languages, although he spoke only French and Latin. He journeyed continually from one end of his dominions to the other to answer the multifarious demands of a mediæval king — a "pestilent habit" as his grumbling servants found.

Yet mere busyness would not have been sufficient had not this remarkable man possessed to a large degree the clear-headedness and wisdom of a born ruler. England benefited much by his interest. At first he seems to have

regarded his kingdom as a convenient source of money for his needs, an attitude that gradually changed with the realization of his responsibilities. If the gathering of revenue be taken as the test of his success, there can be no question of his accomplishments. But he did much more than become wealthy; peace and the bases of prosperity were laid securely, the feudal decentralization was decisively checked, and an administrative system was introduced that was singularly successful.

The King's need for money was met in a number of ways. The Exchequer, which had been organized under Henry I, was restored to its former vigor and made to produce much more than ever before. Up to this time the only tax had been the Danegeld, which was not at all sufficient for the royal needs. Constant war on the continent and dreams of conquest in Ireland and Wales and Toulouse required much more than was furnished by the royal demesnes, the feudal incidents, and the special privileges enjoyed by the king in the royal forests. A form of tax that was levied very effectively was a war tax that went by various names. Scutage, or shield money, had been paid in earlier times by the clergy in lieu of actual service. Henry extended this tax to laymen in order not only to gain money but also to weaken the nobility. Mercenaries were used in the place of tenants unwilling to serve in Henry's Continental wars; the King aided his Exchequer and strengthened his power over the country at one stroke. Toward the close of the reign he even tried a tax on movable wealth — personal property — and burdened the country with the onerous Saladin Tithe for a crusade which his death prevented him from undertaking.¹

The efficiency of collection was greatly increased by the wholesale removal of sheriffs and the appointment of trained men from the court, a step that took place in 1170. Three fourths of the old sheriffs

¹ The royal income was more than doubled during the reign, bringing about an accumulation in the treasury of sums equal to several million dollars — to the impoverishment of his people.

were replaced by officers of the King who would not be influenced by local conditions to lessen the usefulness of the fiscal collection. The growth of the taxation system, though yet in its infancy, is an evidence of further change in the older feudalism.

Equally noteworthy was the organization of justice in the realm. The confusion that grew up in Stephen's reign was to be corrected, if at all, by the vigor of the central and centralizing government. Violence and the unfair seizure of property had become distressingly prevalent. Henry II was ideally fitted to meet a situation that challenged his order-loving instincts and his keen mind. The court became a fruitful nursery for the ministerial class growing more prominent during Henry's reign. The King's judges became a professional group sufficiently large to provide for the new courts and for the spread of the King's justice to all parts of the country. The cases that arose out of the collection of money were handled by the justices of what came to be known as the Court of the Exchequer. But many other difficult problems arose for settlement that did not seem within the Exchequer's jurisdiction. In order to provide for such cases Henry selected five justices, who seem to have formed the beginning of the Court of Common Pleas. This was but the first of a number of central courts that grew out of the Council as its activities were more clearly defined.

Courts of
Exchequer
and Com-
mon Pleas

But even then there was great difficulty in obtaining uniform justice throughout the shires. If a person had to seek a court that followed the King — hardly a week in one place — it meant much inconvenience and expense and delay. Henry II, therefore, greatly extended the principle put in practice by Henry I of having his justices go "on circuit" to the shire courts. Nothing was more important for the growth of the royal power as well as the peace and prosperity of the land than the large use made of the circuit court idea, later to become so important a part of the English judicial system. A basis was thus laid for the common law which is an ex-

Justices on
circuit (in
eyre)

tension of the trained legal activity of a court intent on good government not only because it paid well but because it benefited the people.

By means of royal pronouncements called assizes the work of the king's courts and justices was defined, both as to the kinds of cases to be tried, and the methods to be used. There had been, for example, much confusion over the possession of land. A great deal of land had irregularly changed hands during the anarchy of the civil war. To remedy this condition the so-called possessory assizes required that, if a person claimed to be wrongfully dispossessed, twelve men of the locality were to declare on oath whether the complainant had been dis-seized. If they affirmed his claim, the property was to be returned to him, and the question of title was to be settled later.¹ The central government also greatly enlarged the sphere of activity of the king's courts by drawing to them cases that would have been formerly settled in the baronial courts or the church courts. The justification for such action rests on the King's sincere interest in the spread of order. Order in those days was to be won most surely by making the King's justice more common.

Important changes were made in criminal as well as in civil cases. The chief difficulty in repressing crime lay in bringing the proper persons to trial. In Anglo-Saxon times twelve men had acted as witnesses to the character of an accused person. But such a cumbersome plan was not feasible when a traveling judge visited a shire for the purpose of enacting justice. Twelve men were still used, but now they consisted of knights or freemen who "upon their oath" (hence jurors) promised that they would "tell the truth, whether there is any man who is publicly suspected." The Assize of Clarendon

¹ The three possessory assizes were *novel* (new) *disseizin*, *mort d'ancestor* (death of the ancestor) and *darrein presentment*. The last dealt with the right to present to a church living (advowson). Another assize (*utrum*) provided for using the sworn statement of twelve men as to whether a given piece of church land was held by ordinary tenure or by frankalmoign. For frankalmoign, see above, p. 105.

(1166), from which the previous sentence is quoted, made elaborate provision for the formal accusation and trial of robbers, murderers, and thieves. Such a jury is not like our trial jury of to-day; it is more like the grand jury with judge and witnesses combined.

The new use of the jury did not do away with the old ordeals of the Anglo-Saxons and the trial by battle of the Normans. It supplemented them especially Henry II and ordeals with regard to the procedure preceding the ordeal. But so skeptical was the King of the value of the ordeal that persons who are "publicly and disgracefully spoken ill of by the testimony of many and legal men" were to be banished even if they successfully survived the ordeal. Early in the next century the ordeal was discontinued. It took another hundred years, however, for the modern idea of a trial jury to become well established.

The King's efforts included an attempt, also, to subordinate the clergy and the Church to the same extent. Here he met decided opposition in the person of one of the most distinguished of mediæval churchmen, Thomas Becket. Their struggle, to which we next turn, can best be thought of as growing out of the same intense ambition to govern that prompted the King's administrative and legal activity.

HENRY II AND THE CHURCH

We have found that the Conqueror separated the clerical and lay cases by allowing the former to be tried in church courts, "courts Christian." Since his time the power of the Church had grown amazingly. Growth of church power Especially was this true during the dynastic wars of Stephen's reign, when the Church and the monastery became blessings in the face of the breakdown of civil power. Crusading ideals were abroad as well, to arouse enthusiasm and respect for the Church.

Meanwhile the legal organization of the Church had been taking form. Papal eagerness for additional Canon law power against secular authorities had resulted in a codification, as it were, of church (canon) law. A cer-

tain Gratian of Bologna — where civil law was studied with eagerness — had collected the canons or rules of the Church in order to harmonize the discordances in the findings of councils and in the decrees of the popes. His *Decretum* appeared about 1150. It had a profound effect on the growth of ecclesiastical assurance in the struggles between Church and State. Every bishop had his archdeacon, who headed the church court and was, in consequence, eager for all the business possible. Since it was thought that a priest should not soil his mind with litigation, the straiter members of the Church looked askance at the archdeacon; some even questioned his chance of salvation.

The prerogatives of the “courts Christian” were broad, including all cases affecting church property and all persons of ecclesiastical station. Those in minor orders, whom to-day we should not consider clergy, might claim “benefit of clergy” in order to be tried in a church court.¹ The advantages of an ecclesiastical trial were obvious. The Church would not punish by death or mutilation or even by branding, since thus God’s image was defiled; the criminous clerk, even if a homicide, was ordinarily fined, although he could be degraded and imprisoned. This wide variation from the barbarous practices of the civil courts seemed to many really a miscarriage of justice. In the eight years before the King began his struggle with the Church one hundred clerks had committed murder and been tried under conditions which Henry could not control.

In 1162 the see of Canterbury became vacant. Henry chose Thomas Becket to the primacy of the English Church, thinking that with his boon companion as archbishop the Church would cause little trouble. Becket was an Englishman born, the first primate since 1066 who was not a foreigner. Becket’s first important office was that of Archdeacon of Canterbury, that is, the law officer of the English primate.

¹ In later times benefit of clergy was invoked by those who could prove their ability to read, even if they were not in the church organization.

In 1155 he was appointed Chancellor, and proved very efficient in matters of state, even leading armies into battle. It was this man, thoroughly trained in canon law, who was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162 by a designing king.

The new responsibility changed Becket into an austere, earnest, stubborn ecclesiastic, determined to uphold the claims of Church and Pope. In the next year when a church court acquitted a canon accused of murder, Henry and Becket came to high words in a council at Woodstock. Not long after, the Archbishop and bishops agreed to recognize the "ancient customs of the kingdom saving their order." In 1164, the King at a council held at another hunting lodge, Clarendon, produced a list of the customs to which he required formal assent. This definite statement of what Henry called ancient customs and Becket a device of tyranny has received the name of the "Constitutions of Clarendon." Yet its sixteen "chapters," even if they restated the Conqueror's limitations on the powers of the Church, were so startlingly precise as to seem an advance. The investiture compromise of earlier days was clearly put, and the new jury system was applied to the trial of laymen in church courts, and to all disputes between a clerk and a layman. Some of the articles caused great difficulty. The third required an accused clerk's trial in a civil court "concerning what it seemed to the King's court should be answered there." If his case was fit for the church court, the King's justice should be present at the trial, and the convicted clerk was to be turned over to the State for punishment. Article four prohibited the departure of archbishops and bishops from the realm without the King's permission. The seventh paragraph forbade excommunication and interdict by the Pope save on application to the King, and the following article limited the right of appeal to the Pope "so that it must not go further without the assent of the lord the king."¹

Becket gave at best a reluctant assent as he was handed

¹ See Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*, p. 13.

one half of a copy of the Constitutions torn down the middle as if it were a tally. The King next attempted to force the resignation of Thomas; the stubborn primate fled to the Continent. His clergy, deserted by their unbending chief, and under constant pressure from the King, felt themselves "between the hammer and the anvil." The Archbishop remained on the Continent for six years, zealously studying the canon law and practicing severe austerities in a Cistercian monastery. It was not until 1170 that Becket returned to Canterbury.

Shortly before the reconciliation of King and prelate Henry's son had been crowned by the Archbishop of York, who had taken the place of the absent primate. In spite of this act, which was deeply resented by Becket, the King and his Archbishop came to terms on the Continent; Becket was permitted to recrown the young Henry. He went further, however, and proceeded to excommunicate the clergy who had taken part in the first coronation. As soon as the King, who was on the Continent, heard of this act of the stubborn Thomas, he cursed the pack of fools and cowards he had nourished who allowed this low-born clerk to make him a laughing-stock. Four knights took him seriously, crossed the Channel, and demanded that Thomas absolve the bishops. The churchman refused, and was almost dragged into the church by his servants, who hoped to provide sanctuary for him. But it was in vain; he was murdered in the cathedral.

Nothing more unfortunate could have happened. People did not remember that the primate had caused the outburst of anger by a petty act aimed against the Archbishop of York and not against the King. When the dead Thomas was found clothed in a hair shirt and with signs of scourgings self-inflicted, he became a martyr to the cause of the Church; miracles were soon wrought by his remains; Canterbury became one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in Europe. Saint Thomas dead proved a more dangerous antagonist than Archbishop Thomas alive. In the agreement made with

Becket on
the Conti-
nent

Becket
murdered,
1170

Effect of
Becket's
death

the Pope two years later the King promised to abandon the innovations he had introduced, not to prevent an appeal unless it involved clearly a limitation of the King's rights, and to relinquish to church courts criminous clerks. The Constitutions of Clarendon were not specifically condemned, but the defeat of the King was evident enough. The solution of a divided authority in the state had to be postponed to a later century, because in a fit of anger the King had wished the death of his chief churchman.

IRELAND EMERGES

Closely connected in point of time with the King's humiliation was the first of many attempts by the English to conquer Ireland. Since the days when the Irish ^{Early} Church had spread eastward, the western isle ^{Ireland} had been of little importance in the course of history. The Scandinavian invaders of the British Isles had ravaged parts of Ireland; like their compatriots of the Danelaw in England, the Ostmen, or "Eastmen," had settled in the districts they conquered; in eastern Ireland they remained largely unhindered in their trading operations and municipal life. The Irish, intensely individualistic, were divided into literally hundreds of tribes perpetually fighting over lands. The law of inheritance, known as tanistry, was another invitation to strife; it provided that succession, instead of going through the eldest son or even to the immediate family, should be to the worthiest male relative. The Ostmen were little troubled by the natives, in consequence.

The life of the people seemed primitive to an Englishman. There were few, if any, resources beyond cattle and the products of the hunt. Even the food supply largely depended on the Ostmen. In fighting ^{The primitive Irish people} qualities and tactics there was about as much of a contrast with the mailclad English as there was between Standish and his Indian opponents in Massachusetts during colonial days. The only reason that a conquest had not been attempted before was the preoccupation of English rulers in strengthening the frontiers in Great Britain and in

keeping a precarious hold on the continental inheritance of Norman and Angevin.

In 1169 an Irish chieftain came to Henry for assistance in his tribal fortunes, and was granted the right of raising troops in England. This lord of Leinster, Diarmait MacMarchadha (the equivalent of Jeremiah McMurphy), found aid in western England and Wales among the marcher lords; they were "spoiling" for an opportunity to fight, and their fortunes in some cases badly needed retrieval. Of such was Richard of Clare, Earl of Pembroke, who received Henry's permission to mend his condition in Ireland. This adventurer, better known as Strongbow, crossed to Ireland with a thousand men, and easily conquered the towns of Dublin, Waterford, Wexford and their neighborhoods. He bade fair to create for himself a semi-independent principality; certainly Henry suspected that he was "nearly a king."

Meanwhile the death of Becket had sadly reversed Henry's fortunes. Impatient of awaiting idly the papal verdict, or perhaps eager to put himself beyond harm's reach, the King himself undertook an expedition to Ireland in 1171. Strongbow was given Leinster as a palatine earldom¹ and Hugh de Lacy, the new justiciar, that of Meath. Traders were established in Dublin. The Church was brought into line at a council in which Henry produced a papal bull of fifteen years earlier granting Ireland to him. To his already numerous titles the Angevin "Emperor" added that of *Lord of Ireland*.

The title sounds more imposing than it proved to be. Before the King had done much more than organize the districts around Dublin he was recalled by a formidable baronial revolt in which some of his sons were involved. The power of Henry henceforth was limited to the Dublin district—it became known as the Pale. The only real opportunity the English ever had of conquering Ireland was lost. For soon the Irish learned from

¹ The word is derived from the Latin *palatinus*, of the palace. An earl palatine exercised powers that were almost regal.

the invaders the art of war as then practiced; this, added to their stubborn racial feeling, made later conquests infinitely more difficult than that of the first Angevin. From that day until the enlargement of influence under Elizabeth and Cromwell the English held no more than the Pale. An intolerable situation, that of half conquest, troubled the western isle for centuries. To the ambitious Henry belongs the credit or discredit of bringing the Pale within the English jurisdiction and of creating the Irish "problem."

Henry had four sons to provide for. The eldest, Henry, had been crowned King of England. Geoffrey was granted Brittany in 1171. Richard was made Duke of Aquitaine in the next year. John, the youngest and his father's favorite, later received Ireland for his share of the far-spread dominions. This policy of sharing the administration with his children was a questionable scheme in view of Henry's unwillingness to give up actual control. Unluckily, too, his children had inherited too much of the Angevin heartlessness to prove loyal to their father when personal interests were at stake. In addition, the ruler of France — after 1180 the powerful and astute Philip Augustus — intrigued with Henry's sons against their father.

It would not serve our purpose to follow the revolts of his children and the fortunes of the King, who appeared to the world of the time as Europe's greatest monarch. Young Henry died in 1183 and Geoffrey but three years later, both as traitors to their father. Richard continued to be a thorn in the last years, finally becoming the vassal of Philip of France in order to further his unfilial schemes. It was at the moment of Henry's lowest fortunes, when Philip and Richard had brought him to his knees, that the war-worn ruler died in his favorite castle of Chinon, hemmed in on all sides by his enemies. His last moments were rendered even more bitter by the news that his beloved and hitherto faithful son John had also become a conspirator.¹

Death of
Henry II at
Chinon, 1189

¹ Henry was buried in the abbey of Fontevault near Chinon, where his tomb and that of his wife are still to be seen. Beside theirs is that of Richard.

RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Richard, who succeeded in 1189, ruled for ten years. In character he differed markedly from his father. Henry Richard I, was not essentially warlike, preferring to settle
 born 1157, in less hazardous ways, if possible, the issues that
 reigned 1189-99 arose during his reign. Richard, on the other hand, was an extremely bellicose ruler, thoroughly imbued with the knight-errantry of the day. He loved adventure, the strife of the hand-to-hand conflict in which strength and personal courage showed forth conspicuously. He was a true son of the Aquitaine, over which he had long ruled and whose ideas and practices were much more congenial to him than those of England where he happened to be born. The one-sided moral sense of the chivalrous class was well exemplified by Richard of the Lion Heart. He was even something of a troubadour, and possessed the attitude of his famous contemporary, Bertrand de Born, who so delighted in a perpetual state of war that thought of the general good was entirely lost in an artificial chivalric code of morals.¹ It is not surprising to learn that this chivalresque King found neither interest nor time for administration as his father conceived it, but was concerned only with using England as an aid for his knightly pastimes.

Richard spent hardly six months of his ten years' reign in England. During the first half he was on a crusading expedition; the latter part of his reign was spent in Richard's wars growing out of his continental interests.
 neglect of England The Third Crusade, in which he was the most prominent leader, drew comparatively few enthusiasts from England. Yet its effects on Britain were sufficiently important to warrant a slight reference, at least, to this great expedition. Robert, the Conqueror's son, had been in the First Crusade of one hundred years earlier. In the middle of the century, Richard's great-grandfather, Fulk the Good of Anjou, journeyed to the Holy Land, where he ruled as King of Jerusalem over the widest limits the Christian king-

¹ The epithet of Richard Yea and Nay, that is, fickle or changeable, was conferred on the King by one of Bertrand's malicious songs.

dom ever attained. By 1189, however, the evil days had come. The Egyptian ruler, Saladin, had even captured Jerusalem.

A holy war had been vigorously preached in the closing years of Henry's life, and the Church had turned to him as the strongest ruler of western Europe and as the descendant of King Fulk of Jerusalem — the one designed of God for recovering the Holy Sepulchre. The unromantic Henry was not easily deflected from his purposes, but at last the pressure became so great that he promised to fulfill the vow he had taken to succor Jerusalem. In the year before his death he hastened to England to prepare for the expedition by inflicting an exorbitant and extraordinary tax known as the "Saladin Tithe." The uncongenial task, which he did not live to perform, was eagerly accepted by his son.

The Third
Crusade,
1189-92

The Third Crusade drew some Englishmen to take the pilgrim's scrip and staff. From court circles there were recruits, and the vehement preaching of the benefits to one's soul of this pilgrimage had its effect on others as well, including adventurous criminals and vagabonds. The hosts of the Christian world were by no means guided by a single religious motive. It is said that the Archbishop of Canterbury died of a broken heart before Acre as a result of the quarrels, rapacity, cruelty, and dissoluteness of the Crusaders. The chief effect on England was the drain on its resources of money and ships. Richard sold offices right and left, granted charters for goodly sums to towns that bargained for additional rights, and wrung large gifts from the persecuted Jews.

Richard's
preparation
for the
crusade

Philip of France joined the King of England in the expedition, but they quarreled much of the time, and Philip, disgusted and designing, returned to the west earlier than his companion in arms. On the way Richard attacked the kingdom of Sicily, captured the island of Cyprus, married Berengaria of Navarre. The Christian host succeeded in capturing the port of Acre (Ptolemais), but failed to reach Jerusalem, though Richard

Imprison-
ment and
ransom of
Richard

and his men marched to within sight of the Holy City. On his return, Richard was captured by the Duke of Austria, whose anger he had aroused in the Holy Land; the valuable royal prisoner was turned over for ransom to the Emperor. Again the people were subjected to a heavy tax, since one of the aids which the feudal vassal must render was money for the ransom of his lord from captivity. As much as a fourth of their goods and chattels were demanded of the already overburdened people to meet the first installment of the Emperor's enormous demands. The King was set at liberty in 1194 after paying homage to the Emperor for his domains, and giving over hostages for the remainder of the sum.¹

The concluding five years of the reign were not eventful. Richard returned to England to quell the rising that his brother John had hoped to use for winning the crown, but the King left soon for the Continent and never again saw his island estate. In spite of further exactions the country was well governed by Hubert Walter, the justiciar of his absentee lord. Possibly the discontent of the people led to Walter's policy of granting local authority more and more to the small freeholder.

King Richard spent his last five years struggling with Philip for the duchies and counties to which both laid claim. The method of warfare required no qualities of generalship, for the day of armies had not come. The erection of strong castles, isolated attacks on border guardians, the ravaging of the enemy's territories, still remained the normal procedure. It was during this part of the reign that Richard erected one of the strongest and most famous castles of the time as a defense for Normandy. The Château Gaillard (Saucy Castle) was raised on a hill overlooking the Seine at a strategic point above Rouen. This model fortification had three wards, which the assailants would be compelled to take in turn.

¹ The transition of the Arthurian romances to the Continent and into German tradition has been connected with the sojourn of Richard's hostages on the Continent.

The inner ward was on raised ground, making it a castle within a castle. Even if it were taken, there remained the thick-walled keep as a final resource for the defenders. During Richard's lifetime it remained an effective menace to Philip of France.

Richard's death came in the southern part of his dominions where he had gone to demand from a vassal — by his right of having treasure-trove — a golden table that had been ploughed up by one of the workmen of the lord of Chaluz.¹ During the siege of the town Richard was mortally wounded by an arrow.²

JOHN LACKLAND

The death of Richard (1199) put John at the head of the Angevin "Empire" created by his father and successfully retained by his warlike brother. His tenure of the kingship (1199-1216) is one of the most noteworthy in English history; he lost most of the continental lands to Philip in less than six years, became the Pope's vassal, and was forced to grant his people a Magna Charta, which has always been regarded as one of the fundamental documents in the British "constitution." The loss of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Brittany came early in the reign. The shrewd Philip of France at last found an Angevin who possessed neither a genius for administration nor an energy in war, but one singularly gifted with an ability to make mistakes and to alienate his people. John ranks easily as the most ill fitted of all English kings for rule, and that is saying a good deal when we realize how the chance of inheritance was more likely than not to enthrone a poorly qualified son or brother.

Philip as John's French overlord summoned John to his court to answer certain charges made by the barons of

¹ Treasure-trove is gold or silver found hidden in the earth, and whose ownership is unknown.

² Although the crossbowman was ordered to be freed by the King, he was brutally put to death. The refinements to which punishment could go in the age of chivalry are well illustrated by the treatment of this man; he was first mutilated, then flayed alive, and finally torn asunder by wild horses.

Poitou. On John's refusal to go to Paris for trial, the court decreed that he should lose all his fiefs for failing to heed his overlord's summons. The astute French ruler was fortunate, also, in having for his use another claimant to the ^{Murder of} duchy of Normandy, Arthur, the young son of ^{Arthur, 1203} John's elder brother, Geoffrey. Arthur was handled by Philip of France as a tool until he was captured by his uncle. In 1203 Arthur was murdered, although the how, when, and where of the deed have never been satisfactorily settled. Popular opinion at the time blamed John personally for the murderous act. No matter how it happened nothing more unfortunate for the luckless King could have supervened. He had already estranged many of the southern nobles by an unwise marriage that simply fomented disorder and rebellion.

In the meantime Philip was ceaselessly attacking the long boundary of John's continental estates. He even succeeded in 1204 in capturing the supposedly im-
^{John's loss} pregnable Château Gaillard. ^{of Normandy} John made no energetic defense to the victorious King of France. Even before the capture of Richard's castle, the slothful King had slunk across the Channel. After that it was only a matter of time before most of his territories came into French possession. The capital of Normandy capitulated in the same year that the great castle was lost. In the next year the equally strong castle of Chinon — favorite home of the Angevins — was won by Philip. It was not long before Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and most of Poitou were wrested from an English King who has been appropriately known ever since as John Lackland.

Only the most southern portion of his lands were retained by John. The Aquitanian nobility preferred a distant
^{The reten-} overlord in England rather than the immediate
^{tion of} suzerainty of the French king. In addition,
^{Aquitaine} this land, of which Bordeaux was the most important city, had a profitable wine trade with England. The loyalty of the southern territories was insured by further liberal grants of privileges that made Aquitaine and

Poitou relatively free from the severities of feudal government. It would have been better for England if John had lost Aquitaine as well as the other dominions, since it served to remind later kings of the unparalleled losses suffered during John's rule, and to whet their appetites for reconquest. The union of the continental territories with the island kingdom was at best artificial; France was destined to absorb all these possessions as the nation grew under the influences of common language and tradition.

The loss of prestige suffered by John contributed to his undoing at home, as the baronage forced from him a charter of liberties. Englishmen centered their interests even more in the island than before, though the continued use of the French language kept the island in touch with the cultural forces of the mainland. England was no longer to be on the periphery of an empire centered at Rouen or at Angers. An insular union was to come more rapidly because interest in the neighboring mainland decreased. Such were the more important consequences of the collapse of the Angevin Empire. John's domestic troubles ushered in a new aspect of English growth; they fittingly serve as the prelude to the notable thirteenth century which next calls for attention.

Effects on
England of
loss of
Normandy

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CHAPTER VIII

THE REVOLT OF THE BARONS

THE thirteenth century is the most notable period of the Middle Ages, marking, as it does, the high point of mediæval achievement along various lines. This century witnessed the later crusading efforts, a rapid advancement in the unification of France under Philip Augustus and Saint Louis, the growth of national consciousness in Scotland and England, Spain and Italy. During these years the mediæval papacy under Innocent III and Boniface VIII attained to its greatest power among the secular European states. The popes found powerful assistants in the newly organized Franciscan and Dominican orders of poor friars, who were to furnish able doctors, famous missionaries, and active servants of the Papacy in this and succeeding centuries.

Height of
the Middle
Ages

In the world of culture there is also much to record. The rising universities of the thirteenth century served as convenient places for the pursuit of theological speculation and argument, and for the perfection of great scholastic systems like those of Albert and Thomas Aquinas. Not only Paris and Bologna, but also Oxford and Cambridge, became channels for the new thinking and teaching. Englishmen had their full share in the intellectual movements under such men as Roger Bacon and Robert Grosseteste. Greatest of all the men of this century was the Italian Dante, whose *Divine Comedy* synthesized for later generations mediæval thinking and feeling at its apex.

Thirteenth-
century
culture

The political features of English life during this century are rather indistinguished. John's ignoble reign continued until 1216, when he was succeeded by his young son, Henry III. The latter's long reign of over fifty years was largely one of chronic misgovernment by a weak and fickle ruler who was subject to varied

England in
the thir-
teenth
century

influences, mostly foreign. After 1272 Henry's son, Edward, somewhat retrieved the reputation of the Angevins by the vigor of his rule and his innate capacity for government. It is noteworthy that, apart from Edward, the most important figure in English politics was a foreigner, Simon de Montfort. Yet the very misgovernment of John and Henry was fruitful; an outraged baronage rebelled again and again until they forced from their rulers the beginnings of a constitution that imposed some limitations on absolute kings. Magna Carta, the Provisions of Oxford, the rise of Parliament, are England's peculiar contributions to thirteenth-century achievement.

In the present chapter we shall trace the struggle of king and baronage during the years covered by the reigns of John and his son (1199-1272). The rise of Parliament and a body of law, considered in the following chapter, will carry the political survey into the reign of Edward I and to the end of the century. It will then be possible to survey English life and society during this greatest period of the Middle Ages.

The character of John has been somewhat revealed by his handling of the war with Philip over Normandy and its neighbor fiefs. The dilatory English King was but a weak opponent of the equally unscrupulous but much more crafty Philip. John preferred present pleasures, "feasting sumptuously with his queen daily and prolonging his sleep in the morning till breakfast time," to the defense of lands that he thought it easier to win back than to retain. The joys of the table were but a part of his Epicureanism; he had a passion for jewels and other extravagances. Morally he was unrestrained. For this and other shortcomings he had not the courage of conviction but regularly atoned for them by liberal alms. One of the King's contemporaries attributed his failures to an inordinate love of physical pleasures.

PAPAL OVERLORDSHIP

But John's failure cannot be so easily explained. In addition to what a chronicler called his "incurable idle-

ness," he was afflicted with a chronic inability to judge correctly the conditions under which he was laboring. Spasmodic energy did not have behind it even good judgment. His defeat by Philip was soon followed by a deeper humiliation; he was compelled to submit to the Pope. It happened on this wise.

In 1205 the Archbishop of Canterbury died. The choice of his successor legally belonged to the chapter of the cathedral. In practice, however, the selection had usually been largely influenced by the king and the bishops of the country. This would seem not altogether wrong if we bear in mind that the primate was one of the important political advisers of the king as well as at the head of a national church. Lanfranc, Anselm, Becket, were royal appointees. Yet in 1205 the chapter of the cathedral determined to use its legal right of choosing the archbishop in a free election.

The vacant
Archbishop-
ric of Can-
terbury

The canons selected an inconspicuous one of their own number, Reginald by name, who immediately hastened off in secret to Rome for the necessary papal confirmation. When the trick leaked out, John proceeded to force the bishops and the chapter to choose his nominee, a John de Gray, at the time Bishop of Norwich. Messengers were sent posthaste to Rome in order to obtain his acceptance and forestall that of Reginald. Pope Innocent III found the opportunity too good a one to let slip. Already he had proved to be one of the strongest occupants of Peter's chair. He ranks with Hildebrand (Gregory VII), the contemporary of William the Conqueror. But Hildebrand had faced a strong ruler in William, disinclined to grant one whit of undue authority to an outside power.

Pope Inno-
cent III

The Pope demanded a new election at Rome which John, who had scattered bribes freely, expected to result in the confirmation of his nominee. Instead, the Pope secured the election of Stephen Langton, an Englishman, to be sure, but who at the time was an important cardinal at the papal court. The choice could hardly have been bettered. Langton was a

The papal
selection of
Langton as
Archbishop,
1206

distinguished theologian; he was a loyal Englishman as well, though he had lived much on the Continent.

John, bested in the election, refused to accept Langton. Innocent replied by threatening an interdict,⁹ to which

John's
defiance of
the Pope John's retort was the occupation of the Canter-
bury lands and the threat to take over the tem-
poralities of any other churchman siding with
the Pope. The interdict became effective at last in 1208.

This ecclesiastical weapon had been used by the Church with success, for it practically put a stop to the ordinary religious routine which was so important to the people of the Middle Ages. A contemporary chronicler thus described the conditions: "All church services ceased to be performed in England, with the exception only of confession and extreme unction in cases of extremity, and the baptism of children; the bodies of the dead too were carried out of cities and towns, and buried in roads and ditches without prayers or the attendance of priests."

The interdict, nevertheless, availed Innocent but little. The King, "mad with rage," took over most of the episcopal

Excommuni-
cation of
John, 1209 pal lands, the bishops with two exceptions fled
overseas, and the people as a whole accepted a
situation which relieved them somewhat from

exorbitant demands now that the King had church lands for his exclusive use. Thereupon, Innocent went a step further and excommunicated the stubborn King, who remained insensible to the punishment of his people. John was not seriously disturbed by his expulsion from the Church, especially since the people of the country were so cowed by his authority that even the clergy were like "dumb dogs not daring to bark." He was more uneasy over the possible revolt that might follow the release of his subjects "from their allegiance to an heretic." To fend off such a consequence John acted with more than usual vigor and consistency, demanding hostages from all barons who were suspected of disloyalty, and punishing cruelly any who expressed a desire to abide by Innocent's decree. One unwise archdeacon was loaded with chains, imprisoned, and crowned with a

leaden cap; "at length being overcome by want of food as well as by the weight of the leaden cap, he departed to the Lord."

The Pope dealt the final blow in 1212. The King, whose land was under interdict, and who himself was outside the communion of the Church, was declared de-
 posed, and his subjects were absolved from their Defeat of
the King
 allegiance. The baronage, already seriously oppressed by the high-handed King, were in a temper to solve by rebellion the intolerable condition which burdened the country. The Pope chose as John's successor, the King of France; Philip Augustus had already wrested from the English King his continental lands, and was delighted now to have the opportunity of winning more territory along with the remission of his sins by going on the Pope's business. It was a western crusade similar to the one which Philip had already begun against the excommunicated Count of Toulouse, the protector of the Albigensians in southern France.

At last John was brought to book. His baronage were so restless that he might well fear the coming of Philip "as God's own soldier." To forestall the loss of his His submis-
sion to the
papal legate,
1213
 scepter John submitted to the papal demands as presented by Innocent's representative, Pandolph, in May, 1213. Langton was admitted as Archbishop of Canterbury, the church lands were restored, exiled churchmen were recalled, and adequate compensation was promised for the losses that had been suffered during the past five years. The most famous part of the submission was the grant of the kingdom to the Pope and the return of the land to the King "as holding of the Pope" in feudal vassalage. John promised to pay annually one thousand marks as the rental of the kingdom. The move was an expedient one. Philip's plans were nipped in the bud by an act on the part of John which seems more degrading in modern eyes than it really was. One is reminded of Richard's vassalage to the Emperor under conditions as pressing as those faced by John.

But the English King's domestic troubles were by no

means over, even if foreign attack had been warded off. The rise of domestic trouble for John The discontented barons, ripe for revolt before John's submission to the Pope, feared his vengeance and kept together for safety's sake. They found in Stephen Langton a leader whose patriotism gave them courage, and whose sincere desire for a good government in the misruled land led to the notable Magna Carta.

JOHN AND THE BARONS

The King went blindly forward to his ruin by immediately preparing to war against Philip. But his barons refused to go into a bootless French war. Whereupon John hired mercenaries to carry on his plans for revenging himself on Philip at, so it appeared, an opportune time. Otto of Germany — also excommunicated by Innocent — was eager to humiliate Philip and weaken him on the east. It was, indeed, an anxious moment for the expanding French monarchy. John's army was in Poitou, Otto and the rebellious feudal baronage of northern France were in Flanders. Philip extricated himself from the double danger by decisively defeating Otto at Bouvines in 1214. John, a disappointed man, had to return to England, only to receive a further and worse humiliation at the hands of his barons.

The baronial revolt that produced the Great Charter had been brewing for many years. John's wars brought him no honor and his people no pride, but they had cost much in money and in service. His personal extravagance, as well as his liberal gifts to foreigners and his prodigal bribery, kept the royal treasury in a needy state. Hardly a year of his reign had gone by without the demand for a scutage, or for both the scutage and the service.¹ John's impositions were the more galling because of their frequency and of their very high rates. The campaigns that ended disastrously in 1214 with the defeat of Otto at Bouvines had not received the support of the barons, particularly those in the north; they had countered

¹ See p. 126.

the King's demands with the excuse of their poverty and their freedom from foreign service. The King, on his return from France, angrily insisted on another scutage to pay the expenses of his latest fruitless campaign. The result was Magna Carta.

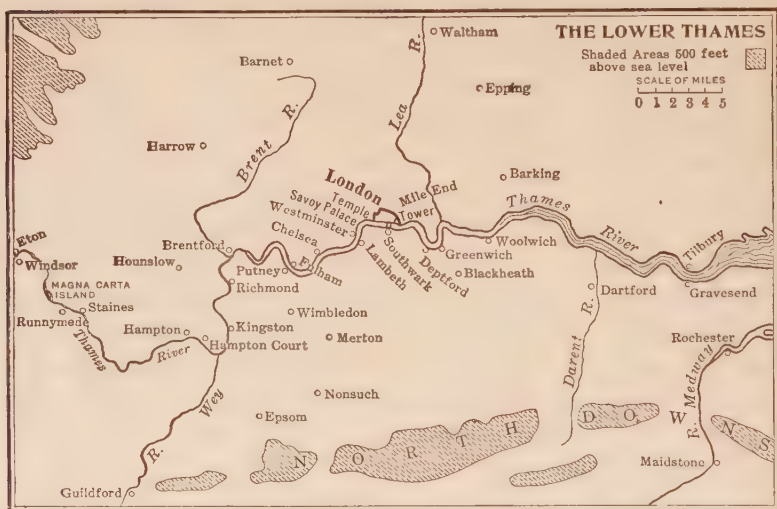
The greatest difference between this and many another revolt lay in the power of the opposition that John had aroused by his manifold abuses. The baronage, Henry I's Charter of Liberties as precedent moreover, were combined with the churchmen in the effort to force the King to keep the feudal contract which he had broken in so many ways. The Archbishop, Stephen Langton, who became the leader, suggested that the Charter of Henry I be the basis for their claims.¹ The suggestion was accepted by the confederated barons, for they were not concerned in a radical movement, but merely sought for the establishment of their traditional privileges. The use of Henry I's Charter of Liberties was particularly happy. That legal-minded King, it will be recalled, was eager to insure his safe succession to the throne vacated by William Rufus in 1100. In order that the crown might rest safely on his head he promised in the fourteen sections of his brief charter to amend the evils practiced by William Rufus, with whom John can be fittingly compared both in character and in conduct. Henry acknowledged that there had been "unjust exactions." He promised to require only "rightful rents" and "just and legitimate reliefs," to give heiresses in marriage "according to the judgment of my barons," to exact no common tax which was not taken in the time of King Edward. A firm peace was to be established under the laws of King Edward with such modifications as were introduced by the Conqueror.²

Fortified with this precedent the nobles, in full armor, appeared before John early in 1215 to make their demands. The King put them off until Easter, when the rebellious and determined barons marched to London. The people of the country and of London joined with them. The King was en- The Great Charter accepted by John at Runnymede, 1215

¹ See above, p. 118.

² See Adams and Stephens, *Documents*, No. 7.

raged at their demands, declaring "by the feet of God" that they might as well ask for his kingdom. Nevertheless, the national character of the revolt left John no alternative, and he put his seal to Magna Carta on the fifteenth of June, 1215, at Runnymede.¹



The momentous charter deserves its name because of both its importance and its size. It contains sixty-three sections as compared with the fourteen of Henry's grant of liberties. Like the charter of Magna Carta, Henry, it asserted no new franchises but simply stated with considerable fullness the "ancient liberties" to which John agreed "for the improvement of our kingdom." The very first article guaranteed to the Church "its rights entire and its liberties uninjured." The feudal relations of the baronage and the King were elaborated in many of the following articles. Only "due service," the "ancient relief," and "ordinary aids" were henceforth to be demanded.

¹ Runnymede is a field on the south bank of the Thames, about five miles down the river from Windsor. It has remained as a Crown land ever since, although it was put up for sale, unwittingly, in 1921, but withdrawn before it passed into private ownership.

The barons were looking backward in the endeavor to assure for themselves that to which they were entitled by custom. The liberties they sought were not new but "ancient liberties." Indeed, Magna Carta serves as a statement of a feudal law that was soon to disappear very largely as new institutions and customs arose.

Several articles have always received a great deal of attention, though frequently they seem to have been misunderstood. Chapters twelve and fourteen dealt with the ordinary and extraordinary aids. The ^{Taxation} three great aids were to be demanded only in reasonable amounts. Others could be imposed only by the consent of the Council, which was to be summoned clearly for this purpose. There is no idea here that the members of the Council represent the people. The thought would seem to be that taxation should not be excessive, and was not to be imposed without the consent of those who were to pay it. The barons had no thought of a parliamentary restriction on royal power.

A number of interesting provisions treated the judicial system which had grown up since Stephen's anarchic rule. Again, the barons were not disposed to change ^{References in the charter to judicial practices} the situation but only to assure the right working of the law. The possessory assizes were referred to in article eighteen. The twentieth article spoke of the limitation of fines, not only for the baronage, but for the merchants and villeins as well. A little further on the seizure of private property for public use was regulated. Article thirty-six provided that "the writ of inquest of life or limb shall be given freely and not denied." The security of personal liberty was obtained by this prohibition of long imprisonment previous to trial. It was some centuries, however, before the process of Habeas Corpus became an efficient check on the royal pleasure.¹ Articles thirty-nine and forty are well known. The former declared that "no freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed . . . except by the legal judgment of his peers or by

¹ The famous Habeas Corpus Act dates from 1679.

the law of the land." The next paragraph was brief but pregnant: "To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay right or justice."

The chief difficulty faced by the barons was the enforcement of Magna Carta at a time when effective checks had not been devised. Article sixty-one called for the selection by the nobility of twenty-five barons who should "cause to be observed the peace and liberties which we have conceded to them." If John did not remedy within forty days a transgression of the charter called to his attention by barons of this group, they could then summon the "whole community of the country" to compel the king to do so. At best, this method of enforcing Magna Carta was dangerous. A strong king or a divided country could nullify the charter.

The chief value of Magna Carta, viewed as a document of the early thirteenth century, is in its statement of feudal law. It failed to bring good government in 1215. Yet it was confirmed time and again (nearly forty times during the Middle Ages) with increasing effectiveness. From this viewpoint — its use as precedent in later times — the charter is very important, since it was the significant beginning of a movement that developed with the centuries as the British "constitution" assumed shape. The very general statement of some of its provisions made the Great Charter of continuous value as the words it used and the ideas it enshrined grew to have a larger and frequently different meaning.¹

John had no intention of abiding by the charter. He appealed to the Pope, — now on John's side, — and the King's overlord promptly freed him from his oath on the ground that this limitation of the royal power had been obtained by force — as though it could ever

¹ An available translation is to be found in Adams and Stephens, *Documents*. For a discussion of the Great Charter, reference should be made to the various constitutional histories listed at the end of this chapter. Four original sealed copies of Magna Carta survive, one each in the libraries of Salisbury Cathedral and Lincoln Cathedral, and two in the British Museum. The British Museum also possesses the original articles of the barons.

have been obtained otherwise. The Pope even offered the privileges of a crusader to those who would wrest John from his lordly barons. Archbishop Langton was suspended, the barons were excommunicated, and London was put under an interdict. Civil war again broke out. The revolting nobility now turned to Louis, son of King Philip of France, inviting him to take the English crown. It is quite possible that a change of dynasty would have resulted from the civil strife had not John died suddenly in 1216 from "surfeiting himself with peaches and drinking new cider."

THE MISGOVERNMENT OF HENRY III

His infant son, Henry, only nine years of age, seemed to have but a poor chance. Yet he was crowned and accepted by the barons, largely through the efforts of one of their own number, William Marshall. This noble was a man of high character, whose appointment as regent of the King and the kingdom seemed to assure to the nobles the enforcement of their wishes. They saw an earnest of better times as the Magna Carta was solemnly confirmed, and a charter of the Forest was issued which lessened considerably the severity of Henry II's forest laws. In the early years of Henry's reign the outlook was generally good. William Marshall, Stephen Langton, Hubert de Burgh (the justiciar), and other wise leaders governed in the spirit of the Great Charter as long as Henry III was too young to rule. But such conditions were not to continue. From about 1230 on, the country was misruled for forty years in almost as bad a fashion as in John's day.

The King possessed some of the qualities of his father, though he was free from the grosser sensual vices of John. Henry was clean in his personal relations, and had no great interest or ability in military matters. He was decidedly artistic and literary. In religious matters Henry was the greatest possible contrast to his father; he was exceedingly pious. The strength of Henry II seemed exhausted in his grandson and namesake;

King Henry
III, born
1207, reigned
1216-72

Strength
and weak-
ness of
Henry III

he was weak in nature, controlled by the interests of the moment, or by some stronger mind that had won its way to royal favor. His totally unpractical and highly fickle mind, untrained for government as well as for war, made Henry's long reign of fifty-six years a period with no consistent thread of policy and with such serious misgovernment that the barons were again led to civil revolt.

The increased power of the papacy was a decided burden for the country. A papal legate was usually on hand to watch over the interests of the Roman Curia. Money in large quantities was flowing continuously to Rome during Henry's reign. It is no wonder, in consequence, that the "Romans" were cordially hated throughout the country. The most notorious was a legate, Otho by name, who, while on a visit to Oxford was compelled to take refuge in the abbey church that he might avoid the infuriated students eager to get hold of this "simoniac." Before Otho returned to Rome he demanded a fifth of the church income; he is said to have taken more money out of the country than he left in it.

The Pope interpreted the right of free election to mean that he could appoint at will his favorites — usually Italians — to the lucrative church positions. At one time his Roman supporters were promised the next three hundred benefices that should fall vacant in England. The church of the country took on an almost alien character. The opposition to this lamentable state of things came not from the pliant King, but from men who were beginning to develop a keen sense of nationalism under the alien attack. Among churchmen the most notable Englishman of the time was Robert Grosseteste. He was a man of great learning whose reputation extended far beyond Oxford, where he was a teacher. Later, as Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste won universal respect by his absolute integrity and the excellent governance of his diocese. He became the mouthpiece of the national disgust at the papal misuse of the English Church. No one more clearly voiced the criticism of pope and king at the time.

The country was overrun by foreigners, who came not only because of opportunities in the Church, but on account of the known cordiality and liberality of Henry. The King delighted in patronage, partly because he was suspicious of a nobility that had forced Magna Carta on his father. Early in the reign foreign adventurers came in great numbers from Poitou. Notable among these was a certain Peter des Roches, whose control of the government was well-nigh unlimited for a time. He freely filled the important posts with Poitevin aliens. A civil war almost resulted in the thirties over the matter, but the uprising subsided when the King was induced to dismiss Peter.

Domestic
objection to
foreigners

Yet the situation did not improve. Soon parasites were swarming in from Provence and Savoy as a result of the King's marriage, in 1236, to the twelve-year-old daughter of the Count of Provence. Her mother was of the royal family of Savoy, a poor little mountain state where there was not much to fatten on. Consequently, the Queen's four Savoyard uncles received important positions and rich presents from their pliable nephew. The Savoyards and Provençals soon became as much hated as the Poitevins had been.¹

The Savoy-
ard uncles

As time went on the King's extravagances became worse. He was perpetually in need of money, which was wrung from his unfortunate people on every pretext and spent in most unwise and fruitless ways. Bribes and exactions, the harsh interpretations of the forest laws, even the excuse of a crusade upon which Henry had no intention of embarking, were expedients to finance the King's schemes. His military fiascos in France were bad enough, but Henry went even farther afield. His brother Richard was elected Emperor of Germany as a result of heavy bribes; but he never obtained the allegiance of the German peoples even after his elaborate and expensive coronation in Aachen. Henry III was induced in 1255 to allow the Pope to give the crown of Sicily to his second son.

Bootless
foreign en-
tanglements

¹ The name of the leader of the party, Peter of Savoy, survived in the Palace of the Savoy which he built on the Thames between London and Westminster.

But the crown had to be won by an expensive and difficult war which Henry agreed to finance. The "King" of Sicily remained in England while the Pope, supported by English money, sought to further his own political ends in the Italian peninsula.

A SECOND BARONIAL PROTEST

The mad schemes of Henry in Italy and Germany at last brought the opposition of his misrule to the point of united resistance at the meeting of the Council held early in 1258. The English nobility and clergy and the commoners were becoming conscious of their nationality, especially as their tribulations seemed more than usually exotic. In consequence, a party of reform resolutely and successfully put its demands before the King at the Council. The procedure reminds one of the events of 1215, for the reformers, in a body and armed, presented their demand as an ultimatum to the King. It could not be resisted; Henry agreed that twenty-four men, one half of whom were of the reforming party, should be appointed a committee to report to the Council to be held at Oxford in June of the same year.

The Oxford "Parliament," as the Council's meetings were coming to be known, witnessed a complete victory for the reformers. The armed barons forced the King and his alien supporters to accept a new constitution which fundamentally changed the form of the government. The scheme was so startling an innovation that it deserves some attention even though it proved impermanent. By the Provisions of Oxford the reformers planned to replace the absolutism of Normans and Angevins with a government in which the King continued to be the nominal head, but where the real power was granted to a group of men responsible to Parliament. Magna Carta had simply corrected abuses. The Provisions of Oxford made profound changes. The one was a call of conservatives to good government; the other an attempt to furnish England with a new constitution.

A committee of fifteen, chosen with great care, formed the central feature of the reform plan. They were to advise the restricted King on all important matters. The committee was to meet in three annual parliaments with twelve additional nobles, chosen by the baronage, with whom they were to consider the business of the country as a whole. The Provisions speak of the "commonalty" as the basis of the government, and as selecting the members of the Parliament. As yet, however, there were no privileges of representation for the lower classes. The check on the royal power was only a baronial check. The Parliament controlled the various officials. The justiciar was to act in accordance with the Council's wishes; the Chancellor was to seal nothing out of course — "by the sole will of the King, but that he do it of the council which shall be around the King." Other committees were to consider the aids demanded by the King for war, and to consult on the condition of the Church. It is evident that the barons intended to inaugurate in England a limited constitutional monarchy.

Enforce-
ment of the
Provisions

The reorganization was so sweeping that the King and his party refused to submit tamely to the demands. But their hesitation availed not in the face of the armed baronage. The numerous foreigners, including Poitevins and Savoyards, were driven from the island after being relieved of much of their ill-gotten gains. The country was at last rid, once and for all, of foreign domination and interference. Whatever evils were later to arise in England are not traceable to a foreign influence such as ruled the country from the days of Edward the Confessor until the Parliament of 1258.

Expulsion of
Poitevins
and Savoy-
ards

Yet, strange as it may seem, the greatest figure among the reformers was an alien, who in time had become more English than his followers. Simon de Montfort was half French, the son of the famous De Montfort who had brought terror to the Albigensian heretics of southern France. His mother was a daughter of the Earl of Leicester; it was to claim his mater-

Simon de
Montfort,
Earl of
Leicester

nal inheritance that he came to England in 1229. This extremely ambitious alien seemed to have identified himself for good with the royal interests by marrying the King's daughter in 1236. At the time he was cordially hated by the natives as one of the most distrusted of the foreigners. But the Earl of Leicester soon fell out with the King. Simon had been appointed to bring order out of chaos in Gascony. His courage and uprightness won him an immediate success, which, however, his headstrong and haughty manner somewhat dimmed. In the end the suspicious King superseded Simon.

The great Earl henceforth was on the side of the opposition, not only from personal pique over the Gascon affair, Simon as a popular hero but because of a genuine interest in the good government of England. Simon was a military leader of marked ability, a man of elevated mind and of great personal integrity. He loved power. The lower classes found in him an ideal leader, for he wisely based his authority on their good will. The baronage, on the other hand, were jealous of this one of their number who dictatorially used the position which he only of their number was fit to occupy. He lacked the essential tact to make his leadership permanently acceptable. Yet for some seven years the country was really under Earl Simon's control while an exceedingly significant if fruitless attempt was made to limit monarchical caprice.

The provisional government lasted for five years — until 1263. Much good was accomplished. The troubles with The Barons' War the French were sealed by a treaty in which the English King formally gave up claims to all the French domains but Gascony. The parliaments met as planned in the Provisions, and the oversight of the government was not without effect in a country that found itself at last exempt from foreign problems and expense. But the barons were not closely enough bound together after the work of 1258. Henry's cause, that of royalty, was greatly strengthened by the growing prominence of his eldest son, the Lord Edward, who was to succeed as Edward I

in 1272. The son was of a different mold from his father, and saw the need of accepting the trend of events sufficiently to win back power. So successful was the royal party under Edward's lead that by 1263 Henry was again strong enough to repudiate the Provisions by publishing a papal absolution from the oath he had taken in 1258. The nobles under Earl Simon's lead again united to raise the arm of revolt.

The so-called Barons' War followed. In May of 1264 Simon won a decisive victory at Lewes in Sussex. The Earl of Leicester captured the King, his brother, and the Lord Edward. Thereupon a new scheme of government was prepared by Simon.

De Mont-
fort's Par-
liament of
1265

Nine royal advisers were to be in constant attendance on the King. These nine were to be chosen by three electors who had been previously selected by the barons. The knights of the counties were recognized as having a place in a Parliament that took its share in the second constitutional experiment of this reign. In 1265 De Montfort called to his famous Parliament not only the barons and the clergy, but representatives of the shires and boroughs. On such a broad basis did Simon endeavor to establish his rule.

The Earl's lease of power was destined to be only too short. Revolts broke out on the Welsh border and Edward escaped to head a growing opposition that was enlarged by Simon's "borrowed majesty." At last in August of 1265 the two armies met at Evesham in Worcestershire. The victory was with Edward's superior forces. Earl Simon was slain, selling his life dearly, as he truly said, "for God and the just cause."

Death of
Simon at
Evesham,
1265

The battle of Evesham would seem to have ended the valiant effort to reform the government of England. Reaction did follow. Yet it was not so extreme as might have been expected. The country was now really ruled by the Lord Edward in his father's name. The heir apparent had learned much in the years of strife even though he had been on the side opposed to De Montfort. He realized the growing demand in the

Results of
second
baronial
revolt

* For the location of Evesham, see Map XI.

nation for a more broadly based and legalized rule. Earl Simon's strength and Henry's weakness counseled Edward so effectively that he became one of England's great kings. He was the successor not only of Henry but of Earl Simon, who had not died in vain for a "just cause."

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CHAPTER IX

THE RISE OF PARLIAMENT AND THE GROWTH OF LAW

THE English people were still to a very great extent an unimportant part of European life in the thirteenth century. The loss of the continental possessions had served to backwater the western isle. We have found how this relative isolation led, under the tyranny of a John and the weakness of his son, to revolts by the baronage. They even attempted to put limitations upon the king in the interests not only of themselves but of the country as a whole. Yet the vain efforts of De Montfort and his men to reorganize the constitution failed largely because the conditions were not yet ripe for an organized expression of the whole nation and for an effective means of limiting the royal power.

Problem of
limiting
royal power

THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL FEELING

In this century, however, the slow growth of a national consciousness is clearly perceptible. Along with this evolution of the nation out of the older and simpler feudalism there appeared a more adequate means of expressing this feeling than was possible in a great council or in the armed gathering of the fighting levies. It is in this thirteenth century that Parliament began to take on some of the characteristics that led it to become the "greatest gift of the English people to the civilization of the world." So important are English political conceptions for the later growth of the British commonwealth and for the world that the origins of Parliament and the peculiar contributions of the law system of the land have always attracted much interest. We shall, in this chapter, trace the important advances by which the political genius of the English produced the basis for a representa-

Importance
of Parlia-
ment

tive system that has since been adopted by most of the nations of the world.

Norman-Angevin England had been governed as a feudal monarchy. English society was fairly simple in structure; below the king were his tenants, who in turn might have subtenants, although a lord might hold of a man who, in respect to other land, was his tenant. Taxation was, so far as developed, a granting of services. If the king misused his powers the barons would object to the excessive demands and endeavor to bring the monarch to state clearly exactly what were the liberties of the lower orders of this feudal state. Magna Carta is just such a document; it asserted the demands of the king's tenants for a clear definition of their duties. The cumbersome plan of the barons for enforcing the charter (Article 61) was not effective; later reissues of the Great Charter by the kings did not, of course, include this plan for insuring the wishes of the baronage. But other conditions were emerging in that century to take the place of the crude guarantees of 1215.

For one thing, the older feudalism was giving place to a new national consciousness. The struggle for Magna Carta is the first clear expression of this change even though the charter registered feudal conceptions almost exclusively. The barons in 1215 realized that they were exacting conditions from more than a simple lord of vassals. Already the feeling was abroad that the king should not be unrestrained but that he owed certain duties in return to the community as a whole. The loss of the continental lands of John and his humiliation by the Pope but clarified the state of things so that the revolt and the demands took on a national form not possible before.

The attempt to control the king went on in the next reign, as we have found. Henry III hastened on this national growth by allowing aliens to abuse the land monstrosly. The revolt even went so far as to propose a reconstitution of the old feudal court in a form strikingly like the cabinet of later centuries.

The new doctrine of kingship, the new conception of the different parts of governmental activity, the evolution of service by classes into something like a national taxation, the great strides in the definition of law and the creation of law courts, above all, the growth of a middle class and the rise of Parliament, all witness to the great changes that were taking place in thirteenth-century England.

Parliament was an outgrowth of the Great Council of earlier times. To the Council, meeting at least three times a year, the king was accustomed to call by special summons the great landholders to confer on financial and military matters. The same men were not always required to attend. Nor was there any great eagerness to answer the royal requirements; it was not a privilege but a duty. The Council, therefore, was usually composed of great barons, who were outstanding because they had numerous vassals and were responsible to the king for large parts of the land. This Great Council included not only lay barons, but the great spiritual lords, bishops and abbots, who were there because they were really great tenants-in-chief. The number of barons who attended the Council varied; usually there were less than one hundred, and throughout the Middle Ages the laymen were outnumbered by the bishops and abbots. The Great Council is to-day the House of Lords of the British Parliament, very much the same in character and in workings as in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Many of the nobility were perforce excluded from so small a group as a great council of seventy-five or eighty men. The titles and lands of the great barons descended to their eldest sons, if a lay tenure, or to the succeeding bishop or abbot of a spiritual lordship. The number of the great barons, therefore, tended to remain about the same in number and that number relatively small. The minor tenants, those with a single knight's holding, or the subtenants of the great barons, were becoming distinctly separated in interests from the members of the Great Council. In addition, many non-noble land-

Summons to
the Great
Council

The great
nobility few,
yet powerful

holders who had been distinctly below them, were finding their interests similar to those of the knights. During the century the rise in prices had increased the incomes of many non-noble freemen so that they reached the social status of the knights. This process meant the creation of a substantial class of country gentry who found their work in the country where they lived. As the law developed and administration expanded its activities more and more, this class grew in power. Besides, their numbers and wealth so increased that the rulers found imperative need of obtaining military and financial assistance directly from this "middle" class instead of in the old feudal way.

At the same time the townsman's place in English society grew larger, though boroughs held still but a small part of the English population. Commerce was developing rapidly under the growing needs of Flanders for English wool, wool-fells, and leather. In the opening years of Edward I's reign the King turned to a tax on exports of wool and leather (the "Great and Ancient Custom") for money to relieve his ever greater demands. The levy of 1275 is the first illustration of the enlarging scope of royal taxation to include returns on something besides land. Towns had ready capital on account of the wool trade. So the burgesses, drawn into the range of the royal needs, became another group with whom the government had definite relations. They found the interests of the country gentry not unlike their own. By the middle of the thirteenth century they are recognized as a distinct class, of value to the Crown. They too had rights to protect, for many a town had bought its charter of liberties from lord or king.

THE EVOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

How did it happen that members of these classes came to the central assembly, thus laying the foundations for the later House of Commons? Knights had been used on juries for some time. Even before the days of Magna Carta the knights had been much used by the central government; for certain duties they were

Earlier use
of knights
in local
government

elected by the county court. When the justices visited the counties they were to hold assizes, according to Magna Carta "with four knights of each county, elected by the county" (Art. 18). Again "twelve sworn knights of the same county, who shall be elected by the honest men of the same county" were to inquire into forest customs (Art. 48). We read also of "twelve lawful burgesses" to appear before the itinerant justices. "Election," however, meant a proceeding very different from election to-day. In the county court, probably by acclamation, a rough-and-ready selection was made for various local purposes.

In 1254 we have the first clear case of the gathering of "elected" knights to a central place. Henry III was in bad need of money, for he was fighting in Gascony. In order to raise an aid, the Queen and her advisers, who were governing in the King's absence, sent to the sheriffs a command that the counties should be "effectually persuaded to pay us a sufficient aid." Two knights from each county, "chosen for this purpose," were to come to the Council at Westminster "to give definite answer concerning the said aid to the aforesaid council." The device used here was simply to have representatives of the counties bring to a council meeting the information of the aid granted, possibly with the purpose of insuring a none-too-certain acquiescence in the royal wish. As yet there was no representation; elected knights were simply called together.

Use of
knights as
representa-
tives

Seven years later, when the baronial revolt was in full swing, the value of middle-class allegiance was keenly realized by both the King and De Montfort. In 1261 it seems that the barons had called three knights from each county to meet them and confer on the common affairs of the kingdom. The King thereupon commanded the sheriffs to send these knights to him instead of to the insurgent barons. An even more important link in the chain of events leading to the formation of Parliament was the action of De Montfort in 1264 and 1265. By that time the battle of Lewes and the person of

De Mont-
fort's "Par-
liament"

the King had been won, and a new constitution set up. Earl Simon, in the King's name, called to a Parliament of 1264 four knights from each county. At another assembly — his great Parliament of January, 1265 — there were not only knights from the shires, but representatives of the citizens and burgesses as well.¹ For the first time the evolving Parliament contained all its permanent elements.

Yet we must be careful lest the word "parliament" con-
note too much at this stage of its development. The name
The word "parliament" was first used of the Great Council in England
in 1246, where the barons only were present.

The meeting of 1254 to which knights came was not even called a parliament. The word meant simply an assembly or meeting of importance where speaking was prominent. "Colloquy" was used in the same way; both were indiscriminately applied to the Great Council. As "parliament" came to be used generally for the meetings of the Great Council, and as the Council took the more modern form of including the knights and burgesses, the word came to have the meaning which we now attach to it. Yet there was no definite or conscious development immediately after 1265. Two more Parliaments met before Henry's reign ended; to neither of them were knights or burgesses called.

More important even than the assembly of the revolting barons which included knights and burgesses was the advancement made in the long and eventful reign of Henry's son, Edward I. The great Edward (1272-1307) reigned from 1272 to 1307. Possibly the accomplishments of these thirty-five years were the greater because the "Lord Edward" had served a trying apprenticeship in the tumultuous closing years of his father's reign. Certainly he had learned many a lesson from the opposition barons; much in parliamentary and legal growth may well be referred back to the intrusive changes of the previous reign. Edward was high-minded and of exemplary character, like his father, but with a strong will trained in the

¹ The city was a borough or urban community which was created such by a charter. It usually contained a cathedral.

rude school of the civil war. He loved war so much that during his reign conflicts of great importance were waged against France, Wales, and Scotland — conflicts that assisted an overburdened people in winning further concessions from their monarch. Edward had a keen sense of justice and order in addition to a wisdom that led him to concede to the more insistent demands of his people, and to retain throughout his long lease of power the affection of his subjects. It is not exaggeration to call him the “greatest of all the Plantagenets.”

The history of Parliament in Edward's reign showed at first no clear-cut conception of the character of the growing Great Council. Assemblies of the Great Council Parliaments of Edward I were frequent; occasionally the baronage was supplemented by additions from the lower classes. In every case the King, who loved power, was led by the force of circumstances to make his assembly larger. At many times in his reign he was put to it to obtain men and money for prosecuting his active foreign policy. In his first Parliament in 1275, Edward indeed met a full Parliament on the plan of De Montfort's assembly of ten years earlier. But this model was not followed again for two decades.

Great irregularity reigned during these years. In 1283 there was war with Wales. Edward called two assemblies, one at York, the other at Northampton, to arrange for grants to the King. Knights and bur- Lack of uniformity in early Parliaments gesses were present in this bifocal Parliament to serve a needy monarch. In the same year another interesting variant occurred in a meeting in the west country as a result of the capture of David of Wales. Again knights and burgesses were called by the King, but they appear to have met separately to discuss and draw up the Statute of Merchants.¹ At a Parliament in 1290 the knights but not the burgesses were summoned, only to find on their arrival that the important work had been done before their appearance. Four years after, another meeting without burgesses ministered to the needs of the King as he faced mili-

¹ See below, p. 174.

tary campaigns in Wales and France. Such a list as we have given is clear enough evidence of the amorphous nature of Parliament in the first half of Edward's reign.

THE CRISIS OF 1295

The year 1295 is usually regarded as ending this time of transition, for in this year an assembly met that was in form "Model" a complete Parliament — it has received the name of the "Model" Parliament. The dangers 1295 "which in these days are threatening our whole kingdom," as the writ of summons puts it, were undoubtedly compelling. Wales was still causing worry. The French had even crossed the Channel and harried the English coast. The call to the assembly declared that, added to "fraud and injustice" in Gascony, the French King has gathered together an "abounding multitude of warriors with which he has made an hostile attack on our kingdom and . . . he now purposes to destroy the English language altogether from the earth, if his powers should correspond to the detestable proposition of the contemplated injustice, which God forbid." Added to this menace was an approaching war with Scotland. If ever Edward needed all his people behind him and every ounce of effort they could apply to the common defense, it was in 1295. Each baron received a special summons. The representatives of the counties and boroughs were called through writs sent to the sheriffs. They were to be "especially discreet and capable of laboring" and to have "full and sufficient power . . . for doing what shall then be ordained in the common counsel . . . so that the aforesaid business shall not remain unfinished in any way." In addition — and this is the new feature of the Model Parliament — the lower clergy were summoned through the archbishops and bishops. Each archbishop and bishop was to cite beforehand the clergy of his diocese, and to have the diocese and chapter represented in addition to himself by the dean and archdeacons in their own persons, a suitable proctor from the chapter, and two members from the clergy. The clerical members of

the Parliament were to have full and sufficient powers to aid in providing for the threatened evils.

The Model Parliament, in consequence, acted for the people of the various classes as well as such an assembly could represent the people of a mediæval country. The comprehensiveness of the Parliament of 1295 justified the quotation from the Roman law, in the summons to the clergy, that "what touches all should be approved by all." In the great council there were forty-eight lay members, seven of whom were earls, and ninety churchmen. The lower clergy numbered slightly less than one hundred. Of the "commoners" there were two from each of the thirty-seven shires, and two burgesses from every one of one hundred and ten cities and boroughs.

The organization was similar to the French "Estates General" taking shape at the same time.¹ The three estates of the clergy, barons, and commoners were distinctly preserved in France until the French Revolution. In England the clergy, always reluctant to join the other estates, preferred to meet separately in their own convocation to grant the demands of the King. Although the clergy are no longer an estate of Parliament, the spiritual members of the House of Lords are still summoned by the form of writ which called the clerical estate to the Model Parliament of 1295.

The knights were technically nobles, but they found more in common with the burgesses. It is probable, however, that in 1295 they met as separate estates. Yet the tendency of these groups to find strength in union led them in time to join and to form a lower and second chamber — since the lower clergy met separately in convocation — out of which has evolved the House of Commons. Care must be taken not to allow the

Classes
represented

Clergy and
Parliament

Union of
knights and
burgesses

¹ The Great Council in France developed during the thirteenth century in much the same way as its English counterpart. The word "parlement" was sometimes used of these meetings before it came to have special reference to a judicial body. Philip the Fair had a number of formal consultations with the three orders. The one of 1314 was not unlike the famous English Parliament of 1295, in the cause for its assembling. The name "Estates General," however, was not yet in use.

name to mean more than it should. The Model Parliament was model only in containing the elements of the full-fledged Parliaments of later days. In power there was little similarity between the meeting of 1295 and Parliaments of the later Middle Ages. Each order granted subsidies, assenting to the taxation of its part of the community. The strength to interfere with the government, especially on the part of the House of Commons — at present the stronger of the two houses — was a very slow growth indeed.

The King must not be credited with any particular foresight in calling the Model Parliament. There can be no

Practical
aims of
Edward doubt that he would not have helped form the powerful later assembly had he known the course of future growth. His work was for the moment.

The needs were insistent; all must share as fully as possible in the King's plans. The best evidence of the King's unparliamentary temper is found in the crisis that almost immediately succeeded the famed assembly of 1295.

All classes groaned under the burdens laid on them by continuous war. A temper arose in 1296 and 1297 not dissimilar to that of 1214 and 1215, in spite of the manifest differences between Edward I and his grandfather. The objection first arose out of clerical resistance to secular taxation. The Pope at the time, Boniface VIII, was a spirited advocate of the claims so ably upheld by Innocent III at the opening of the century. He was especially nettled at the taxation of the clergy by the French and English kings in order to prosecute their perpetual wars. It was in 1296 that the Pope issued a bull, "*Clericis laicos*," to put a stop to the seizure of the property of churches.¹ Edward retorted by outlawing the clergy and seizing the estates of the see of Canterbury early in 1297. The other classes were mistreated as well. Edward seized the wool of the merchants and forced the counties to furnish provisions at the same time that he commanded the barons to go to fight for him in Gascony while he carried op-

¹ Bulls are called from the Late Latin word for seal (*bullā*). Papal bulls are usually cited by the opening words of the document.

erations forward in Flanders. But the clerical resistance was so infectious that the ruler soon found a country in which all classes were combined against his irregular methods of upholding an unpopular war. When the military levy of the whole kingdom met, the resistance to the King was put into a demand that he confirm the charters, especially the Magna Carta.

Edward left for Flanders before acquiescing in his people's demands, and after trying to dispose of them by an affecting speech which he uttered with tears in his eyes. In his absence a statute, known as the "Confirmation of the Charters," was passed by Parliament and sent over to him; Edward accepted the statute. This great step ranks with the wresting of Magna Carta from King John. In the Confirmation of the Charters, Edward promised to keep the early charters "in every point without breach," henceforth not to take aids "but of the common assent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof" and to exact the new custom on wool only "with the common assent and good will." The fundamental principle is established that the king must receive a grant henceforth before he can exact revenue which custom had not already conceded to him.¹ Thereupon the various classes granted aids that must have warmed the cockles of the royal heart.

By the end of the century Parliament had entered on a momentous development. Representatives by burgesses, lower clergy, and knights were being called occasionally to meet with the Great Council and make grants for their parts of the community. The word "Parliament," however, does not yet mean necessarily the larger assembly. The form even of the growing assembly is as yet vague. In the years after the Model Parliament, Edward I's assemblies were more frequently

Confirma-
tion of the
Charters

Parliament
by end of
the century

¹ An important document of the same time, known as *De Tallagio non Concedendo*, extended the concessions of Edward to tallages as well as to aids. But this statement was not a statute though later cited as precedent. It, as well as the other important documents for this development, are to be found in Adams and Stephens, *Select Documents*.

without knights and burgesses than with them. Nor is it right to call either De Montfort or Edward the creator of the House of Commons. Its organization and powers as a separate body grew very slowly. A restraining force on the king was long exercised only by the barons, a group strong enough in 1215, 1258, and 1297 to inflict their will on a reluctant monarch, though the commoners at times proved effective sleeping partners of the great council. The King's death took place in 1307.¹

THE SECOND EDWARD

The reign of Edward II, to which we now turn, is of much greater importance in the evolution of Parliament than for Edward II, any other reason. The son of the great Edward
1307-27 was almost wholly worthless as a ruler. He knew not how to be serious, choosing companions such as Gaveston who corrupted, if that were possible, his easy-going love of amusements, of dice, and of the cup. He won the contempt of his people to such an extent that constitutional opposition by the baronage was extraordinarily successful. The reign ended in 1327 with the deposition of the feckless ruler.

During his reign the clergy showed increasing disinclination to combine with the other estates in one group. In consequence, their attendance became less regular; the reign of Edward II may be taken as the time when convocation, temporarily connected with Parliament, separated for good to meet as a purely ecclesiastical assembly. This left the barons and the middle-class representatives, out of which a bicameral instead of a "tricameral" legislature was to evolve.

The baronial opposition to a negligent King took constitutional form during this reign and contributed to the development of Parliament. A Parliament of barons in 1308 forced Edward II to exile Gaveston. Two years afterward the evasive King was handled after the De Montfort manner; Lords Ordainers,

¹ See below, p. 221.

appointed by the baronage, drew up ordinances for the regulation of affairs. Again and again in the new ordinances the King is forbidden to do this or that "without the common assent of the baronage, and that in Parliament." It was significantly ordained that "the King shall hold a parliament once in a year or twice, if need be, and that in a convenient place." The restraining power is still the Great Council. For the first time in English history this body is referred to as the "peers." The name as applied to the members of the Great Council marks one more step away from feudal subordination. Never after the reign of Edward II were the "peers" to be as weak as they had been under Edward I.

The years of the second Edward are, in consequence, of great significance in the development of Parliament. A powerful peerage was formed out of the old Edward II baronial Council, the device was hit upon of and growth of Parli- withholding a grant until the redress of griev- ment ances, the clergy withdrew from Parliament and left the "commoners" as a lower house with the theoretical right to assent to legislation. With the deposition of Edward II in 1327 under constitutional forms, the nonage of the "mother of Parliaments" was over.

STATUTE LAW

Now that the formation of an ordered restraining power over the hitherto unchecked monarchs has been studied, we shall turn back to the years of Edward the First to consider briefly his great work as a legislator and to note the growth of law. No reign in mediæval England compares with that of Edward for the amount of great statutes that did so much to define and organize legal conceptions and practice. It is interesting to imagine what would have been the outcome of the English Justinian's interest in codification had he not allowed himself to be hampered by a multitude of foreign interests. As it was, his work in this regard is confined to a few years, principally 1283, 1284, and 1285. The very word "stat-

Formulation
of statute
law

ute," now used as a name for a legislative act of Parliament, was coming into use. Formerly the word "assize" was more frequent, especially in the reign of Henry II. "Ordinance" was also a name applied to some formal enactment of King and Council. The growth of parliamentary power in the thirteenth century at the time when "statute" was the common term resulted in the permanent application of the word to legislative acts of King and Parliament. The statutes of Edward I's reign are, therefore, about as much like a modern statute as his Parliaments are like their present-day namesakes.

In 1275 the comprehensive Statute of Westminster the First served as a prophylactic for numerous abuses. In the same year the King was granted the "Great and Ancient Custom," an export duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, to which reference has already been made. Secure foundations were laid in the next few years for strong centralized government by statutes, especially that of Gloucester, that attempted to restrict the franchises of the great nobles. The new King tried to restrain the power of the Church shortly after by the Statute of Mortmain issued in 1279. When property was given to the Church, it ceased to be subject to the customary feudal incidents, which were of advantage to the overlord. The land went into the "dead hand" (mortmain) of the Church. By the statute of 1279 all grants of land to ecclesiastical corporations were prohibited, unless the overlord consented, on the ground that their use to the State largely ceased when they were in the hands of the Church.

The years 1283-85 were especially noteworthy for important legislation. In the first year the Statute of Merchants made provision for the recognition of debts and their honest payment. It witnessed to the growing importance of commerce and to the need of fostering trade by the protection of business. If a merchant could not trust his debtor, he could insist on the recognition of the debt in a formal way; the debtor there-

Importance
of statutes
of Edward I

Statutes of
Merchants
and of Wales

upon became liable to imprisonment if he tried to evade his obligation. The Statute of Wales introduced the common law of England into the recently conquered districts at the same time that it modified somewhat the out-of-date characteristics of English legal procedure for both countries.

The year 1285 was the greatest legislative year of the reign. The enactment known as Westminster the Second took form in the spring of that year. In its Statute of Westminster the Second fifty clauses many matters were considered. Important for future land legislation was the treatment of inheritance in favor of the great landowners by declaring that estates could be created that were legally a unit and as such be handed down from generation to generation untouched. Such inalienable possession was said to be entailed. Needless to say, so harmful a provision was evaded in the general interests as time went on. Many parts of this great statute were more in line with future developments than this first clause. Various abuses growing out of feudalism and the action of royal officials were forbidden, and legal procedure was reformed so as to fit the spirit as well as the letter of justice.

In the same year the famous Statute of Winchester dealt with the obligations of commoners to report felons, to take part in the "hue and cry" by which they were Statute of Winchester brought to time, to share in the watch,¹ to keep the highway clear, to be prepared always for militia service, etc. The third great class were also considered in this fruitful year by the statute called *Circumspecte Agatis* (See that ye act circumspectly). It limited the functions of the church courts, even though Edward was wise enough not to go so far as Henry II in his unfortunate Constitutions of Clarendon. As if enough had not been done in 1285, a comprehensive ordering of matters affecting the city of London was put through just before the close of the year.

¹ Interesting customs yet survive of the mediæval watch, or wake. In Ripon, for example, the horn-blower still announces the opening of the watch in the market square of a quaint old city whose civic motto is "Except the Lord keep the city, the wakeman waketh in vain."

After 1285 the important acts of legislation are relatively few. In 1289 the conduct of the judges was looked into in the effort to improve even more the efficiency and honesty of the courts. In 1290 the Statute of Westminster the Third, often called *Quia Emptores*, dealt further with land matters by forbidding subinfeudation. Although it was intended to favor the great landowners there resulted a more direct relationship to the king by limiting the extension of the old feudal privileges. Feudalism was giving way slowly to a new order of things in this part of mediæval life as well as in the growth of Parliament and the rise of a national consciousness.

THE JEWS

The year which saw the last of the great statutes by which Edward has won a prominent place among English kings is also notable for the expulsion of the Jews from England. Nothing is more significant of the character of mediæval society than the position and treatment of these people, alien as they were in race, religion, and occupation. Jews from Normandy had entered England with the Conquest. Favor continued to protect them under the Normans as they grew more useful through their money-lending activities, for usury was forbidden Christians by the law of the Church; it fell to the Jews to be the bankers of those days. Yet they labored under many inconveniences. They lived in a special part of London and the provincial cities in which they gradually settled. They were finally granted cemeteries of their own, but before the law they had little recognition. Only the direct protection of the king, to whom they were of value financially, kept them from the harshest of treatment.

As it was, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are shot through with anti-Jewish feeling. In their loaning of money, often on very precarious credit, exorbitant interest was demanded. Twenty per cent was not uncommon where security was especially good.

Higher rates were frequently exacted. Hatred of these alien money-lenders and unbelievers was especially bitter during the Crusades. They were accused of the ritual murder of Christian children then as they are now in some parts of Europe; and "pogroms" were carried out with terrible cruelty. The usual prelude to a crusade was the ill treatment of Jews. A wholesale massacre occurred in London at the coronation of Richard I. Mobs in Norwich, Lincoln, and elsewhere were fired by the London slaughter to attack the ghettos in the provincial towns. The worst excesses occurred at York, where one hundred and fifty Jews suffered death in an orgy preliminary to an embarkation for the Third Crusade.

Edward I — a crusader — was unfriendly to the Jews from the beginning of his reign. They were compelled to wear a distinctive dress, the yellow gaberdine,⁶ and were even prohibited from practicing usury. Expulsion of the Jews, 1290 In 1278 Edward caused three hundred of them to be hanged, largely because he wanted their wealth. Now and again he extorted large sums from them, on the accusation that they were clipping the coin and garnering treasure illegally, even when forbidden to lend at interest. Worst of all, they stubbornly resisted missionary efforts to convert them to Christianity. Even long sermons to which they were compelled to listen were of no effect. Edward had already driven them from Aquitaine before the act for their expulsion from England was at last put in force. The ridding of England of Jews did not seriously injure the country financially, even though Edward allowed them to take their wealth with them. For some time Italian bankers had been established in London (on Lombard Street) and elsewhere. The act of expulsion was of value even to Edward, for a grateful Christian Parliament made a special grant to a King who had willingly yielded to national prejudice. Henceforth the Jews were legally excluded until the tolerant Cromwell permitted them to return in the middle of the seventeenth century.

* LAW COURTS AND LAW SCHOOLS

One further aspect of Edward's reign must receive our attention. Even though legal developments are rather technical and belong to the special study of constitutional history, they richly deserve a place in any sketch of the work of the English Justinian. Attention has already been given to the important judicial changes in the reigns of the first two Henries.¹ The growth of a ministerial and judicial class at the court, and the expansion of this curial influence by the increasing use of the king's judges on circuit extended the royal ideas of justice. The regal conceptions of law were becoming, in Henry II's time, a common law, for it was "running" in local courts as well as in the king's presence, at the Court of Common Bench, as it came to be called.

But further development was imperative with the growth of legal business and the transformation of the older society into a "lawyer's feudalism." For one thing, the department of the Exchequer, the financial bureau, naturally had to consider the question of debts and debtors. Gradually, therefore, common-law cases referring to financial questions came to be handled by the Exchequer barons; thus the administrative group handling finance became a court considering financial cases. Because it was expert in such matters, the Exchequer Court gradually drew to itself debt cases in general. By the reign of Edward I this new court became definitely formed.

The Common Bench in Henry II's time had usually followed the king. But, it will be recalled, a section of Magna Carta (Art. 17) required that "the common pleas shall not follow our court, but shall be held in some certain place." The result was that the Common Bench or Common Pleas became a stationary court in Henry III's reign. As soon, however, as that king grew to maturity, judges accompanied him to decide cases that were brought to his movable court. Because this "bench"

¹ See pp. 118 ff., and 127 ff.

of judges was with the king, it came to be called the Court of the King's Bench. Important criminal cases were brought before it. The King's Bench in time "settled down," as had its predecessors, but continued to do work in its particular sphere. The consequence of this curious and haphazard growth is the formation of three distinct courts by the time of Edward I, all dealing with the common law. At the same time these royal organs of justice tended to dwarf in importance the various local courts where local law had been in use.

But this growth of the common law was to a great extent ended by the close of the thirteenth century. After a rapid period of fluid development the body of common law "set" and has remained relatively unchanged from that day to this. There are several explanations of this remarkable fact. The crystallization of law had developed a sense of precedent in a naturally conservative class. As soon as it hardened into definite form vital growth had ended. Two great legal treatises helped very largely to produce this effect. In Henry II's reign a *Treatise on the Laws and Customs of England*, bearing the name of Ranulph Glanville, dealt fully with the new law then taking shape, and later known as the common law. More significant was a great work, *Concerning the Laws and Customs of England*, compiled from the mass of precedent that had been accumulating in the century since the time of Henry I. This stupendous work was written by Bracton, a cathedral chancellor and royal justice, shortly before Edward I became King in 1272. It did much to fix the common law into a form that henceforth received little modification.

A second influence leading to the crystallization of law was the increase of the lawyer class and the organization of a lawyer's education. By the end of the thirteenth century the schools of law began to form around the courts, where lawyer-teachers proceeded to inoculate aspiring young lawyers with the principles and precedents that to the teachers seemed all sufficient. The law students did not go to Oxford and

Crystalliza-
tion of com-
mon law

Education
of mediæval
lawyers

Cambridge where civil (Roman) law and canon (ecclesiastical) law might be learned. Instead they studied English common law near the courts where it was in use. By the time of Edward I this teaching was in the hands of laymen, for earlier in the century the Pope had forbidden the clergy to deal with the secular law. On the other hand, practitioners of the common law were excluded from Oxford and Cambridge.

It was only natural that provision should be made for training lawyers with the growth of the courts and the increase of business. In 1292 Edward I ordained that "attorneys and apprentices" should be chosen to transact the affairs of the court. Inns, or colleges, were gradually formed, closely resembling the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and governed by the benchers as those colleges were governed by fellows. In these hostels preparation was made for practice by actual instruction, by attendance at the courts, and through an intimate life with more advanced mates and teachers. In the very year of Edward's ordinance Year Books began to serve as a record of cases. Another powerful influence for a crystallized common law had begun.

The legal fraternities that made up what might be called a law university were known as "inns." There were two kinds, Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery. Some of the latter seem to be very early in origin, but all of them have now disappeared.¹ The four Inns of Court remain — Gray's Inn, the Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and the Middle Temple. Their present site in the Temple district was not occupied by the Inns of Court until after Edward II's reign, for the Knights Templars were not expelled and their lands forfeited until 1313. But the Inns of Court as organized schools of law go back in origin to the reign of the great Edward. In the course of time they obtained the right to call men to the bar, a privilege they still exclusively enjoy.

¹ The picturesque buildings of Staple Inn in Holborn and of Clifford's Inn near Chancery Lane are reminders of these schools that were places of preparation for the more advanced Inns of Court.

The thirteenth century, especially its culmination in the reign of Edward I, was certainly of moment in the formation of the parliamentary and legal practices of later centuries. By 1300 Parliament had ceased to be an irregular, amorphous organization, though the next two centuries were to define its privileges more clearly. The commoners had obtained some recognition and share in the government. As arresting is the rise of the English conception of law, based on the use of a jury system. By 1300 the common law had been defined, a body of precedent was accumulating and receiving record, and schools of law had been opened. Moreover, a remarkable group of great statutes had aided in the work of codification begun by Glanville and Bracton. Common law had reached a maturer stage than parliamentary practice.

Parliament
and law by
1300

On these grounds alone Edward I's reign stands out as one of the greatest in English history. But we are not yet through with this momentous century. In the succeeding chapter we must note a number of social, religious, and intellectual conditions that add attractiveness to these years.

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CHAPTER X

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

THE "twelve hundreds," to which we have now come in our study of the British Isles, were notable for Europe as a whole. This century produced remarkable work in the most diverse fields. The great cathedrals and the *Summa* of Saint Thomas, the Magna Carta and the friars, the universities and a unified French monarchy, are but a few of the phenomena that this age exhibited. When it began, the Papacy was at its apogee under Innocent III; when it closed, Boniface VIII was vociferously, if vainly, endeavoring to maintain the position of his great predecessor, and Dante was contemplating his epic of this world and the next.

In the British Isles these years were most important. Many of the continental changes and forces were operative in the western islands, where peculiar native conditions added to the importance of this age. Just what were the interests of Englishmen, during these years, apart from political and legislative concerns? Certainly our knowledge of mediæval England will be more real if we can understand the groupings in society, and can appreciate the military, religious, educational, and literary preoccupations that helped so much to give to the age its stamp of greatness.

The state of the people in the British Isles is not easy to grasp even in so small and well-defined a unit as England. Contrasts of mediæval life The strangest contrasts were present in an age that did not feel the necessity for systematizing its activities. The great absorbing idea was not the marvellous natural world, or scientific progress, or the growth of a closely knit national society. As the basis for all thinking and acting there was the Church, which in its all-embracing conceptions regulated the individual's relation to this world and that to come. It governed religious thought and moral act. Art and architecture, the university and "book

learning" were but the handmaidens of the Church. There was much that was crude and brutal in mediæval society. The process of wresting from the Church its comprehensive powers had hardly begun. Therefore, in looking at thirteenth-century England from various angles, it must not be forgotten that the religious influences are everywhere in this complicated age.

THE NOBILITY

The people who lived in England can be thought of in certain well-defined classes. There were the nobles by blood, whose life centered about the yet crude and movable court of the king. The country knights and the more prosperous non-noble gentry were forming another clear-cut group of landholders who were taking a larger part in the government of the country, though they had been important in local affairs for much longer. In the growing towns there was a burgher class, comparatively small if we except London. Throughout the country, and furnishing the major portion of the population, were the villeins, who had succeeded to the Anglo-Saxon ceorls. The great body of the peasants were not villeins or churls in our sense of these words, but industrious and sturdy, though short-sighted and ignorant, members of English society. Cutting across all these gradations of people was the pervasive Church; it was at one and the same time a leveller of other "estates" and a most rigid class grouping.

Class distinctions

The narrow-mindedness of society in England was increased by the limited geographical outlook of men. The anti-alien movement in Henry III's reign had a good deal of justification. It tended to emphasize a national feeling that was often indiscriminate. The England of the thirteenth century saw no place for the Jew. The Lombard who succeeded to his work in the country was hardly better liked. Outlanders were viewed with suspicion and strictly limited in their activities. Yet the Englishman of one shire or borough in those days was apt to regard his English fellow countrymen

Lack of national feeling

of a neighboring shire or borough as foreigners and their actions as "outlandish." Society had little flexibility or movement or breadth of outlook.

The life of the royal family was similar, if on a somewhat grander scale, to that of the great barons and ecclesiastics.

The king's movable household The feverish activity of a Henry II was not the exception even in the thirteenth century. King John was a ceaseless traveler. His unmartial son, Henry III, was a little more stable in his ways, but Edward I was very active; for a year at a time he would change his abode at least once a week.

Such activity meant the movement of the court as well, with its records, utensils, officers, etc. The nearest parallel in our own time is the traveling country circus with its "stands" of a few days before it moves on to the next community. The king possessed numerous castles and between one and two thousand estates or manors where he found it convenient to use the income by living at the source of supply in days when the transfer of goods was slight and difficult.

We have already found out how the royal household grew in complexity. Five departments can be distinguished; they were concerned with the food, the drink, living arrangements and the treasure, the chapel and correspondence, the royal sports and the keeping of order. These rapidly became complex and unwieldy divisions. By the thirteenth century the original holders of these departmental duties had assumed high positions. In some cases part of the household was already "settling down." Magna Carta, for example, wanted the king's court in some certain place. With the growth of financial affairs, there was, also, a tendency for the treasurer to do less traveling.

The great barons were kinglets. Their manors were often numerous and they moved from one manor to another as the king did. The divisions of a baronial household were fashioned after the royal practice. Indeed many a royal official received his training in the

Barons

Sounding and looking foreign, unfamiliar
 Bizarre, unorthodox

household of a great baron. Frequently the barons were in attendance on the king, for the Great Council had much to do both before and after the rise of Parliament. The most significant development of the century was the rapid increase of the central business of the country, and the consequent enlargement of the ministerial class. The growth of the law courts and of the group training for and practicing the law was noteworthy in the reign of Edward I.

The nobility possessed two sorts of residence, the castle and the manor house. In the thirteenth century the former was commonly no longer used as a residence. Even in Henry III's minority there was The baronial castle no recurrence of baronial local activity such as clouded Stephen's reign. Already the barons were becoming more interested in the control of the central government than in the defense of an isolated castle. As a structure the castle had grown in elaborateness and size through the natural increase of ability and the experience gained from the Crusades, for in Palestine were to be found as splendid examples of castle architecture as in the western world. The donjon was less important at this time, since it had become but the most important tower of the inner line of defense. Outside this inner wall was an encircling bulwark. This concentric system of castle building gave space for more dependents and larger supplies. Many of the castles of the time were very elaborate. Particular notice should be taken of the castles constructed at Edward I's orders in Wales to keep in check the newly conquered land.¹ Carnarvon (where his son, Edward II, was born), Harlech, Conway, Rhuddlan, and Beaumaris were either built or rebuilt by the conqueror of Wales. They were and are magnificent structures, more truly royal strongholds than fortified residences, where the royal castellan and the castle guard served national ends.

CHIVALRY

The noble class varied greatly in wealth. The great

¹ See below, pp. 207-09.

baron with his elaborate household and many manors differed much from the simple knight who held but a small "fee." But all were touched by the chivalric ideal that supposedly divided them from the non-noble freemen even though the latter owned a knight's fee and owed forty days' service to his lord. The tendency, which the history of Parliament illustrates, was for the simple knight to find the non-noble country gentry more akin to himself than the great baron. In order to become a knight the "tiro" went through as elaborate a routine as the boy who was learning a craft. At seven he was put to service with some noble as a page. When about fifteen he entered on a new sort of labor; as a squire he served the lord at table, helped to arm him for battle, and became accustomed to knightly practices. Lastly, when on the verge of manhood, the noble youth became a full-fledged knight. On the field of battle he might receive from some lord a stroke of the flat of the sword on his back and arise a knight, or the accolade might be an elaborate religious ceremony in the church involving a nocturnal watch over his armor.

The knights of the day professed certain ideals. According to John of Salisbury, writing in the twelfth century, they were "to protect the Church, to fight against treachery, to reverence the priesthood, to fend injustice from the poor, to make peace in your own province, to shed your blood for your brethren, and, if needs must, to lay down your life."¹ Of course, there were all kinds of knights, from the unassuming country landowner, who furnished cavalry service, to the gaudily caparisoned hanger-on at the court. The chivalric conception of the romances was an idealization that found no general expression at any one period. Probably knighthood was at its zenith about 1200. Occasionally a man like King Richard partially fulfilled the ideal. Simon de Montfort was probably nearer the true knight that delighted the imagination of the Middle Ages.

Even at its zenith the institution of knighthood had

¹ Coulton, *Social Life*, 281.

severe critics, who (like Gerald of Wales) found that knights could be divided conveniently into two classes, the hawks and the falcons. Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath, ridiculed these brave warriors who ever avoided a battle, which they dared not even behold, and whose brightly burnished shields remained "intact in their virginity." "If these knights of ours are sometimes constrained to take the field," he wrote, "then their sumpter-beasts are laden not with steel but with wine, not with spears but with cheeses, not with swords but with wine-skins, not with javelins but with spits."¹

Shortcomings of mediæval knights

The great institution of knighthood, already decaying in 1300, had been best expressed in that outgrowth of the interest in Palestine, the military orders. Three semi-monastic, semi-military organizations were formed in the twelfth century — the Knights of Saint John (1118), the Templars (1124), and the Teutonic Knights (1190). The last-named group was not important in England, but both the Templars and the Hospitallers, as the Knights of Saint John were called, became very popular. The original purpose of the Knights of Saint John was to support the sick Christians at Jerusalem, of the Templars to protect the Holy Sepulchre and the pilgrims that came to visit it. The Templars obtained their name from the Temple of Solomon, granted to them by the King of Jerusalem. As the order spread, temples were built in every city or great town.² In London they occupied the district that still goes by their name, and their round church still stands.

Rise of Templars and Hospitallers

The "poor fellow soldiers of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon" greatly appealed to those who were monastically inclined but who wished to give vent to their ideal by an active instead of by a passive life. The order was patterned on the Benedictine rule; there was to be no private property, no gold and silver on bridles

Ideals of the knightly orders

¹ Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

² Their house in Paris was the last prison of Louis XVI at the time of the French Revolution.

or trappings. The members were forbidden to hunt and hawk, to talk at table, to partake in shows or games. The full-fledged knights were celibates.

Time and the accumulation of wealth led to the decay of the military orders. The Hospitallers and the Templars became keen rivals. Both succeeded in amassing great wealth before they were one hundred years old. In the thirteenth century they became important factors in European politics. The Templars, in particular, became powerful international financiers; both Henry III and Edward I borrowed large sums from them. The feeling against the order grew in England and in France during this century. The members were accused of cupidity and later of misconduct and immorality. But the Templars were chiefly hated because of their great wealth and power and pride; they were suppressed by the Pope in 1312. The Hospitallers profited for a time by the suppression of their rivals, but the heyday of the military orders had passed.

MONASTICISM

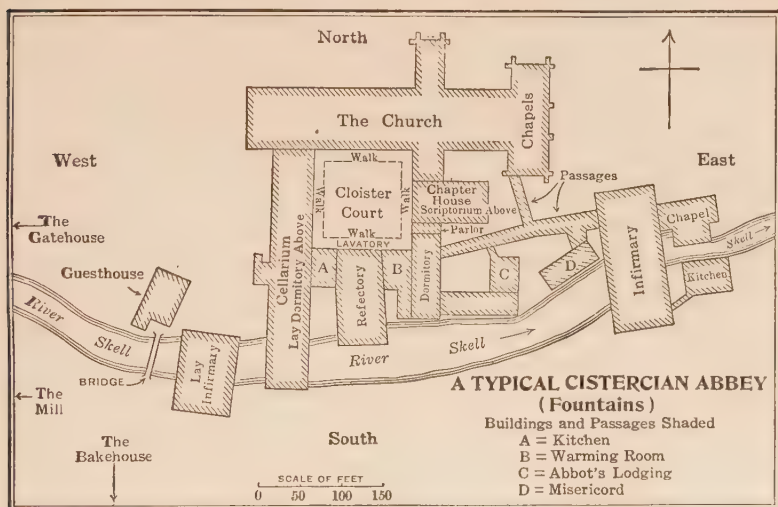
The power of the Church, to which we turn next, was never greater than in the early years of the thirteenth century when John was humbled by the Pope, and The Church Langton, the Archbishop of Canterbury, led the movement for Magna Carta. The Church's influence was to be found everywhere. The archbishops and bishops with their elaborate households and great estates served as spiritual barons in the realm. In every parish of their dioceses there was the priest next to the people. The monasteries, wealthy and influential, dotted the land. Learning was the monopoly of the Church. In spite of the growth of the common law, there was a wide jurisdiction for the canon law of the church courts.

Monasticism may be said to have been at the height of its influence in the early years of this century. The older Benedictines, organized as far back as the days of Dunstan,¹

¹ See Chapter IV.

were not nearly so powerful as the more recently formed Cistercians. This reformed order came to Eng-
land in the twelfth century, as we have found, and brought with it the matchless influence of Saint Bernard's name. It spread everywhere, carrying its rigorous ideal to the most remote parts of the country.

Early
growth of
monasticism



By 1300 seventy-five flourishing Cistercian establishments existed in England and Wales in addition to the older Benedictine monasteries. And it must not be forgotten that there were other orders as well, in addition to the semi-monastic canons of the cathedrals, whose life was somewhat similar. Yet the ebb in the monastic movement was already on its way when Edward I came to the throne. Laxity had crept in with increasing wealth and the life of seclusion. The age was more critical than ever of the Church and found the fruit of the monastic tree insufficient. The Benedictines were criticized especially for their luxury. In fact, a council of 1237 attempted a reform of this order — with little success. At that council fault was found with their demand of a high entrance fee for admission, their allowance of pocket

Cistercian
reform of
Benedictin-
ism

money to monks, their permission to monks to live alone on monastic farms. Their monasteries were becoming homes for the wealthy.

The Cistercians, as well, had fallen from grace. In early days their life had been austere indeed.¹ But from the first lay brethren (*conversi*) were allowed in the Cistercian houses. The inevitable tendency, in consequence, was for the monks to become much like the Benedictines, performing the numerous services of worship but not laboring in the fields. Fine structures with a magnificent church made up an imposing group of monastic buildings that still impress one in their ruins. High towers replaced simple turrets. At Fountains Abbey, for example, nine magnificent altars grew where one had been before. In general, wealth was lavished on the churches and buildings. The Cistercians originally settled in deserted spots which their zeal made exceedingly fertile. Their wealth accumulated so fast that the order was especially criticized in the thirteenth century for cupidity. The Cistercians possessed great flocks of sheep; in the market places they were to be found dickering for wool and hides; foreign merchants dealt much with this wealthy order. To the awakening minds of the thirteenth century money-making seemed their chief concern. About the only monks free from criticism were the Carthusians; they lived as semi-hermits in seclusion in separate cells.

On the other hand, certain services of value were rendered by the monasteries, and, in all fairness, they should not be overlooked. Their model communities did much to raise the standards of life throughout the country. In the management of their farms and tenants the monks showed themselves good landlords. The monasteries were frequently used as places of deposit for valuables, though the non-military orders were less conspicuous than the Templars, whose foundations were in or near important towns and cities. Charity was regularly meted out. Strangers and travelers

Growth of
Cistercian
influence

Usefulness
of the medi-
eval abbey

¹ See pp. 111-13.

were sure of lodging and meals at these inns of the Middle Ages. At this time, indeed, there was even a considerable tendency to abuse the obligation of hospitality. Early in Edward's reign a royal order forbade the nobility from claiming monastic hospitality save in monasteries that they had founded. The work of education was important in the monastic routine also. It affected others than would-be monks, even though the monasteries had no public obligation of any kind. The upper classes, however, were commonly educated in the noble households, in addition to the new universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

A large monastery might contain as many as one hundred and fifty inmates; it was a village in itself. The buildings were arranged in the different establishments in a somewhat similar way. On the north side The monastic buildings was usually found the church with the altar to the east. As the highest building it served somewhat as a protection to the rest of the group. Here seven services were held during the day, and the monks arose during the night for another lengthy service of praise. Benedict had ordered that they should rise at the eighth hour of the night (2 A.M.); "a reasonable arrangement, since by that time the monks will have rested a little more than half the night and will have digested their food."

South of the nave of the church was the large, square, open court surrounded on all sides with buildings. Inasmuch as this open cloister was the meeting Cloister place of the monks, a brief description of the important adjacent buildings and their uses will be of value.

On the east side next to the church was the chapter house. Here every morning after mass the monks were summoned by the tolling of the bell. A chapter Chapter house of the rule was read (hence the name) and inquiry was made into the "affairs of our house." Breaches of rules were here confessed, and punishment was meted out with rods kept there for the purpose. At the southeast corner of the cloister was the dormitory for the monks.

There in a large room or rooms, each on his separate bed, slept the monks. The older were mixed with the younger for prudential reasons.

The kitchen, warming house, and refectory were usually placed on the south side of the cloister. The warming house was for the use of the monks, for here a common fire was built November 1st and kept burning until Easter. At the entrance to the refectory was the lavatory, on the south side of the cloister. The dining-room itself had a high table across the upper end of the room and long tables as well for the less important members of the household. At one side was a pulpit where some selected member read from a saint's life or a similar edifying work during meal time. Conversation was prohibited; food was asked for by signs. The "collation" (now meaning a light meal) was then a reading in the chapter house at the end of the day from a book of religious discourses by Cassian, named the *Collationes*. In time refreshment was allowed to the wearied at that time with the consequent change in the meaning of the word. Another interesting word is "pittance." On certain days an extra dish or additional wine was allowed at dinner as an indulgence, and known as a "pittance."

On the west side of the cloister, under the dormitory for the lay brethren, were the important rooms over which the cellarer presided. He had charge of the lay brothers in a Cistercian monastery, and the task of keeping a monastery well supplied — a sort of bailiff or steward. His duties became more exacting in this century with the growing wealth of the foundations and the development of epicureanism in taste and habit. The prohibition of meat, enjoined by Benedict, was laxly enforced. In the period which we are now studying, the desire for flesh food had so generally prevailed that meat was rather regularly served. The monks were supposed, however, to indulge their taste for forbidden delicacies in a special building off the refectory, known as the misericord.

Besides the cloistral buildings there was the mill, the room used for meals in monasteries and colleges

guest house or houses, the abbot's lodgings, the bakehouse, and the infirmary. The last named is of some Infirmary interest. Here abode the sick monks and those too old to carry on regular monastic duties. The *infirmarius* not only looked after the sick members of the community but watched over the health of those that were well. Four times a year he bled the whole community in small batches in the warming house.

To return to the cloister. At Fountains Abbey this yard, or garth, was one hundred and twenty-five feet square. A walk, one side next to the walls of the build- Life within
the cloister ings, the other arcaded and open to the court, extended on all four sides, and formed an essential part of the cloistral arrangement. Here the monks spent much of their time, winter and summer. There were no fires in the cloister. To the north all the senior monks studied; there were recesses for books of immediate use, and recesses where a monk could make known his wishes to the abbot, for silence was required here as elsewhere. The junior monks lived on the west side, and the novices were taught in the eastern alley. On the south side was the lavatory, where the ceremonial footwashing took place every Saturday night, and where the *infirmarius* shaved the monks while they were sitting in a row and singing psalms.¹

This somewhat detailed description of monastic life will serve to vivify the conditions of the time. The ideal was extremely self-centered. Naturally criticism Faults of
monasticism would arise when the laxity of this century made such an important part of the national life seem of even less value to the public in general. The opening minds of the time resented more and more the luxury and cupidity and wealth of the monks. Then, too, monasteries were the seats of intense conservatism. They did not easily form themselves to the new demands of questioning thirteenth-century people. The most altruistic and high-minded men were not so likely to enter a monastery as in the previous century. Instead, they were powerfully attracted by a new

¹ This account is that of Cistercian life as carried on at Fountains Abbey.

religious movement, the foundation of the begging or mendicant friars. The rapid rise of the Franciscans and Dominicans is one of the most notable aspects of the time. Instead of another reform of the old monastic life, such as the Cluniac or Cistercian revivals of earlier days, the need for a revitalized church was expressed by the creation of new and more practical organizations to meet the new needs.

THE FRIARS

The begging friars originated on the Continent. Francis, a native of the Italian town of Assisi and the son of a wealthy merchant, became convinced about 1206 that he should renounce all wealth and depend upon alms while he gave himself wholly to service for the poor. His sublime self-surrender, his simplicity and goodness, won the consent of Innocent III for an order that grew with remarkable rapidity. Before the death of Saint Francis in 1226 this great movement was well under way. The disdain of wealth appealed to an age that was becoming very critical of the lordly churchman and the covetous monk. These itinerants gloried in their lowness and their desire to serve. Francis told them they must strive to be less than the least. Hence they became known as Friars Minor or Minorites; because of their gray tunics they were also known as Grey Friars. The towns were full of squalor and want; the lower classes were in need of care. The Minorites came as great teachers of the meaning of Christian service to the people of this age.

A similar order was established by a Spaniard named Dominic at almost the same time. The Spaniard had received a very different training from that of Francis. As a churchman he had been concerned with the effort to quell the spread of heresy in southern France, where the Albigensian doctrines were rife. Dominic felt that earnest preaching was the great need. In 1215 he formed a group of sixteen canons near Toulouse to fight heresy. Three years later he established a separate order to uphold orthodoxy. Before his death in 1221 he had

begun to stir the Church and its scholars to new activity. The Dominicans early adopted the same standard as the Franciscans. Endowments were spurned by these itinerant evangelists; they depended upon alms for their support. Because of their great work of preaching, they were known as the Preaching Friars. On account of the color of their clothing they were also called Black Friars.

The two orders spread side by side and coöperated cordially. They came to England at about the same time. Thirteen Dominicans were welcomed by Archbishop Langton in 1221. Very soon after, their workers had settled in London and other important places. In Oxford they took up quarters in the Jewry with the intention of converting the Jews. The Dominicans possessed fifty houses in Britain by the end of the century. Yet they were not so important in the British Isles as the Franciscans.

Entry of the
friars into
England

The Minorites crossed to England in 1224. Nine persons, of whom but one was a priest, brought the powerful Franciscan movement to the country. In less than five years' time they had started work in practically every important town in England. Their success was unparalleled, for the willingness of these begging friars to be of any service to the poor, to tend the sick, to enlighten the despised classes, kindled widespread enthusiasm. By 1300 over fifty Franciscan houses became centers of their activity. Since these orders were not supposed to receive endowments, the property they used was borrowed or held for them by the Pope. Each house had its warden. Annually the members of a province met to review the progress of their work. The subtle temptation of laxity affected them somewhat even in the first century of their existence. They did not always hold to personal poverty, or refuse to ride instead of walk, or to wear sandals, or to sleep on pillows. In time their churches grew more elaborate and the houses came to have something of the richness of the monasteries.

Spread of
friaries

Even so, their work was of remarkable value. Members

of the noble class were frequently led to join the orders. Distinguished men in Church and State gave them every encouragement. The best spiritual life of the country found expression through these new channels. Before Edward I became king, a Franciscan had become Archbishop of Canterbury; in Edward's reign he was succeeded by a Franciscan and later by a Dominican. Before the end of the century a Franciscan became Pope. The marvellous success of the mendicants naturally led to jealousy. Soon the monasteries woke to the dangerous loss of prestige they were suffering. The parish priests complained that these wandering preachers were too popular both as preachers and as confessors. They were accused of cupidity when alms left the accustomed channels to satisfy the needs of these enthusiasts. But the very criticism is evidence of the marked deficiencies that existed in the relation of the Church of those days to the people.¹

THE UNIVERSITIES

The thirteenth century is noteworthy for the advance in education that took place with the definite appearance of Oxford and Cambridge as scholastic centers. Early medi-
eval schools Schools for the rich and the poor were to be found at many places. Commonly the best were connected with the cathedrals. Roger Bacon, living in this century, declared there were schools in every town and castle. Especially famous, in addition to Oxford and Cambridge, were the schools at Saint Albans and in London. We have already found how the training in the common law became organized in London in hostels or inns not unlike colleges.

The higher education, however, began definitely to center in Oxford and Cambridge in the thirteenth century, and the organization of teachers in those places received general recognition. Probably wandering

¹ Note should be taken of two other orders of mendicants, the Carmelites, or White Friars, and the Augustinians, or Austin Friars. Martin Luther was a member of the last-named order. All the important towns, such as London, Oxford, Winchester, Bristol, Norwich, Cambridge, contained houses of all four orders, although the Franciscans and Dominicans were more widespread.

teachers found these two important towns of especial value long before there was a university organization. As the teachers became numerous they formed in each place a *universitas*, that is, a gild, or association of men with a common purpose, just as men interested in trade might form a trading *universitas*. The place where the teaching *universitas* carried on its work was known as a *studium*.

The recognition of this teaching guild by pope or king is usually regarded as the time of the founding of a given university. Bologna and Salerno in Italy, Paris and Montpellier in France, were early schools of importance where organized teaching may have antedated that in the two English centers. In spite of the cloudiness of early university history, it can be said that by the opening of the thirteenth century university teaching had developed in both Oxford and Cambridge. A migration of students from Paris to Oxford in Henry II's reign implies that the beginning had already been made in Oxford. Again, in 1209, a student migration (the result of a quarrel between town and gown) took place from Oxford to Cambridge, where instruction must have been organized by that time. Oxford was acknowledged by the Pope in 1214 as a *studium generale*, and Cambridge received recognition as a university some twenty years later. By 1230 the importance of the two schools is evident, for Henry III addressed the mayors of Oxford and Cambridge on the exorbitant price of lodgings. Students in those days easily changed their places of study, and the King feared that conditions in the university centers might lead to the departure of students to the continent. There is no doubt but that the two universities by that time were of European reputation.

Provisions for housing gradually developed. At first the students were in private houses, where they were subject to overcharging and temptation. Soon, however, *Student hospitia* were formed where students resided at their own cost under the supervision of a principal appointed by the chancellor of the university. Before the

Beginnings
of Oxford
and Cam-
bridge

life

close of the century the students became organized in colleges, corporate bodies where a limited number of scholars were associated under a distinct body of rules drawn up by the person who endowed the particular college. The first college of importance was Merton at Oxford, made possible by Walter of Merton, Bishop of Rochester. His statutes of 1274 served as the basis for the English collegiate system. No "religious" persons — that is, monks or friars — but only those intending to enter the secular priesthood were admitted. Necessary books were furnished. A teacher for younger students was provided. The liberal arts leading up to theology were the subjects of study. The teaching was carried on in the public schools of the university even though a group of teachers might form a smaller corporate unit known as a college.

Ten years after the founding of Merton's college one on a similar plan was founded at Cambridge. Edward I granted Hugh Balsham, Bishop of Ely, in 1284 the right to establish the House of Saint Peter, or Peterhouse as it is now known. In the next century numerous foundations of a similar kind followed these initial ones at the two university centers. Peterhouse, like Merton, was a secular college for the study of the liberal arts. Of the fourteen "fellows" provided for originally, two only might read canon and civil law, and but one could devote himself to medicine. The colleges were intended to prepare students primarily for the priesthood.

If the universities originated as schools for the seculars, they did not long remain exclusively for this group. The monks were eager to reap educational advantages from the teaching, and thus aided in the growth of the universities. The canons and friars likewise took advantage of university lectures. Both the Dominicans and Franciscans had houses in Oxford and Cambridge from the days of their first appearance in England. Their purpose was like that of Merton and Balsham, to train up preachers. To this end they provided a regular succession of lectureships at the two centers of learning.

Another evidence of the powers of the friars is found in the numerous and famous teachers that they furnished to the universities. Indeed, most of the great teachers in England and on the Continent were mendicants. At Oxford, Robert Grosseteste was outstanding. First as teacher for the Franciscans at Oxford, later as Bishop of Lincoln and the friend of Simon de Montfort, he was probably the greatest figure in the English Church during this century. A famous pupil of Grosseteste was the Franciscan, Roger Bacon. Not only was he educated at Oxford, but he later taught there after studying in Paris. Bacon's mind was very critical as well as encyclopædic. At one time he was so highly regarded that the Pope asked him to write out his ideas. He was something of a scientist, with an especial interest in optics. Bacon had the scientific point of view, and a frankness that caused him much trouble.¹ In the latter part of his life the Franciscan order did not permit him to teach and interdicted his books. Two younger British contemporaries of Bacon and of the same order became famed for their philosophical acumen. William of Occam and Duns Scotus both studied at Oxford, but spent the major part of their mature years across the Channel. The two greatest "doctors" of the thirteenth century on the Continent were the Dominicans, Albert the Great (Albertus Magnus) and Thomas Aquinas.

The Friars worked unceasingly to perfect by subtle distinctions the faith of the Church. By carefully working over in the most minute fashion the body of doctrine they had received, the schoolmen so organized their knowledge that they brought the age of scholasticism to full flower. Great systems of theology were elaborated with the aid of the dialectic of Aristotle. This Greek philosopher, though portions of his works were already known in Latin, was practically re-

The Fran-
ciscans,
Grosseteste
and Bacon

Rise of a
scholasti-
cism based
on Aristotle

¹ Bacon held that the four principal hindrances to the attainment of truth were (1) the example of frail and unworthy authority, (2) long-established custom (3) the influence of the ignorant crowd, and (4) the desire to hide ignorance under a show of wisdom.

Authoritative prohibition

discovered at the time through Arabic translations and through contact with the original Greek form of his works. He became the absolute master of the western mind and of the schools, where the friars so effectually used him to buttress a faith of which he had been ignorant. This revival of learning had decided limitations. The study of the arts was largely confined to logic and rhetoric. Disputatiousness became the test of learning. Theological ingenuity was lost in the search for superfine distinctions or for the answer to bootless questions. The aridity of the scholastic philosophy was later ridiculed by calling the scholastics "dunces" after the name of the distinguished English scholastic already mentioned.

Besides arts and theology there were law and medicine in a fully organized university curriculum. Medicine as yet
 Mediæval
 curricula was largely impractical, consisting in the study of the books of Greek and Arabic physicians. Actual knowledge of the human body by dissection was not to begin for three centuries, and surgery was so despised that it was left to the barbers. In England the common law, as we have found, was studied in London; the universities were the centers of the study of the canon law and of the Roman law. No provision was made for a study of literature, ancient or contemporary, or of history, or languages, or physical sciences, save when a Roger Bacon violated the accepted standards of his day. The language of the schools was Latin, which was ordinarily compulsory in and out of the class room. As a result, the university section of a large city was often known as the Latin quarter.

LITERATURE

A good deal of writing outside the schools was yet done in Latin. That language remained the medium of expression especially for formal and official letters and for
 Latin
 chronicles monastic chronicles. The Latin used was very prolix and the writing not on so high a scale as formerly, for the "scientific" tendencies of scholasticism had affected the use of language. The monasteries produced during this

Lengthy, tedious, weary

century a large number of valuable chronicles. In England the most notable was that kept at Saint Albans, where a school of history had developed a strong tradition. There Roger of Wendover carried on the record of events until his death in 1236. He was succeeded by the even then more famous Matthew Paris. This man has been called "the greatest historian of the Middle Ages." Matthew died in 1259. Many adaptations and continuations of the Saint Albans chronicle were carried forward with the addition of local news of the monastery where the work was done. For example, the one going under the name "Matthew of Westminster" is but the chronicle of Matthew Paris carried forward at Westminster.

French, however, was much more important than Latin in speech and writing. During the thirteenth century it was still the language of polite society, of familiar correspondence, and of the lighter literature. It was even displacing Latin as the official and formal language. French was used in the law courts and at the meetings of the Great Council. The Provisions of Oxford, for example, were in French. Learned men like Simon or Edward I used the three languages. Yet a curious evidence of the place of French is illustrated even in royal circles. When Edward II was to be crowned in 1307, he did not know Latin well enough to take the oath in that language, and used the French form instead. The French of England was growing much less like the French of France during these years, owing to the loss of many of the French possessions and to the growing differences between the accepted Parisian dialect in France and the Norman with which the English were familiar.

Importance
of the
French lan-
guage

The English language was rising but slowly. Its use would be more general only as the expansion of commerce and the participation of the commoners in the govern-
ment made it necessary. The national feel-
ing that was distinctly growing in this century also contributed to the elevation of English. But the victory of English over Norman-French as the language of the country

Resurgence
of English

was to come only with the beginning of the long wars against France in the reign of Edward III. English was changing in character as a result of the contact with the French. Romance words were creeping in and the inflectional forms were weakening. An English literature was rising to take its place beside the French. Before John's reign was over Layamon, a priest, had put into English the national romance of the *Brut*. Another noteworthy evidence of the rising language was the *Ormulum*, a homiletic English poem of about the same date as the *Brut*.

Enough has been found of peculiar moment in the thirteenth-century life of England to warrant a study of the social and intellectual movements of the time. The reign of Edward I truly came as the climax of a great age. If space permitted, it might have been well, in addition, to take a bird's-eye view of the life in town and country, in market place and on village common. Yet the thirteenth century saw no such epoch-making changes in rural and village conditions as those affecting the church and education and the upper classes. More important modifications of the life of the lower classes were to come with the Black Death, the Peasant's Revolt, and the Hundred Years' War in the next century. These social changes can best be examined when we study the times of Edward III and Richard II, and reach such expressions of the literary impulse as the *Canterbury Tales* and *The Vision of Piers the Plowman*.

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CHAPTER XI

ENGLAND AND ITS ISLAND NEIGHBORS

THE study of British history should include, naturally, an understanding of Welsh, Irish, and Scottish development.

Disunity of early Britain The English unit in the British Isles has always been the strongest numerically, and it became civilized more rapidly for reasons that should now be obvious. It is not surprising that its kings early laid claim to suzerainty over the nations rising to the west and north. On the other hand, the contributions of the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish have been, not uncommonly, in excess of their numerical proportion. In time they were to prove vital factors of a united Britain that was to extend its influence far beyond the island group off the coast of western Europe. The unity came slowly and reluctantly, for the weaker neighbors felt that coalescence with England meant submergence.

The process of forming a united Britain became a clearly defined tendency in the reign of Edward I. This mighty English King loved order; he was of stern will and autocratic. To him Wales and Scotland seemed constant menaces to the serious aim of his life and to his great legislative ideals. Besides, Edward had inherited feudal claims of long standing to an island overlordship, which no ruler of his line would be more eager to follow out to their full meaning. The English people at the time were growing in national pride, and their interest in France was comparatively quiescent. If we join to this the weakness of Wales and Scotland, the result is a scene well fitted for the aggrandizing policy of Edward.

THE WELSH

The legislative achievements of Edward I were well advanced before he concerned himself seriously over insular relations. His determination to submerge Wales resulted

Like an island

in a large degree from the attempts to bring order into southern Britain. The result was the subordination of Wales to England. The Scottish interests of Edward I were aided by the succession tangle that he tried to straighten out a few years after Wales had been subjected. There the result was different; not until four hundred years later was Scotland united to England and Wales.

The Welsh^r had settled in the mountainous refuge-area at the western side of the island. There aborigines, Goidels, Brythons, and even Roman elements joined to make a racial group that attained a cultural unity as a result of the constant Anglo-Saxon pressure from the east. They developed a national language which is still tenaciously retained, and a national literature that was already of moment. The bard — always important among the Celts — held a high place in every chieftain's household. This people possessed many peculiar or national ideas, the most striking of which was their unfeudalized system of land tenure. The unit, known as the *gwely*, was held by kinsmen in common; the chief in allotting portions was merely distributing the common stock. The English custom of primogeniture was not in use.

The life of the country as a whole was unorganized. Out of a medley of tribes three important groupings had evolved, Gwynedd in the north, Powys in the east central part, and Deheubarth to the south. The larger units were subdivided into honors, which in turn were made up of cantrefs, or hundreds. Occasionally one of the tribal chiefs would assert sufficient power to subordinate all of Wales. But such a condition was always ephemeral. Agriculture had a small place. Herds and flocks composed the wealth of the people, but war was their chief occupation. It was deemed a disgrace to die in bed. The hardy, energetic Welshmen, "who spoke in gutturals and lived upon oaten cakes," were especially skilled in the use of the long bow and the dart. Gerald of Wales, the early thirteenth-century historian of his coun-

* The Welsh called themselves Cymry, meaning "men of the kingdom."

try, tells of arrows from Welsh long bows that penetrated an oaken portal "four fingers thick."

The relation of Wales to England before the conquest of Edward does not need extended treatment. In the days of Athelstan a Welsh chieftain named Howel attained some importance as a warrior and a legislator. In the next century the hapless Harold had trouble with a Welsh leader named Gruffydd (Griffith), and even lost some territory to him. The coming of the Normans brought nearer the eventual and inevitable absorption of the Welsh. William the Conqueror established strong nobles (lords marcher) on the border, whose large powers were principally to enable them to keep the Welsh under restraint. In order to do this the border country was sprinkled with castles whence the "perfidious and oath-breaking" Cymry could be overawed. Three places in particular served as centers of marcher activity — Chester, Shrewsbury, and Hereford.

The fortunes of the Welsh depended largely on the strength of the English crown. During Stephen's day Wales was practically independent. In the reign of John and the early years of Henry III, a powerful chieftain of Gwynedd, Llywelyn (Llewelyn) the Great, had the authority and title of "Prince of Wales." Magna Carta registered John's willingness to treat the Welsh fairly and to settle holdings in Wales "according to the law of Wales." When Llewelyn died in 1240 he was still at the height of his power. Yet this prince had created a national position which his successors found it impossible to preserve against English force and claims. Matthew Paris expressed at about this time the common English feeling: "What Christian knows not that the Prince of Wales is a petty vassal of the King of England."

After complicated succession difficulties and family feuds, a petty Welsh chieftain, Llewelyn, son of Griffith (in Welsh "ap Gruffydd"), attained to a distinguishing position shortly before the Barons' War. He took the title, Prince

of Wales, and became the leader of his countrymen in the last forlorn struggle. The civil strife in England enabled the Welsh leader to consolidate and enlarge his powers; it also gave him unwarranted confidence in the prowess of the Cymry. Although Llewelyn was Simon de Montfort's ally in the civil strife and betrothed to his sister, he gained rather than lost in the Treaty of Shrewsbury, in 1267, through which peace was again brought to the march. Llewelyn was bound to an indemnity and homage, and was recognized as Prince of Wales with the lands he had held when the ally of De Montfort. The weakness of England had elevated the Prince of Wales to an almost regal position.

Wales in
De Mont-
fort's time

THE CONQUEST OF WALES

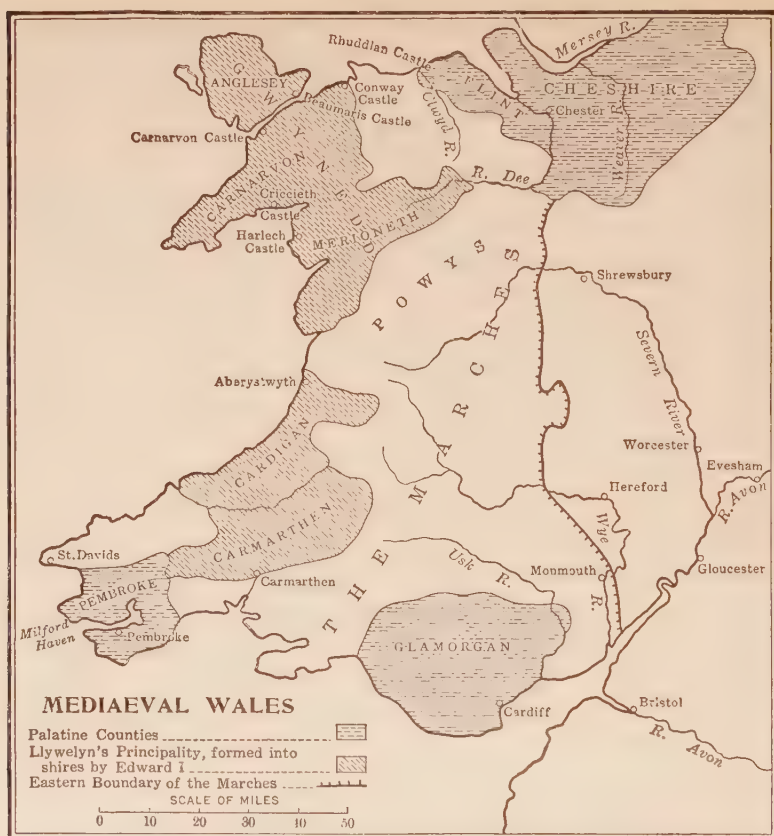
On the accession of Edward I, Llewelyn took an independent line, refusing both homage and indemnity. War was the result, for the new King saw the dangers of another baronial revolt with Welsh enemies in addition. Llewelyn was promptly defeated and forced to submit, losing at one blow his commanding position. The southern and central parts of his dominions were taken away, and the title of Prince as well. He, to whom the bards had prophesied the expulsion of the English and the occupation of London, found himself sadly shorn of power.

Edward's
first attack
on Wales,
1277

In 1282 a second and fatal rising took place. Edward's forces again attacked Gwynedd. English success seemed somewhat problematical when Llewelyn was killed in an inconspicuous skirmish by a Shropshire lanceman, who learned the identity of his victim after finding documents of importance on the body. The severed head was sent to London to be paraded in the streets in mock fulfillment of the bardic prophecy.

Death of
Llewelyn,
1282

The death of the one-time Prince of Wales gave Edward his opportunity, for the resistance to English arms soon collapsed. Castles were constructed or reconstructed at Conway, Carnarvon, Criccieth, Rhuddlan, Harlech, and



elsewhere to insure English control. The important island of Anglesey was colonized with English farmers. The Church was definitely subordinated to Canterbury. Llewelyn's brother was barbarously punished for treason. The conqueror even took away the sacred national relics, including the supposed crown of Arthur. One is reminded of his similar treatment of Scotland somewhat later. The taking of the Stone of Scone and the crown of Arthur were not mere vandal acts; Edward hoped thus to weaken later national movements in his dependencies.

The year 1284 was taken up with arrangements for the government of the country. In April, a son, Edward, was

born to the English King and Queen at Carnarvon Castle. The conqueror announced him to the Welsh people as a Prince of Wales who could not speak a word of English. Edward's joke may have seemed a rather grim one to the Welsh at the time, but it foreshadowed a fact of importance; in 1301 the King granted to his son his lands in Wales and the earldom of Chester. Six years afterward the Prince of Wales became King of England as Edward II. The next ruler, Edward III, did not bear the title Prince of Wales, but thereafter it became common for the eldest son and heir to the English ruler to be the Prince of Wales during his father's lifetime.¹

The future
Edward II,
the Prince
of Wales

In a statute issued at Rhuddlan in 1284 Edward formally annexed the country. The preamble of the statute reads in part: "The Divine Providence, which is unerring in its own government, among other gifts of its dispensation wherewith it hath vouchsafed to distinguish us and our realm of England, hath now of its favor wholly and entirely transferred under our proper dominion the land of Wales, . . . and hath annexed and united the same unto the crown of the aforesaid realm as a member of the same body."² The lands affected were reorganized as counties. Southern Wales was made into shires with an English form of government and a separate chancery at the town of Carmarthen. North Wales, the heart of Llewelyn's power, was made over into three shires, Anglesey, Carnarvon, and Merioneth; the part near the earldom of Chester, known as Flintshire, was too small for a separate shire government, and was put under the earl of Chester. The Courts of Exchequer and Chancery for North Wales were established at Carnarvon.

Statute of
Rhuddlan,
1284

The English reorganization of Wales was not altogether

¹ In 1911 the eldest son of George V was made Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester at Carnarvon Castle. Fittingly, he addressed the people in their native tongue — the first English Prince to do so — and was received in a very different spirit from that aroused when Edward I cracked his joke about the infant Edward II.

² Stone, *Wales*, p. 350.

a harsh Anglicization. The old family divisions were allowed to stand. Concessions were made to the immemorial idea of the blood feud by allowing the relatives of a murdered Welshman to commence the prosecution. Slowly duty to the State replaced the cruder ideas of tribal days. The English legislator also permitted the Welsh custom of landholding and inheritance to remain—an equal distribution to the heirs instead of sole inheritance by the eldest son as in England.

This famous statute did not affect the marcher lordships. Therefore, much that we now think of as Wales was not included in the North and West Wales of 1284, and many Welshmen continued to live under harsh English customs within the bounds of powerful earldoms where the rights of the lord were but slightly restricted. Nor were the Welsh for a long time regularly represented in the parliament that was taking shape during these times. The Parliament of York (1322) in Edward II's reign and the one by which that despicable ruler was deposed in 1327 included Welsh members. Not until the sixteenth century, however, did Welshmen attend the English Parliament with regularity.

The legislation of Edward I did not transform the conquered country. Sullen dissatisfaction lingered long as the result of "intolerable insolencies" on the part of the English. Yet peace came to the country and commerce began to thrive. Ordered government was an undoubted good in spite of the blasted hopes of an independent Wales. A famous rising occurred one hundred years later under a powerful nobleman of North Wales, Owen of Glendower. In 1400 he took advantage of the unsettlement following the change of dynasty in England to raise the flag of revolt. For several years Owen was able to carry with some show of reality his self-assumed title, Prince of Wales. Even Harlech Castle was captured and a Welsh Parliament convened. But the rising gradually weakened as a result of the military activities of the English Prince of Wales, who later became Henry V.

Continuance
of Welsh
customs

Limitations
of mediæval
Wales

Rising of
Owen of
Glendower

Save for this slight revolt the history of Wales from 1300 is the history of England, and can be so treated. Welshmen join with Englishmen in the French wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. With the accession of the Welshman, Henry Tudor (Henry VII), to the English throne in 1485 the amalgamation was well on its way to completion; in the reign of his son, Henry VIII, Wales was incorporated into the English parliamentary system. In establishing the Tudor (Welsh for Theodore) dynasty, Henry VII did much to reconcile his countrymen to the unwilling step forced upon them by Edward I.

Union of
Wales with
England

SCOTLAND'S GOLDEN AGE

The reign of Edward I is as important in the history of Scotland as in that of Wales, although the issue in the two countries proved to be very different.

Northern Britain was naturally separated from England by the uplands of the Border. The life of Scotland was, in consequence, more easily organized and freer from constant interference. The population was much larger than that of Wales, there was a greater proportion of usable land, and the consolidation of the kingdom had been well advanced before Edward attempted to interfere with the internal affairs of Scotland.

Scotland

At the time of the Norman conquest of England, one of the most important reigns in Scottish history had just begun. Malcolm III, known as Canmore (Bighead), had long been a resident at the court of Edward the Confessor. He was notable as a ruler of sufficient power to make the life of the country something more than the obscure struggles of rival chieftains. His queen, Margaret, of the house of Wessex,¹ was of strong character. She powerfully impressed Saxon civilization on the country, especially through the church. Her work was important, for the old Celtic Scotland had now added to it a strong Saxon or English element. Malcolm

Emergence
of Scotland
under Mal-
colm III
(d. 1093)

¹ She was the granddaughter of Edmund Ironside.

as ruler endeavored to extend his power to the Tweed, for he found the most important part of Scotland to be the northern portion of the old Northumbria — below the Firth of Forth.

During the twelfth century, when England was developing under Norman-Angevin kings, Scotland gradually received Norman influences through the relations of the royal family and the nobility with the more advanced southern land. Three sons of Margaret and Malcolm reigned in succession, and one of their daughters became the wife of Henry I of England.¹

The growth of Norman influence and the power of the Scottish monarchy was particularly marked during the reign of David I (1124-53). The country was untroubled by English interference during the weak reign of Stephen. During the twelfth century Norman subjects were greatly increasing in numbers in southern Scotland. The nobles, usually possessing lands on both sides of the boundary, erected their castles to protect widely scattered estates. It was at this time that an important member of the new Norman nobility, Robert de Brus, acquired extensive territories in Annandale. But this ancestor of the most famous of all Scottish kings was a border baron upon whom dependence could not be put. The result of the dual citizenship, so to speak, of such landholders was to create difficulties for Scotland when serious trouble with England arose in the next century.

The Norman system of land tenure and Norman ideas penetrated but slowly into the country beyond the Forth.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries northern Scotland was distinctly Celtic with customs strikingly similar to those already found to exist in mediæval Wales and Ireland. Tribal leaders (*mormærs*) were not in Celtic eyes landowners, but tribal judges and leaders. With the coming of the idea of baronage the title of *mormær* was gradually displaced, though Celtic conceptions were tenaciously held in the Highlands for centuries.

¹ See genealogical note, p. 100.

The population was made up of elements not yet fused into a single nationality. David even addressed his charters "to all our subjects, French, English, Scots, and Galwegians" (of Galway). It was not until the reign of David that the still existent Celtic Church was banished from most of the land to be replaced by a well-organized Roman Catholic Church. This King was munificent, so much so, that he was called a "sore saint to the crown," because of the heavy demands imposed upon his people for a distant pope. The country was definitely divided into bishoprics, and many abbeys were founded in his day, the most famous being Melrose and Holyrood.

At that time Scotland was not so large as it is to-day. The border line on the English side was in constant flux. In the north and northwest the Celtic clans were only imperfectly absorbed into the feudalized kingdom of David, centered south of the Forth.

Extent of
mediaeval
Scotland

Yet they and the wild Galwegians of the southwest made effective elements in the invading bands that brought terror to the firesides of northern England. The Norwegian king still held the numerous western islands, including the Isle of Man. Nor were the adjacent mainland districts, such as Argyle, a real part of the unified Scotland. The more distant Hebrides and the Orkneys to the north were yet held by the Norwegian rulers.

The seventy-five years preceding the interference of Edward I in Scottish affairs have often been referred to as Scotland's Golden Age. Two long reigns span this stretch of time. From 1214 to 1249 Alexander II ruled, to be succeeded by his son, Alexander III, whose death occurred in 1286. During the rule of the two Alexanders almost unbroken peace and prosperity gave Scotland an opportunity for advance and consolidation such as had never before been known. The English were more than busy over their own affairs during much of the time. John's troubles, Henry III's minority, the Barons' War, and Edward's Welsh concerns are adequate explanations of the freedom from interference accorded the north-

Scotland's
Golden Age

ern kingdom. In addition, efforts were made to keep the two kingdoms friendly. Alexander II married a sister, and his son a daughter, of Henry III.¹ Edward and Alexander III, brothers-in-law as they were, had apparently a real friendship for each other. It was not until after the Scottish King's death in 1286 that the English ruler found Scotland a paramount attraction.

The work of David was carried forward with astonishing success by the rulers of the Golden Age. The country was enlarged during that time to its present limits. Alexander II brought Argyle under his strong hand and quelled disturbances in Galloway and Moray that welded those regions more closely to the central government. He also added the Western Isles to Scotland. As early as 1242 two bishops were sent to Haco, King of Norway, in an attempt to purchase the Hebrides. But the Norwegian King replied that he did not need silver so badly that he was compelled to sell lands for it.

Alexander III was more fortunate. King Haco, realizing his waning power in the Hebrides, determined to attack Scotland that his insular dominions might be retained. The futile invasion was soon followed by the death of Haco and the renewal of successful negotiations with his successor. In 1266 the islands were definitely ceded to Scotland for a money consideration and a small annual payment. Soon after the King of Man submitted to Alexander III. Relations with Norway gradually became as friendly as relations with England, so much so that toward the close of Alexander's reign his daughter married the Norwegian king; it was their daughter, the "Maid of Norway," who became the heir of Alexander III in 1286.

Scotland was peculiarly unfortunate to have a perplexing succession question as the Golden Age came to a close, for the long and peaceful development had brought the country

¹ The marriage of Alexander III — it took place at York — was on a truly regal scale. During the lengthy festivities, over one hundred barrels of King Henry's wine were consumed. At one feast, which the Archbishop of York gave for the royal sojourners, sixty cows served as the basis for the banquet.

to a position relatively superior to that of either England or France at that time. The people were more nearly a unit than ever before. If the process of fusion was not so far advanced as in England, the approaching War of Independence certainly completed the creation of a conscious, united nation. End of the Golden Age

Alexander's sudden death left the country to the rule of an infant girl in a foreign land. The two sons had predeceased their father. His daughter, who had married the King of Norway, as we have just found, had also died three years before, leaving as her only child, Margaret, the "Maid of Norway." At this juncture the Scots decided to put matters in the hands of a committee of six regents. But the numerous claimants for the throne and the strong English King's hankering for more territorial power boded ill. The succession problem

EDWARD I AND SCOTLAND

From the first Edward was determined on the union of the two countries, although he concealed for a time the method he intended to adopt. His plan was to unite the "Maid of Norway" to his son, Edward of Carnarvon. In 1289 the King had already obtained from the Pope a special dispensation allowing this marriage, which was otherwise illegal on account of the close relationship of the two persons. To the Scots this solution seemed acceptable, for they met Edward's commission at Brigham near the Tweed to arrange an agreement. There in the summer of 1290 the wily Scots agreed to a marriage treaty that seemed to safeguard their rights. Scottish laws and customs were to remain unaltered, Scottish officials were not to be called across the Border, the English were not to build castles nor to remove the national relics, as they had done in Wales. But with every effort to preserve the independence of Scotland the future seemed dark with the young Queen in the control of the English King. The proposed marriage alliance

In September, Margaret at length left Norway in a



sumptuously provisioned ship which Edward had dispatched to bring her to her boy husband. But the Death of the Maid of Norway such was not to be. She died at the Orkneys where the vessel had stopped to break the voyage. The succession matter became more perplexing than ever.

Now that the direct line was extinct numerous claimants

wished the crown. No less than twelve persons sought the throne, and Eric of Norway, father of the "Maid" added his claim to the already untoward number. Unless something were done anarchy was certain. The opportunity was too good a one for Edward to lose. He started north immediately, only to be delayed by the sudden death of Queen Eleanor.¹ But in 1291 he was able to meet the Scottish barons and clergy at Norham on the Tweed. The self-appointed arbiter was in reality endeavoring to arrange affairs as though he were the "Superior and Lord Paramount" of Scotland. The English King had ransacked monastic chronicles to find evidence that he should hold such a position. The homage which he haughtily demanded was given grudgingly at the same time that he was granted the temporary grant of all the Scottish castles. They were to be held by him until two months after the award.

The dispute as to the rightful claimant was referred to a body of commissioners whose report was to be rendered in the following year. Of the thirteen aspirants for the Scottish throne but two were seriously considered, Robert Bruce and John Balliol.

Edward's
interference
in Scotland,
1291

John Balliol,
the successful
claimant

Both these Anglo-Scottish nobles were descended maternally from David, Earl of Huntingdon and uncle of Alexander II. Although Balliol was descended from the eldest daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon, he was one step farther removed than Bruce; the latter was a grandson, Balliol a great-grandson of the Earl. Bruce was an old man of eighty, whose claim was made the stronger by an agreement that had been made over fifty years before when Alexander II, fearing he would have no direct heir, had actually recognized him as the lawful successor. But the dispute was finally settled in favor of Balliol, who swore fealty to Edward. The great seal of Scotland was broken in pieces and deposited in the English treasury as further evidence of the change.

¹ Queen Eleanor died near Lincoln, whence her body was borne to Westminster Abbey over a course marked by twelve great crosses. The last was placed at Charing Cross, now in the heart of London.

There was much conflict of opinion as to the meaning of the momentous step taken in 1292. Edward's legalistic mind would not be satisfied until the northern kingdom was in feudal subordination to him. The overbearing confidence of the King and his incurable desire to meddle with the local matters of Scotland seemed to point to a misunderstanding of the situation. It was the veriest folly to force on a proud people the letter of feudal law, and then to follow it with galling evidences that Scotland was in his eyes but another Wales.

The deepest provocation came when Edward demanded supplies for the approaching French war, to which reference has been made in another connection.¹ King John of Scotland was ordered to prepare men and resources for the war. But the Scots were as unwilling to accede to Edward's wishes as were his own barons at about the same time. The Scottish refusal¹ was joined with preparations in that country to assume control of their own affairs. Thereupon Edward dealt as harshly with the Scots as formerly with the Welsh. Berwick was captured and its inhabitants butchered. After winning a battle near Durham, Edward obtained Edinburgh and Stirling. With the collapse of the Scottish revolt, John Balliol, in an affecting scene, abdicated the throne, and retired to the south to lead henceforth an inconspicuous life. The country was treated to every humiliation. The King made a triumphal progress to the north and even into the Highlands. A Parliament was held at Berwick where the clergy and nobility gave in their allegiance, and plans were put in action by which the kingdom was henceforth to be ruled without even the fiction of a sub-king. Most galling of all, Edward carried off the Scottish national relics as he had those of Wales; the Holy Rood and the Stone of Destiny were conveyed back to England.² The King returned to England,

Attempt to
subordinate
Scotland to
England

Annexation
of Scotland

The Stone
of Scone

¹ See pp. 170-71.

² The Stone of Destiny had been kept at Scone, where for centuries the kings of Scotland were crowned as they sat on the stone. According to tradition it

thinking at last his task was done. But the heaping of insult upon injury had only aroused a deeper patriotic feeling. It soon found fierce expression.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

The War of Independence began at a time when Edward had abundant troubles elsewhere. The expedition to Gascony had failed, the Pope in 1296 had issued his famous pronouncement against the inroads of the State upon the Church, and the barons followed this with the demand for the confirmation of the charters. At this juncture the banner of rebellion was raised in Scotland by an obscure knight of Lanarkshire. In 1297 an English official was slain by William Wallace in the county town. Soon the whole border country was ablaze with enthusiasm for the cause of Scottish freedom. Even nobles such as Robert Bruce stole away from Edward's court to share in the revolt. The English were terrorized throughout Scotland as the guerrilla activities of Wallace assumed a more elaborate form with the systematic siege of the strongholds in English hands.

The first conspicuous success came to Wallace as he was attacking Dundee. On learning that an English force was approaching to relieve the garrison, he so posted his followers at Stirling Bridge that the unwitting English were disastrously defeated. All this had occurred in Edward's absence in France. In 1298, however, the French matters were arranged, and the King returned to win back his northern realm. He met Wallace, now "Guardian of Scotland," at Falkirk, not far south of Stirling, where Edward's forces won a signal victory in spite of the desperate bravery of the Scottish footmen.

Once more the country lay at Edward's mercy, and he had been used by Jacob as a pillow on the night of his dream of the angel ladder. Be that as it may, this piece of Scottish sandstone was taken to Westminster and placed under the seat of a chair especially constructed at the royal order. Since this time it has formed a part of the coronation chair of the kings of England.

Rise of
William
Wallace

Battle of
Falkirk,
1298

dealt with it mercilessly. The land was wasted by the
 Barbarous execution of Wallace, 1305 conqueror, and more Scottish estates were given to Englishmen. Year after year the country resisted the rule of the English only to have the annual recurrence of devastating invasions that tended to make the border a wilderness. Wallace held out for a time, but he was finally captured by the English in 1305. He was tried for treason, even though he had never submitted to Edward. In that same year he was barbarously executed; his head adorned London Bridge, and portions of his quartered body were placed at the gates of Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling, and Aberdeen, to serve as a warning to "rebels."

Well might the English King deem his task at last done. A thorough reorganization of the country followed, but in the very next year a new champion appeared in the person of Robert Bruce. The contrast between him and Wallace could hardly be greater. Bruce was of an important family, connected, as we have found, with the old royal line. His grandfather had laid claim to the throne fifteen years earlier. On the death of Bruce's father (1304) the estates, both English and Scottish, as well as the claims of the family to the crown of Scotland, descended to the son who was to establish the independence of his country. His record had not been prepossessing. In the varying fortunes of the land Bruce had shifted his position and allegiance rather easily and often.

The intention of Bruce to make a try at the throne was clarified by his murder of the Red Comyn in February of 1306. Comyn, a prominent noble, related to Balliol and a supporter of the English King at the time, was killed by Bruce in the Franciscan church of Dumfries as a result of an altercation. It left Bruce no alternative. Excommunicated by the Church, in danger from Comyn's numerous and powerful kinsmen, the murderer had to flee from the wrath of an English King who wanted order in Scotland. Bruce was hurriedly crowned at Scone a few weeks after the murder,

Robert
 Bruce
 crowned
 King of
 Scotland,
 1306

but was soon a fugitive. Misfortune assailed him on every hand. He even had to spend the first winter out of the country.

But trouble had made a man of him. The murderer of Comyn became a wily, self-controlled, dour leader. He proved an unselfish, generous, resourceful chief. His gradual reconquest of the country On his return to Scotland in the spring of 1307 the cause began to brighten. The intrepid "King" won several victories that gave him confidence and gained the support of able lieutenants. His brother, Edward Bruce, was an absolutely fearless, dashing leader "so outrageous hardy and of so high undertaking that he never had none abasing for multitude of men." Sir James Douglas was even more able as a commander in the peculiar kind of warfare so necessary at the time. A third lieutenant was Thomas Randolph. These men found their task much lightened by the death of the great Edward in 1307 just as he was about to enter Scotland to hammer it once again.¹ Edward II, of Carnarvon, was totally unfit to continue his father's work. Bruce and his followers took every advantage of their opportunity. The reconquest, gradual though it needs must be, went on steadily after 1307. The Scots refused to wage a war of battles, but won back district after district by guerrilla tactics. It was especially important to capture the castles which were so largely garrisoned by English troops. The annals of the time are full of the wily stratagems and the studied devices by which the strongholds of the land were surprised and won. It was a work especially congenial to Edward Bruce, Douglas, and Randolph. By 1314 even Edinburgh was in the hands of the Scottish King. In that year the only important places left in English hands were Stirling, Bothwell, Dunbar, and the border town of Berwick.

Stirling was of particular importance because of its location at the head of the Firth of Forth, where it was possible

¹ Edward wished his body carried with the army until Scotland was captured. But it was taken to Westminster Abbey, where on his tomb he was commemorated as "Scotorum Malleus" (the hammer of the Scots).

to cross into northeastern Scotland. Edward Bruce, unable to capture it, had come to an agreement with the English governor that the castle should be surrendered by Saint John's Day of 1314 (June 24) if not previously relieved. The generous terms were unwise, for they made it necessary that King Robert should risk an open battle. King Edward was aroused from his lethargy by the hope of recovering Scotland as well as relieving Stirling with a decisive victory. In consequence, a larger army than ever before approached Stirling in June of 1314. On the day before the date set for the capitulation of the castle the English forces met the Scots at Bannockburn a mile south of Stirling.

The Battle of Bannockburn indeed proved decisive. Bruce had made careful preparations for the contest by choosing a position that was practically unsailable. This with the wild valor of his men resulted in an overwhelming victory for King Robert. It effectually established the independence of the country. Edward I had undoubtedly contributed to the victory by the numerous humiliations that he had visited on Scotland in his effort to conquer it. His son's ineptitude made it impossible to subdue a people nationally aroused and well led.

THE REORGANIZATION OF SCOTLAND

The remaining fifteen years of King Robert's reign were taken up with almost continuous war with England and with the reorganization of Scotland. King Edward would not recognize Robert as King. The Scottish reply was to harry northern England in the hope of forcing the recognition of Scottish independence. It was now the turn of the Scots. They carried terror to the northern counties by burning and pillaging. The sufferings the Scots had endured since 1290 were repaid with interest by hardy and mobile invaders, each of whom carried on his shoulder a small bag of oatmeal as a resource when he was unable to live off the country. Sometimes the raiders were

bought off by blackmail. But whether by pillage or tribute the Scottish forays succeeded at last in their purpose.

Edward II, who stubbornly refused to recognize King Robert, was deposed and replaced with his young son, Edward III, in 1327. A more than usually successful Scottish foray of that year bought a treaty that crowned the lifelong efforts of Robert. At Northampton in 1328 a perpetual peace was established. Robert Bruce was recognized as King of an independent Scotland, and a marriage was arranged between the two royal families as a seal to the compact. To the English it seemed a "shameful peace." To the Scots it ended the War of Independence.

English
recognition
of Scottish
independence,
1328

King Robert holds the first place among Scottish kings. His military prowess and dogged perseverance are the chief qualities that gave him this position. But his claims to such recognition rest on other grounds as well. Much useful legislation was enacted during the long reign. The Great Council, which met frequently, was supplemented in the meeting of 1326 by the attendance of representatives from the burghs. It was a procedure similar to that taken by Edward I in 1295. The evolution of Parliament had begun in Scotland also. Only begun, however, for these representatives were called merely to accept the heavier taxes demanded by the condition of the kingdom. During the later years of the century Parliament encroached on the royal prerogatives in Scotland as in England. But in the northern kingdom the growth of committees prevented as effective an evolution of parliamentary power as took place in England during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages.

Domestic
accomplish-
ments of
King Robert

King Robert died of leprosy in 1329. He was succeeded by his son, David II, during whose long reign the life of the country followed an independent line of development in spite of the comparative weakness of Robert Bruce's son. He found Edward III too

Weakness of
David II
(d. 1371)

doughty an opponent; for a time King David was a prisoner in England and he was released only on promise of a heavy

ransom that crippled his country. Yet northern Britain never again descended to the degradation it had suffered under the first Edward. In 1371 David died without direct male heirs. He was succeeded by his nephew Robert, the High Steward of Scotland. With this change a natural division in Scottish development is reached. The fortunes of the House of Stewart, established by Robert II, will frequently call for our attention as the further history of the two independent countries is studied.

The fortunes of the weaker parts of Great Britain have been examined as the aggressive Edward I attempted to unify the whole island under the English Crown. Growth of national feeling
Wales, as we have found, was conquered. But the harsh treatment it received prevented any effective Anglicizing of the stubborn mountaineers. National feeling expressed itself again in the rising of Glendower in the early fifteenth century. Wales was in no real sense joined with England until a Welshman, Henry Tudor, became King of England as the Middle Ages were drawing to a close.

In Scotland, the work of Edward was even less effective. A national feeling was aroused by the need of patriotic resistance. It was formed into a real and resistless force by Bannockburn and King Robert. Scotland in the later Middle Ages
The animosity of the Scots for the Southrons had seldom slumbered; it now became the strongest of antipathies. Added to it was the formation of a connection with France which was to hamper the growth of Anglo-Scottish harmony for centuries. The ill feeling which Edward's greediness enhanced gave to Scottish life a more distinctive development. Not for three hundred years was it possible for the two countries to enjoy the same ruler, not until a Scottish king, with a strain of Welsh Tudor blood in his veins, became the King of England.

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CHAPTER XII

THE FIRST FRENCH WAR

THE fourteenth century, which we now approach, is very different from the preceding epoch in spite of the unfinished

Character of tasks handed on by the years that had gone.
the four- Very little that was new can be discerned.
teenth century

The struggle between King and Parliament continued, with substantial gains by the Commons. Edward I, who died in the act of endeavoring to settle the perennial Scottish matters, passed on a fruitful cause of confusion in this unfinished task on the northern border. The troubles with France that took so much attention in the fourteenth century grew out of claims and counter claims that were by no means dormant in the days of Henry III and Edward, his son. The growing strain in the relations of the State and the Church had found abundant illustration in the earlier years.

In spite, however, of this apparent continuity, the period we are about to study was very different from the preceding epoch in its general character. It is full

A century of bootless war of striking incidents, but they are less easily interpreted as marking an end toward which the

action of the century "moves." Petty objectives and personal motives prove prominent. The baronage, for example, were not consistently united to win privilege for themselves and the nation. Family factions took the place of the baronial opposition led by an Earl Simon. The nobility, too, succumbed to a spirit of decadent chivalry that made the long war with France much less noble and glorious than its interpretations have sometimes warranted. In spite of this dissipation of interests, there were some important constitutional advances as the result of baronial combination or of popular uprising. It is an epoch of strife marked by cruelty and selfishness — of wars with Scotland and France, of factional trouble amongst the nobility, of suffering and revolt of the lower classes, and of religious

division. In spite of this tangle of action certain achievements can be traced. The rise of the Commons, the enlarging place of the laborers and serfs, the creation of an English literature, and the increase of a national spirit emerge from the varied agencies that served unconsciously to register the movement out of the older Norman-Angevin world into the Tudor age to come.

THE TRAGEDY OF EDWARD II

Three reigns span the century. Edward I was succeeded by his son, Edward of Carnarvon, in 1307. After twenty years of misgovernment Edward II was forced ^{Edward II,} to resign. He was followed by his son, Edward ¹³⁰⁷⁻²⁷ III, who ruled England for fifty years — the middle years of the century — in the interests of the French and Scottish wars and of a spurious chivalry. In 1377 a grandson of Edward, Richard II, became King, only to “reap the whirlwind” of revolt — social, religious, and parliamentary — sown in the previous reign. His misrule and his attempts to restore despotism were rewarded by a revolution in 1399 that compelled his resignation. The Plantagenet line of kings thereupon gave place to the Lancastrian.¹

It was but natural that the great Edward should have carefully trained the Prince of Wales as his successor. As a boy of thirteen, the future Edward II had been ^{Weakness of} a nominal regent. But no better illustration ^{Edward II} than the succession in 1307 can be found of the vice of hereditary kingship in the days when kings were potent for good or ill. Edward II had no ability, no interest in the exacting duties to which Edward I gave himself with enthusiasm and with a large measure of success. He did not even respond to the careful military training which was a part of his education. Instead, the second Edward loved hunting, the breeding of dogs and horses, music, play-acting, fine clothes, and ceremonies. His delight in the gaming table, in heavy drinking, in frivolous favorites, had already become apparent before Edward I's death. In the very year of Ed-

¹ See below, Chapter XIV.

ward II's accession his father had exiled Gaveston, a Gascon knight, who was the favorite among the Prince's light-hearted friends. Edward II "is the first king since the Conquest who was not a man of business, well acquainted with the routine of government."¹

We have already noted the outcome of the unfinished Scottish war. King Robert the Bruce with a patriotically aroused nation behind him proved more than a match for the new King. The whole reign was marked by the growing power of Scotland. The victory of Bannockburn in 1314 gave clear evidence of the tendency which continued until the end of Edward II's life. Early in the next reign the two countries came to an agreement. To Englishmen it was a "shameful peace," for the Treaty of Northampton recognized the success of Scotland after more than thirty years of successful strife with the lordly English.

The internal affairs of the country were no better handled; they brought Edward II no end of trouble. His Gascon favorite, Gaveston, was promptly recalled to become the King's chief adviser at the opening of the reign. When Edward went to France in 1308 to marry the French king's daughter, Gaveston was made regent. The English nobility were much disgusted at the success of this upstart foreigner whose sharp tongue only added to the dissatisfaction at his rapid rise. Twice he was exiled by the power of the nobles, who united in a movement that, on the surface, appears not unlike the baronial revolt against Henry III's love of foreigners. But in this reign there was no Earl Simon to ennoble the opposition with high purpose. The murder of Gaveston in 1312 on the return from his second exile, did not greatly improve the situation.

Even before Gaveston's death the nobility had wrested concessions from the ruler. A council of the magnates wrung from the King his consent to put the government in commission. Accordingly a group of twenty-one nobles, the Lords Ordainers, were elected

¹ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, II, 313.

by their own class to work to the advantage of the King "and that of his people." Numerous ordinances respecting various grievances were drawn up and accepted by Edward. Among other things he agreed not to make war, issue coinage, or leave the country without parliamentary consent. There was an attempt to check the extravagant demands of a King given to luxurious living and an effort to limit the work of evil counselors in the governing of the country. The Ordainers, however, are not to be regarded as on the same plane as the revolting baronage of Henry III. Their work was not for the nation as a whole but in the interests of a small, oligarchical group.

After a brief time of peace in the middle years of the reign trouble between Edward and his baronage broke out again. New favorites—the Despensers, father and son—had succeeded Gaveston. Though of the native nobility, they incurred so much enmity that the latter half of the reign was a turbulent time. The Ordinances were renewed, but were soon revoked in a civil war and by a Parliament held at York in 1322.¹ But the hatred of Edward was so general, his ability to rule so hopeless, that peace did not come.

This worthless King fell at last through a combination of circumstances, the Scottish policy, his favoritism, and the cupidity of his friends. The particular trouble that brought his end grew out of the relations with France. On the opening of a new reign in France in 1322, Edward II had been summoned to do homage for his French estates. The duty was unpleasant and the homage was delayed. Whereupon the French attacked Gascony with considerable success. Finally, Queen Isabella was sent to France, apparently at her own request, to negotiate

Parliament
of York,
1322

Edward II
and France

¹ This Parliament is of more than ordinary importance, for it included not only the three estates but also representatives of the commoners of Wales. The Despensers, in their eagerness to make its action against the Ordainers valid, took every precaution to render its work "constitutional." The most significant step in the growth of Parliament during the reign occurred at this time with the declaration that "forever after all manner of ordinances . . . shall be treated, accorded, and established in parliament by our lord the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and the commonalty of the realm."

an arrangement with her royal brother by which the English lands would be restored. But the French would have nothing but homage. Edward, to save his dignity, decided to send the Prince of Wales to perform the ceremony, and the boy of thirteen, accordingly, joined his mother.

Isabella, in truth, was not a sincere negotiator. She had been ill used by Edward II. Yet not much can be said for her either; her passions were unbridled and her affections not limited to the King. She soon became a member of a group of exiles who had been compelled to flee the country on account of the royal displeasure. Among them was Roger Mortimer, who had rebelled against the Despenser régime to little purpose a few years before. He had been captured and confined in the Tower of London, whence he escaped to join the malcontents in France. Rapidly he became the favored lover of Isabella. They presently organized an army in Flanders for an attack on Edward's government. When the comparatively little group landed in England they were joined by so many who hated the Despenser rule that the power of Edward II collapsed.

The invasion meant more than a change of ministers, for the adulterous queen would have nothing but the downfall of Edward. A Parliament, modeled on the famous one of 1322, met at Westminster and accepted the forced resignation of Edward II. Before the end of the year 1327 the deposed monarch was brutally murdered in his prison.

EDWARD III AND SCOTLAND

Edward's fourteen-year-old son reigned in his stead. Yet the early years of Edward III's kingship were years of regency with the Queen and her paramour, Mortimer, as the real rulers. They proved as rapacious as any of their predecessors. This, added to the peace they made with Robert Bruce, soon drove the Queen into retirement and Mortimer to the gal-

The tragic
end of
Edward II

Edward III,
born 1312,
reigned
1327-77

lows in 1330. Henceforth, Edward III not only reigned but governed.¹

Edward III was a very different personage from his unfortunate father. Although he lacked the statesmanlike qualities of his grandfather, the young King was a person of great energy, kindly disposition, broad interests, and genuine regard for his country. His unbounded love for chivalric exercises and the pomp and glory of war led him, however, in paths that brought him to fame and success only for a time. They led ultimately "but to the grave" and impoverished terribly the country that was used to satisfy the restless energy of this lover of romance.

His warlikeness, at least, gives a centralized interest to a long reign, for shortly after he became the real ruler, the seemingly endless struggles with Scotland and France were renewed. At times a vigor was displayed that would have done honor to Edward I. If little territorial gain came from the long war that grew out of the aims of Edward III, certain indirect and unconscious consequences of the military work of Edward proved to be of great importance in the history of England. They warrant a survey of this bellicose King's engrossing labors.

Scotland and France, as we have found, were somewhat drawn together by their common anti-English feeling. To the young, chivalric King, yearning to emulate his grandfather, the double danger seemed particularly real and welcome. Yet if Edward I had found his major interests on the island, Edward III was largely engrossed in wars on the Continent. The double opportunity for strife was met lightly by the young King; it was to prove the beginning of a long war that was to take much of England's time and treasure for a century.

The Scottish war began first. It is true that the Treaty

¹ The *Tragedy of Edward II*, by Marlowe, is an excellent depiction of the period from the recall of Gaveston "to share the kingdom" to the death of Mortimer, whose fall is interpreted as a "tumble headlong down" from a place too high for his aspirations. It is generally considered that Marlowe reached the summit of his art in this drama. See below, pp. 398-99.

of Northampton with King Robert the Bruce had recognized the independence of Scotland. But the treaty made by Isabella and Mortimer was felt to be a disgrace. This was especially real to the English or pro-English nobility who had lost Scottish estates in the settlement. The "Disinherited," as they were called, urged further action. The puppet of Edward I, John Balliol, had died not long before, and passed on to his son, Edward Balliol, his claims to the Scottish crown. As a result of the weakness of King David of Scotland, and of the desires of Balliol and the other "Disinherited" nobility, Scotland was attacked in 1332. The victory of Dupplin Moor gave Balliol the kingdom — so it seemed.¹ Edward, true to form, accepted Balliol's homage, and the seemingly endless border wars were on again. In the next year another English victory was won at Halidon Hill by Edward himself, who proceeded to treat Scotland in the customary high-handed way. The pride of England was revived, Edward won the affection of his people, and his appetite for war was whetted.

The Scottish aspect of Edward's foreign policy does not need much attention. Henceforth, with regularity, the northern kingdom was harried, or, on the contrary, Scotland levied blackmail on the English border counties. The significance of the renewal of the Scottish claims of the English King lies in the part it played in the more momentous relations with France. The Scots were driven into alliance with France in this time of national danger. Even young King David was sent there for safety. The outcome of the alliance was momentous. Edward realized the futility of his Scottish invasions so long as France bolstered up the resistance of the North Britons. The obvious course seemed to be to attack the more dangerous continental enemy in order to weaken the alliance. And it was a pleasanter task as well, since France was a fairer field for knightly activity. Gradually, in consequence, the Scottish war faded into comparative unimportance before the alluring scheme for a conquest of

A Franco-
Scottish
alliance

¹ See Map XII for sites of Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill.

France. Yet Edward was always hampered by insular attacks when he was concentrating every effort to subject the French monarchy. Time and again his forces and resources had to be divided.

THE OPENING OF THE FRENCH WAR

King John, it will be recalled, had lost most of the continental possessions held by his Norman-Angevin predecessors; but a portion of Aquitaine, or Gascony, remained in English hands when Edward III became King. In addition, a small district known as Ponthieu — on the northwest coast of France — had been acquired by marriage in the latter part of the previous century. For these possessions the English king was supposed, as we have found, to give homage to the ruler of France. This had been done by Edward III as a child. But in 1328 it was again demanded by Philip VI, who came to the throne of France in that year. In 1328, Charles IV, brother of Edward's mother, Isabella, had died without an heir. The direct line of the Capetian house was at end. Since it was believed that a woman could not succeed to the throne, the late King's cousin, Philip (VI) of Valois, was chosen as the ruler. Edward, on the other hand, was a more direct descendant of the French elder line, and might well be thought of as a possible candidate, even though it was not believed that his mother could rule in person. At first, Edward III did not hesitate to acknowledge Philip VI. By 1337, however, Edward was already referring to Philip as the one "who calls himself King of France." It was not long before Edward claimed the throne, and rendered inevitable a conflict that was really based on more important causes.

Commercial conditions played a considerable part in the growing tension with France. The English woolen trade with Flanders was very important both to England and to the continental manufacturing center where English raw wool was almost exclusively used. This was illustrated by an English quarrel

Edward's
claim to the
French
crown

Commercial
causes for
war

with Flanders in 1336 which had interrupted the trade to the serious handicap of the Flemish merchants. Their interest in a closer relation to the source of the wool supply suited Edward, who was eager to weaken the power of their suzerain lord, the French king, in every way he could.

War soon became inevitable. Constant difficulties occurred in the English lands in France where jurisdiction was by no means clear. French vessels were hampering English trade and fisheries. And added to all these causes for ill feeling was the growing national rivalry of the two nations. Edward's claim to the French throne came, finally, as the irreconcilable feature of the trouble. In spite of efforts on the part of the Pope to stave off hostilities — he even suggested a crusade in which the two rulers should fraternally participate as leaders — the war opened in 1339 with Edward's attack on France. It was the beginning of a struggle that is usually known as the Hundred Years' War.

Military activity, of course, was not continuous even during the reign of Edward, although it may be said truly to have been the English King's consuming interest. The finances of England or of France could not have stood a steady drain. As it was, the stretches of open war, interrupted by partial or official truces, affected the life of the two countries to a lamentable degree, paralyzing many a fruitful form of national activity in order to allow free play to barbarous and unstatesman-like warfare. As time went on the appetite for war grew and demoralized larger and larger numbers of society. The cessation of open war came to mean, in consequence, the continuance of warlike practices against the enemy, contrary to agreement.

The course of the conflict need not be traced in detail. The earliest campaign of Edward began with a successful sea fight at the mouth of the Scheldt near Sluys. The Normans had been causing much trouble to the Channel ports and the English shipping. The decisive naval victory of 1340 assured for a time secure communica-

Opening of
the war,
1339

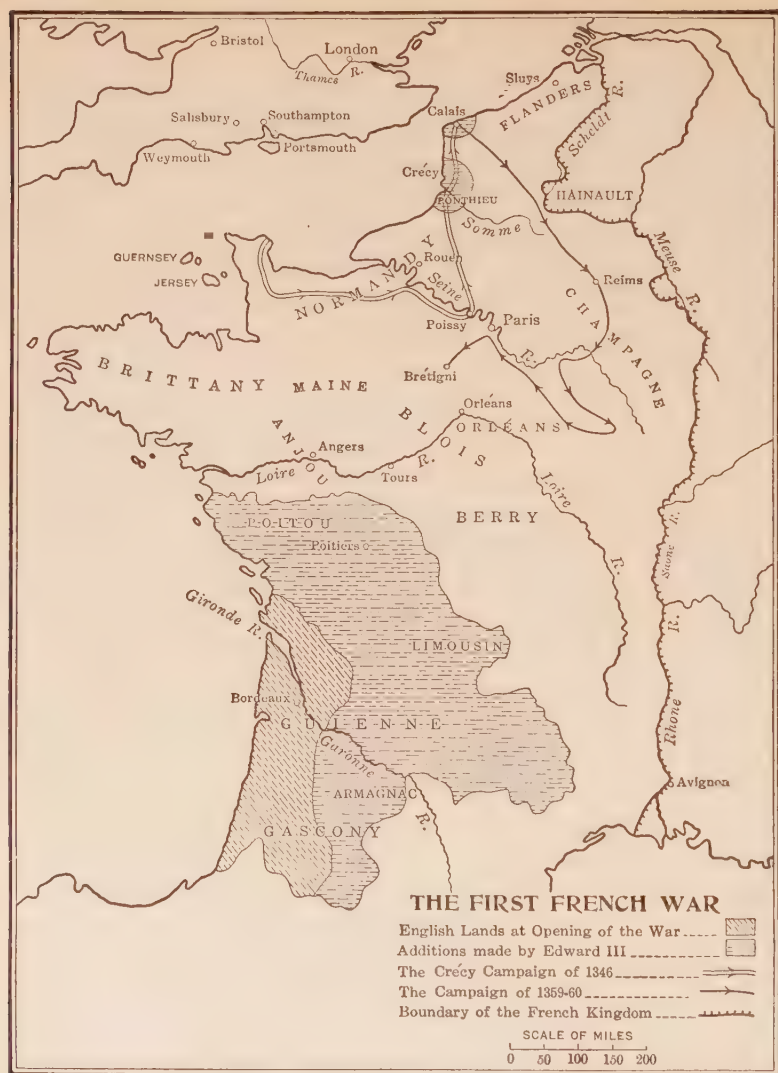
Nature of
the war

Struggle for
the Channel

tions for the English with the country they were to harry so terribly in the years to come.

Devastating raids were made into French territory from Gascony in the middle forties; and even Poitiers was temporarily held. But the greatest of all the early exploits of the war was the expedition led by Edward himself through Normandy and the valley of the Seine in 1346. After landing the army in western Normandy, the fleet burned and looted along the coast while the army proceeded leisurely eastward, scourging in its course one of the richest parts of France. When the English army reached lower Normandy and the south bank of the Seine, Edward led his forces up the river until the English were within fifteen miles of Paris. The country was wasted to the very walls of the French capital. But Philip did not feel strong enough to attack this marauding expedition. Crossing the Seine at Poissy, Edward moved north until he was in his own inheritance of Ponthieu, in the valley of the Somme. There Philip felt confident enough to attack the English King, who was intent now on reaching the Flemish frontier with all speed. The result was one of the most famous battles of the war, that of Crécy — the name of a village near which the exhausted English army was stationed. The victory won at Crécy by the English against a knightly force that greatly outnumbered the invaders was due, partly to the folly of the French attack, partly to the effective use made by the English of dismounted cavalry and of bowmen in a strongly defended position.

It was a great year for Edward. King David of Scotland attempted to attack northern England as a diversion during the Crécy campaign, only to be badly defeated and captured at Neville's Cross near Durham. In Gascony Poitiers was again captured. In the meantime the army of Edward moved northward after the battle of Crécy, to lay siege to the important coastal town of Calais. This port was so strategically located just across the Channel from Dover that extraordinary efforts were made to bring it to submission. The burghers held out stubbornly



for nearly a year in the hope of relief. But Edward's forces by sea and land were so successful in bottling up the town that the exhausted garrison surrendered in August of 1347. Most of the French inhabitants were compelled to leave that room might be made for English colonists. Calais was of great value to the English, not only as a starting-point for

raids, but as a guardian of the Channel. In times of peace it was to prove an important trade outlet for England, especially for the export woolen trade, during the two centuries that the English retained the town.

THE BLACK DEATH

Edward was at the height of his fame in 1347. Fortune seemed to shine on the king and country that had won such distinction. The celebrations in England after Edward's return were even more extravagant ^{A pause in war} than usual.¹ But a stay was soon put to the war and the prosperity which it was hoped would accrue from the foreign conquest. A devastation worse than that visited on France by the English expeditions afflicted all of western Europe. Just about a year after the capture of Calais the dreaded Black Death made its appearance.

This scourge spread with fearful effect over the west from the Levant, where it seems to have entered Europe from the Far East along the routes of trade. Early in ^{The Black Death} 1348 it was raging in Italy and spreading to France. At Avignon in southern France, where the Pope then had his residence, it was particularly severe. In France, especially in the regions wasted by the English war, the pestilence was desolation. Edward III's daughter, Joan, perished of the Plague at Bordeaux as she was about to leave for Spain to become a royal spouse. The infection crossed to England in August of 1348. From Weymouth in Dorset it moved north and west to Bristol. By late autumn it was in London, where it raged throughout the winter. Its work was so effective there that eight years afterward a third of the city was still uninhabited. In 1349 the scourge spread to other parts of England, to Wales, and to Ireland; in 1350 the Scots, who had boasted they were immune from the divine judgment on England, became victims of the disease.

¹ This King was as fond as his father of "dramatics." Especially at Christmas time elaborate masks were enjoyed at the court, accompanied with much feasting.

The people of Europe were terrified by the loathsomeness of the pestilence and the rapidity of its spread. The Italian author, Boccaccio, wrote in the introduction to his famous *Decameron* a vivid account of the disease from which the lords and ladies of his story-telling circle retired to a country estate near Florence. "There appeared," he wrote, "certain tumors, . . . some as big as an apple, others as big as an egg; and afterward purple spots in most parts of the body." A contemporary British chronicler declared it to be "a strange and unwonted death, such as had never been heard of by men nor is found in books." The victims generally died the third day after the appearance of the symptoms, and often without a fever. Frequently a seemingly healthy person was stricken in half a day, for the young and robust seemed especially subject to the unimaginable horrors of the disease. The country was no more immune than the town, and crude efforts at sanitary measures and the application of the medical knowledge of the day seemed helpless. The upper classes, however, did not succumb so largely as the poor, and those who worked among them. As it was, whole districts were depopulated. Churchyards were insufficient to care for the dead and plague pits were provided.¹ Various estimates of the mortality would seem to make it certain that in England probably a third to a half of the population died. On the continent the effects were about the same. This was the result of the first and worst visitation only, that in the years 1348 to 1350. Recurrences that were severe are recorded for the years 1362 and 1369.

The effects were immediate and far-reaching. For the moment war faded from view before the more awful prospect of death by the mysterious plague. Domestic life was greatly disorganized by the devastation. For a time the law courts did not function. The work of the church was almost at a standstill, owing to the very large mortality among the priests. Many

Nature of
the scourge

Effects of
the Black
Death

¹ The Charterhouse, later so famous as a monastery and for its school, was established on a plague pit in Smithfield.

monasteries and nunneries were practically emptied by the Black Death. Trade, especially with foreigners, was paralyzed. Farming was almost discontinued, crops remaining uncut and stock wandering aimlessly without caretakers. The disorganization of life particularly affected the nice balance between employer and employee, and the ordinarily stable price of commodities.

The lack of laborers brought about an excessive demand for workmen and a consequent rise in wages. The government endeavored to normalize the unaccustomed situation by issuing Statutes of Laborers in 1351 Statutes of Laborers for fixing wages "against the malice of servants which were idle and not willing to serve after the pestilence without taking excessive wages . . . to the double or treble of what they were wont to take." This attempt to keep wages where they were before the Black Death was hardly more successful than the proverbial command of King Canute to the waters of the sea. Prices in general were also affected, especially of those materials which were largely the result of labor. Fish rose to an exorbitant price. Goods of various sorts were soon sold at rates that appeared excessive. To prevent profiteering the government attempted to standardize prices by establishing the pre-pestilence value as the one to prevail after the passing of the Plague.

Socially, conditions were for a time deeply modified. The recurrences of the Black Death in the sixties tended to add to the force of the various general changes in Social effects social relations that were hastened if not created by the serious falling off in the population of the country. Toward the end of the century the lower classes were to rise in revolt. It is giving excessive importance to the Black Death, however, to account it the only or chief cause of this restlessness of the peasants in 1381. The heritage of war and misgovernment were also important factors in the movement.

KNIGHTHOOD IN FLOWER

The Black Death only slowed down the conduct of the

attacks of Edward's knights on France and Scotland. In-
 deed, in the very year that the Plague was de-
 manding its heaviest toll the King and his friends
 attempted to revive the older chivalry by founding the first
 and most famous of the knightly orders. In 1344 he in-
 stituted the Round Table at Windsor in imitation of that of
 King Arthur, so famed in story. Four years later, a chapel
 was established at Windsor, dedicated to Saint George, and
 about the same time the famous Order of the Garter was
 connected with this chapel. Edward's revival of the Round
 Table led the King of France to organize a few years later
 the Order of the Star.¹

The knightly customs of the time were punctilious to a
 high degree. Even the amusements of the upper classes
 centered about the knightly ideas, though in the
 fourteenth century feudalism had ceased largely
 to be a reality. The holding of Round Tables
 was fashionable as early as the days of Edward I; an elabo-
 rate meal was followed by music and dancing, by the grant-
 ing of gifts, and, usually, by the ceremony of knight-
 ing. Edward II had been knighted with three hundred com-
 panions at such a ceremony. Edward III's Garter feasts
 added a further elaboration to the romantic revival of the
 fourteenth century. Tourneys were held frequently for
 training, and not uncommonly they were bloody affairs.
 Foreign wars at least diverted the prevailing love of war to
 other channels. A noble's education was of the very best
 sort if he was privileged to go abroad to a tournament in
 which the etiquette observed was painstaking to the last
 degree. The false chivalry of the time had an elaborate

¹ Since the days of Edward III the "K. G." (Knight of the Garter) has been the most coveted award in the gift of the British sovereign. The Order still meets in the Garter Room of Saint George's Chapel, Windsor. The Grand Master is always the King of England, the Registrar is the Dean of Windsor, and the Usher is the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. The emblem is a blue ribbon worn below the left knee. The origin of the name and emblem is obscure. The common story has been questioned, that it arose from an incident at a dance when indelicate remarks following the loss of a garter led the King to utter the words, "*Honi soit qui mal y pense*" (Shamed be he who thinks evil of it). At any rate, this saying appears now on the garter encircling the royal coat-of-arms.

code that gave the knights of England and France the feeling that they were as honorable and gentle as the followers of Arthur and Richard of the Lion Heart were presumed to have been. Elaborate and courteous negotiations for battles often preceded a conflict. The challenge was occasionally to trial by combat, as when Edward challenged the King of France in 1340. Again it might be a joust of equal groups of selected knights, as in a tournament. Just before the battle of Crécy, Edward offered to allow Philip a free passage to the Somme and time to choose a place for battle. During the siege of Calais the French King proposed a battle on some site mutually agreeable. So eager was King Edward to enjoy knightly opportunities that he occasionally disguised himself and entered the battles during a time of supposed truce. To Edward and the people of the time the war was one grand tournament with the crown of France, instead of a lady's favor, as the reward of victory.¹

No knight, apart from the King, was more lauded than his famous son, Edward, the Prince of Wales, who is known to history as the Black Prince on account of the appearance of his favorite coat of armor. He was knighted while a mere boy in the campaign that led to Crécy, and in that battle he was in charge of one of the divisions. When the war was renewed in 1355, the Black Prince became the most noted of the leaders in the protracted struggle.

In this second stage of the war the King's exploits on the Scottish border paled before those of the Black Prince in southern France. Starting from Bordeaux in 1355 the Prince raided an extensive strip of French territory in the valley of the Garonne as far as the coast of the Mediterranean. A more extensive foray followed in 1356. This time the expedition went in a northerly direction, even reaching the Loire at Tours. On

Edward, the
Black Prince
Battle of
Poitiers,
1356

¹ The ideals and achievements of fourteenth-century chivalry have been imperishably preserved for later ages in the naïve *Chronicles* of the French "historian" Froissart. He was an eyewitness of many of the feats of arms that adorn his pages. During the sixties Froissart was at the English court.

the return journey southward the English mauraunders were intercepted in a march that was necessarily slowed down because of the immense booty. As a result, King John of France caught up with the Black Prince near Poitiers in September of 1356 and forced him to fight. The contest was waged with stubbornness and great bravery on both sides, but the victory was a decisive one for the English. Poitiers became as famed as Crécy in English annals, and the Black Prince was hailed as the paragon of chivalry.

The victory would have been barren indeed had not King John and his youngest son been captured after a desperate struggle. The royal prisoners were treated with the utmost courtesy, the Black Prince even waiting on King John at table. When taken to England the French King was lodged in the Savoy Palace, and allowed much liberty. In the next year a truce was declared as a preliminary to peace negotiations with the French King. Edward looked for a favorable issue. King John was induced to agree to the cession of the old Angevin dominions in full sovereignty and to the payment of a large ransom. In spite of the terribly distracted condition of France, the French estates would not accept such humiliating conditions, for the war was fanning the spark of nationalism there as it was in England. But the unhappy land was soon brought to time by the victorious English. Edward and the Black Prince led an army of destruction through northern France to bring the country to the terms. Even the suburbs of Paris and the neighborhood of Rheims were wasted. Finally at Brétigny (southwest of Paris) preliminary articles of peace were arranged. The final agreement was signed at Calais in 1360.

The French territories formerly granted by King John were again promised to the English. The French King was to renounce his sovereign rights over this territory. Edward, in his turn, was to relinquish his claims to the throne of France. Thereupon, King John was restored to his people after the most courteous treatment during his detention in England and following showy acts

Peace of
Brétigny,
1360

The terms
of peace

of friendliness between the two monarchs during the peace negotiations. The final settlement of details regarding sovereignty and royal claims was postponed until the territories had actually changed hands. But the loss of valuable lands was too much to ask of a people now aroused to an interest in their country. The French people resisted strenuously every effort to pass from their "natural lord." In addition, the payments on John's huge ransom fell into arrears and some of the French hostages broke their parole. As a result of the evident inability and unwillingness of the French to fulfill the treaty to which their ruler had agreed in 1360, King John voluntarily returned to his English prison in 1363. He was as much of a knight-errant as Edward, who in his turn treated his royal and conscientious captive with conspicuous kindness. King John died in the next year, an English prisoner, the victim of international etiquette in an age of knight-errantry.

EDWARD'S WANING YEARS

The year 1360 marks the pinnacle of English success in the war with France during the fourteenth century. The truce that occupied most of the decade that followed was one in which Edward and his followers were enjoying the rewards of their victories. It was also a time in which the influences of the conflict were already beginning to show their baleful effects on the internal affairs of the country, as we shall observe in the next chapter.

Yet the peace of the sixties was but nominal; the war spirit had been nurtured too long for easy suppression. Unauthorized depredations in France continued during this and the succeeding decades. Free Companies of mercenaries under some chosen leader carried on their nefarious business as much as they dared. In looking for more worlds to conquer they were even led to Italy, where the Free Companies became established as intolerable nuisances under the *Condottieri*. The Black Prince undertook a diverting engagement in the late sixties by leading an expedition into Spain for the pur-

Years of
truce

Continuation of irregular warfare

pose of settling a tangled succession question. The only tangible result of this raid was the taking of a mortal disease by the Prince of Wales, which finally brought him to the grave a year before his father.¹

After 1360 the French gradually obtained the upper hand. The spirit of nationalism was growing stronger and stronger under the punishment administered to the weakened country. They had also learned to put to good use some of the lessons the numerous defeats had taught them. Most important of all they now had a leader comparable to the Black Prince, for the disputed territories were being won back section by section through the skill of Du Guesclin. This remarkable French commander holds the same place in French annals as the Black Prince in the English records. But Du Guesclin's achievements were more solid. As Constable of France he drove the English to narrower and narrower limits, through the constant harassing of the enemy of his country without the risk of decisive battles. This unchivalrous procedure was decidedly successful. Even raids proved unavailing against the capable Constable. To cap it all, the English finally lost the command of the sea as well.

Edward died in 1377, a disappointed and defeated man. His eldest son, the Black Prince, had died before him. His other children were more intent on the rewards they were to receive than on caring for an aged father. Indeed, Edward challenged but little respect, for his love of pleasure led him to indulge in a rapacious mistress, Alice Perrers, who fled from the chamber of her dead lover after stealing the very rings from his fingers.

The remainder of the First French War can be despatched quickly. In 1377 little but Calais and parts of Gascony were left to mark the prodigious expenditure of time, interest, and money by the English. The continuance of

¹ The Black Prince's later years were condemned to inactivity. His war motto had been "Homout" (Courage), and his "badge of peace" was "Ich Dene" (I serve). Both mottoes were in the dialect of Gelderland in the Low Countries. It was probably unfortunate that he could not serve his country in his father's dotage, for he was high-minded in spite of his love of war.

war after Richard II's accession was but a series of disasters in Flanders, southern France, and on the sea.

The people became more and more desirous of peace. The end of the state of war came in 1396

End of the
First French
War

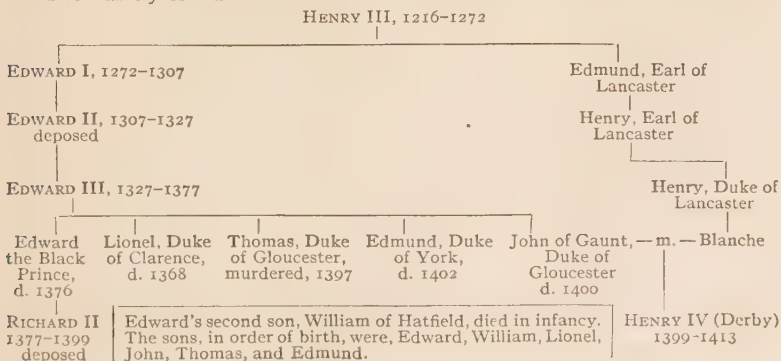
after long negotiations. A marriage was arranged between Richard II, whose first wife had died, and the little seven-year-old daughter of the King of France. It was agreed that the question of homage and boundaries should be postponed, and that the *status quo* should be accepted as the basis for peace. The final arrangements were postponed for thirty years. As a result, the fifteenth century inherited an unresolved problem that caused a Second French War as disastrous for the English as the first. But, as we shall see, its conclusion was more definitive.

Before continuing our study of England's foreign relations, it will next be necessary to give our attention to the influence of Edward's war on the internal life of the country.¹

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CHAPTER XIII

FOURTEENTH-CENTURY NATIONALISM

THE later years of Edward III's reign and the whole of that of his grandson, Richard II, found the country profoundly affected by a rapid movement of change. It is not easy to detect a unity in the diverse evolution of England at this time unless the foreign war can be thought of as affecting such widely separated fields of activity as the church, trade, literature, and villeinage. The foreign war certainly had much to do with the spirit of nationalism, for it was waged for over half a century against England's two foremost enemies. The Scottish worry strengthened the paramount conviction held so doggedly by Edward I that the whole island should be subordinate to English rule. The interminable feud with France did much to emancipate England from continental influences. For centuries the island state had received its ideas, language, and kings from the near-by continental land with which English life was so much bound up. The protracted war broke the bonds which had never been severed for long in previous centuries. The very failure of English efforts to recover French territory made the rise of nationalism more certain. It is the key to ramified changes.

The First
French War
and nation-
alism

The early stages of the war had caused the growth of considerable patriotic feeling. Sluys, Crécy, and Poitiers were considered national glories. Calais was an actual evidence of achievement. The consciousness that the English armies could meet the vaunted chivalry of France and win gave much pride to the nation. In these victories an important part had been taken by the archers and foot soldiers. As a result of the larger place of the lower classes in the wars of the time the growth of pride was general. In addition, the wars gave many an adventurer the chance to make good and to return home to a better status than that from which he went. The clear-

Diminishing
use of the
French
language

cut character of this national patriotism is well illustrated by the change that took place in 1362 in the language of the law courts. The French language was replaced by the English because the French tongue "is much unknown" and because the King desired "the good governance and tranquillity of his people."

WOOL AND WOOLENS

The wars had a profound effect on trade. We have observed the relation that Flanders bore to the outbreak of the struggle with France. The Flemish merchants and weavers of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres depended much on English wool. If the imports from England were hindered the effect was serious in the wool towns of the Low Countries. English wool for export was produced in all sections of the country. The Cistercians of Yorkshire and the farmers of the Midlands and the South Downs furnished much of the export that for many centuries was the chief basis of the national wealth. The tax on wool remained during this period the principal support of the King's warlike occupations. Edward's demands for money, therefore, led to an increased interest in the wool trade, a trade based on the natural advantages that England had over her continental neighbors; on the island, sheep could be raised without the hindrance caused by continual military strife. At the opening of the war there was an annual exportation of over thirty thousand sacks of wool, three fourths of which Englishmen carried to foreign countries.¹ Most of it went out of the country by way of Hull, Boston, London, and Southampton. The trade developed men of wealth. The most noteworthy of the merchant princes was Michael de la Pole of Hull; his wealth and that of his fellow tradesmen were frequently of assistance to the King in time of need.

In order to make it easier to collect dues from this important traffic the King established the "staple" system more firmly than before. In 1353 an ordinance provided

¹ A sack of wool weighed 364 pounds.

that wool and other important commodities could be sold only at certain places known as staples. At first Edward abolished all staples abroad and established places for sale and taxation in English towns only. For England ten towns were named as places where wool was to be brought and weighed and sealed by the mayor of the staple. Then and then only was it permissible that the "said merchandise shall be carried . . . to the parts beyond the sea out of the said realm and lands." It is evident that Edward was interested in increasing as much as possible the foreign consumption of English wool, and in the careful supervision of the trade. The possession of Calais gave such a splendid ganglion for this tissue of interests that at various times it was a staple town. Indeed, it remained very important as a trading outpost during the whole of its English occupation.

Edward's financial interests as well as the connection with Flanders also stimulated an increased woolen manufacture within the country. For long the Flemings had proved the "more ingenious nation." The King, whose wife, Philippa, came from Hainault, encouraged the settlement of Flemish weavers in England. Their advent was of some importance since it probably stimulated the making of finer cloths. But the well-developed cloth industry of England objected much to this importation of foreign weavers, who were protected in their new home by a statute of 1337. Throughout the century the industry was overwhelmingly a native one.

The native woolen manufacture was already so well developed in the early fourteenth century that guilds had been organized in the various parts of the industry, for weavers, burellers, dyers, fullers, and tailors. The foremost woolen-making town was Salisbury. Bristol, York, and Coventry followed in that order. At the opening of the war large importations of cloth were coming to England. The war soon changed that, with the result that cloth became an important export. By 1360 this trade had trebled. So large was the increase of cloth manufacturing

Staple
towns

Beginning of
woolen
manufacture
in England

Its rapid
growth

that the exportation of wool actually decreased during the century. By its end the amount of the cloth produced was tenfold what it had been at the opening of the war. This marked development was coincident with a migration of the industry from the few large centers to many parts of the country where a non-urban industry already foreshadowed the expansion of the domestic system. It was a symptom of the break-up of the mediæval craft traditions.¹

PARLIAMENTARY GROWTH

The war made Edward very dependent on Parliament, for his needs were urgent and heavy. It was not always possible to borrow from a Lombard banker or a native merchant prince. The nobles tended during this reign to ally themselves more and more with the King instead of serving as an important baronial opposition, like that which had faced Henry III, Edward I, and Edward II. The result of this change was to make the Commons more important in their relations to the Crown. If the reign of the first Edward saw the formation of Parliament in its general character, that of the third Edward gave the House of Commons something of the place it was going to occupy in the future centuries. One of the consequences of the continuous war was the frequency with which Parliament met. During the fifty years of Edward III's reign Parliament met forty-eight times. It was even ordained that Parliament "shall be holden every year once," a requirement that the needs of the reign very nearly fulfilled. One of the definite advances made in parliamentary power was the limitation of the King's arbitrary exactions, which made illegal drains on the wool trade and forced special grants by groups of his subjects. In 1348 Parliament made a grant of supplies on the condition that there be no impositions "without the grant and assent of the Commons in Parliament." There was even an occasional audit of the public expenditures by a parliamentary committee.

¹ See p. 283.

The most noteworthy Parliament of the long reign was just at its close, the so-called "Good Parliament" of 1376. The last years of Edward III had been disappointing ones. The senile King himself was playing but a sorry part. His chief interest in life was the companionship of his unscrupulous mistress, Alice Perrers. On account of the mortal illness of the Black Prince, the government, in consequence, was largely under the control of the King's fourth son, John, Duke of Lancaster. John of Gaunt,¹ as he was commonly called, had not distinguished himself in war. His protection of grasping public officials and his widely suspected wish to succeed to the throne rendered his government so unpopular that the Good Parliament took a strong stand against him. The Commons proved surprisingly powerful, refusing to grant supplies until grievances had been remedied, and demanding that the council be strengthened by some who could watch those near the King. But the Commons went even further; it proceeded to exercise for the first time in English history the right of impeachment. The King's chamberlain, the steward of the royal household, an important London merchant, and some revenue officers were accused by the Commons. The Lords, in their turn, tried and convicted these men. The action proved important as a precedent, but had little permanent effect on the government. As yet the constitution was not sufficiently developed to guarantee the continuous exercise of the power of the Commons. On the conclusion of the Good Parliament the government again fell into the hands of John of Gaunt.

The "Good
Parliament"
of 1376

Even though the long war had helped to increase the power of the lower classes and to give the Commons a chance to wield more authority, the protracted struggle had been a baneful influence on the upper classes. The license of war and particularly the marauding type of warfare carried on in France produced a spirit among the people that was not easily suppressed when they returned home. The easy garnering of wealth by

Aftermath
of war

¹ Because he was born in Ghent.

blackmail on the continent was naturally imitated in England as far as possible. Illegal uses of power, the mishandling of monopolies — in fact, licensed robbery of many types — were practiced.

The upper classes formed into parties that contested fiercely for the power that was slipping from the feeble hands of an old King. John of Gaunt was the most prominent of the nobles who formed their following into a "well-organized hierarchy of knaves" to filch from the country its resources. Every great noble had his body of armed retainers, who wore his livery and were maintained during times of peace as well as of war to serve their lord. When not engaged in fighting the battles of the country, they were only too frequently used to intimidate the court or to rob undefended neighbors. The practice of livery and maintenance, which had grown up during the French war, was constantly increasing. John of Gaunt had a miniature court and army, and over a score of powerful castles. Several other great nobles fell not far short of his display. The curse of militarism was to grow worse and worse until the destructive civil war in the fifteenth century should bring an end to this disintegrating tendency.

THE REBELLION OF THE PEASANTRY

In 1377 Richard II, the son of the Black Prince, succeeded his grandfather. It was an unenviable position to which this boy of eleven arrived, for the consequences of the long war and the general unrest and lawlessness found even more distinct expression in the last quarter of the century. Fortunately for the student of the time, an event of great importance, the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, serves to bring into clear relief the general dissatisfaction with political and social conditions.

The causes of this extremely significant uprising were complex. Mismanagement by John of Gaunt's satellites had led to deep hatred of the government. In 1377 the Londoners had even attacked his palace of the Savoy near the City. The disgust was

Upper-class
anarchy

Richard II,
born 1366

Causes of
the Peasants'
Revolt

deepened by the inability of the authorities to prevent raids of Scots and French or to prosecute the war on the continent with vigor and success. And had foreign and home affairs been managed properly the extraordinary taxation might have been borne with more fortitude.

Added to the political element was a distinct economic cause of disquiet. The effort of the upper classes to prevent higher wages after the Black Death still rankled in the rural sections. To the common people the Statute of Laborers was but one evidence of

Unrest
among the
villeins

a determined effort to keep them down at a time when social changes were making the lower classes as a whole more independent. The large group of villeins who still gave service to their lords as of old were impatient of their servile position long before 1381. Their dissatisfaction was especially keen as they saw free laborers and landlords enriched. Incipient resistance of the villein had been cropping out here and there for many years. A villein would refuse to perform his services, disturb other laborers, leave the land, or demand the commutation of labor dues for a fixed rent. The very improvement in the general condition of the lower classes only aroused the greater impatience.

The spark that lighted the revolt of 1381 was a heavy and unfair poll tax. In the previous year Parliament had granted a head tax of one shilling on every person not a cleric who was over fifteen years of age.

The poll
tax

Previously the poorer classes had not been taxed for more than a third of that sum. The trebling of the tax to an amount equivalent to a week's wages was so widely resented that false returns were sent in from many quarters. Indeed, the poll tax report of 1381 showed a decrease in the population of over a third in the four years of Richard's reign! The evasion was so evident that commissioners were sent to examine the discrepancy. The result was an opposition that spread like wildfire. During June and July, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent were out of hand.

The rising was not confined to the villeins; it included

freemen and tradesmen, and even an occasional country

A wide-spread rising gentleman who was opposed to the court party. Violence was used to attain the ends wanted.

Court rolls were burnt, lawyers mistreated, justices driven from their work. The Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who administered the Statute of Laborers, was killed. At Cambridge even the university records were burned, to do "away with the learning of clerks."

Very soon the rebels became organized as "labor armies," and marched on London to force the redress of their griev-

The march to London ances. The men of Kent were led by a dis-

charged soldier, Wat Tyler, and by the "mad priest," John Ball, who was delivered from jail by the re-

volters. A Londoner, Thomas Farrington, led the Essex

men. Indeed, the Londoners, even some of the City's alder-

men, were in sympathy with the movement. With their aid

the Essex and Kentish laborers entered the City to enforce

their demands. The hated Duke's palace of the Savoy was

burned. The law courts were entered and every book and

parchment that the peasants could lay their hands on was

destroyed. They killed the archbishop and the treasurer,

and set up blocks in the streets to administer a rude justice.

The young King proved courageous in the crisis. He

faced the rebels on the outskirts of the City, and granted

End of the revolt them charters that met the demands of the

laborers. Freedom from villeinage, a fixed rent

of fourpence an acre on lands, and freedom of trade in

market towns, were promised and even put in writing.

But the rioters were unwilling to disperse. At a meeting on

the following day, when Wat Tyler was killed by some of

the King's men, the young Richard only escaped death by

boldly proclaiming himself the peasants' leader. But

neither his word nor his bond was intended for more than a

sop to the discontent. As soon as the uprising had died

down Richard revoked his grants. In 1382 Parliament

backed him up by declaring that "all manner of manumis-

sions, obligations, releases . . . made by compulsion, duress,

and menace in the time of this last rumor and riot against

the laws of the land and good faith, shall be wholly annulled and holden for void." The reaction that followed was one of stern repression.

The old manorial system, based on villeinage, was undergoing a change long before the Black Death. The pestilence of 1348-50 certainly accelerated the tendency Passing of villeinage to commute personal service into a money rental.

The Peasants' Revolt was but a large-scale objection to the old system, which was slowly passing. By the end of the century many villeins had obtained freedom as a result of bargaining between lord and peasant. The lord, in truth, was not unwilling to see a change. Hired labor was more efficient. Sheep farming was extending rapidly during these years as a result of the growing demand for wool and the great increase in the cloth manufacture in England. The economic fabric of serfdom broke down under the changing conditions. The civil wars of the next century were to carry the process even farther. By the end of the Middle Ages villeinage was practically extinct, long before the final act of enfranchisement came in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (in 1574). The years of the fourteenth century are the years of greatest change.

THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE CHURCH

Another movement that needs some attention was the revolt against the Church. If the Commons was endeavoring to limit the king's power, and the peasants were objecting to the authority of their lords, the Dissatisfaction with the Church people as a whole were critical of the Church of their day. The war helped to create this feeling, too. In the preceding century there had been much objection to papal interference in English affairs, to the draining of the nation's wealth, and to the promiscuous grant of benefices to foreigners. The opposition to papal action was intensified by the anti-French feeling that resulted from the change of the papal residence early in the fourteenth century. It was in 1309 that the Pope, instead of remaining in the time-honored city of Rome, proceeded to settle at Avignon in

Indiscriminate exp. of or in sexual inter

southern France. There the "Babylonish Captivity," as it is sometimes called, continued until 1376, one year before Edward III's death. To the English the efforts of the Pope to bring peace appeared to be the work of an underling of the French King. Anti-papal opinion naturally grew into a national feeling.

This found expression in various ways. The drain of money to foreign monastic establishments and to the French

Provisors
and Præmunire

Pope was naturally stopped during the war. Early in the struggle the King had taken over the income from alien priories. In 1351 Parliament passed a Statute of Provisors. This act declared that all persons provided with benefices by the papal authority were to be arrested; in the future the Pope was not to appoint to ecclesiastical positions in England. A twin measure was enacted two years later. The Statute of Præmunire forbade the carrying of pleas abroad — that is, to the papal court. In 1366 the demand of the Pope for thirty years' arrears in the payment of the annual tribute promised by King John¹ led the King and his advisers to decide that the kingdom could not of right be put "in such subjection." Even the payment of Peter's pence was suspended. The nation appeared to be moving toward a national church, such as finally came in the sixteenth century. It must be remembered, on the other hand, that these acts of revolt against papal authority were war measures. They were not always strictly enforced, nor did they lead to a separate church; such could only come with a violent "reformation."

Nevertheless, there was much revolutionary thinking among English churchmen, and a deal of criticism of the work of the Church, all of which was strengthened by the national attitude toward the Papacy. There was much lamentation over the state of the Church. Critics declared that the parish priest neglected his work, heaped up ill-gotten gains, violated the rule of celibacy, and was so unlearned that he could not fittingly perform his priestly duties. Spurious relics were carried about to de-

¹ See p. 147.

not genuine or authentic, not what it appears, claims, or pretends to be

lude the masses and relieve them of their money. Pilgrimages were made by proxy. The friars, who had been the hope of the previous century, now came in as well for unlimited criticism. If the other clergy were inordinately wealthy, it seemed indeed incongruous for the mendicants to have the best positions in the schools and the Church, and to enjoy comforts and ease such as their founder never intended as their lot. The monks, also, came in for sharp treatment, especially since many monasteries had taken advantage of the Black Death and of the war to enrich themselves. Nor were the great secular ecclesiastical lords immune. Their governance of the State was questioned. For a time in the latter part of Edward's reign a distinctly anti-clerical party controlled the government — without any improvement in the administration.

One of the most powerful indictments of the religion of the day is found in Langland's *Vision of Piers the Plowman*.¹ In the elaborate allegory of this long poem the Plowman is lauded as keener in his knowledge of truth than the persons supposedly his superiors. In that part of the poem called "The Vision of the Seven Deadly Sins" the evils of the time are painted in strong colors. Pride, luxury, envy, wrath, gluttony, and sloth are the great sins. Wrath is personified by a friar, whose aunt was a nun. Sloth is the parish priest who knows rhymes about Robin Hood better than his prayers, and can find a rabbit better than he can read the lives of the saints. The Plowman, who has honestly plowed his half acre, proceeds to lead the seven deadly sins, now repentant, in search of Truth. A Palmer, of whom they inquire the road to Truth, had never heard of a saint of that name, although his back was loaded with spurious relics. The end of their search is attained by hard work and by a realization that a righteous life is better than mere trust in indulgences.

¹ William Langland has been traditionally regarded as the author of the *Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*. This has been disputed, however, by important scholars and cannot be regarded as certain.

WYCLIF

The most influential critic of the Church was John Wyclif. Born about 1320, he received an education at Oxford that prepared him for lecturing in the theological subjects. For a while he was master of Balliol College. Wyclif was a hard-thinking, vigorous, bold churchman. A few years before King Edward's death he received the living of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, with which his name is especially connected. About the same time he was sufficiently prominent to be one of a commission sent to Bruges for conference with papal delegates over disputed matters — particularly the question of the annual tribute. By that time his unorthodox conceptions were attracting attention. In 1377 and 1378 he was examined for peculiarities of belief. But popular feeling was so strong that nothing was done. On the eve of the Peasants' Revolt he was driven from Oxford and retired to Lutterworth, where he died in 1384.¹

Wyclif was especially concerned with the value of the Church and its beliefs to society. His test was that of a theologian who allowed his criticism to lead him logically on until he came to doubt many of the Church's doctrines and practices. He was the sharp critic, not the leader of a reforming party. Wyclif did not believe that transubstantiation increased the devotion of the people; it was to him a false miracle. He depreciated the value of several of the sacraments. Simplicity and godliness were essentials in priests and service. In consequence, no priest should hold any property; it followed that the upper clergy and the Pope in particular were even more blameworthy than their servants. His belief in the disendowment of the Church was naturally favored by the anti-clerical party; for a time he received the needed protection of John of Gaunt. The elaborate decoration of churches and the growing complexities of architecture and church services were distasteful to Wyclif. He especially hated the friars and any who lived by encouraging superstition.

¹ For its location, see the map on p. 325.

Wyclif's attitude is in some respects strangely like that of the Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century. He based the authority for his beliefs on the Bible. Lollards and the Bible He put so much value in the Bible that by his inspiration, if not by his actual participation, it was translated into English. Many copies were made and distributed in whole and in part so that the knowledge of the Bible was greatly increased. He was like Dominic of earlier days and the Reformers of later times in his belief in the efficacy of preaching. Under his enthusiastic guidance "poor priests" went out two by two to carry to the simple people a simple message, and to distribute tracts to them in a language that was more familiar than Latin. These followers of Wyclif, known as Lollards, worked with great effectiveness long after Wyclif's death. But after 1400 they were subject to persecution. Even so, there seems to have been a continuity of Lollard teaching throughout the fifteenth century. The ideas of Wyclif were especially influential in Bohemia, where they became the basis of the teachings of John Huss. The Hussites, in turn, kept alive the Wyclifite beliefs on the Continent until the time of Luther.

The nationalistic church movement that Wyclif personifies did not result in a State Church. Had the Pope remained at Avignon and had the war with France been unintermittent (until its close in 1453), it is not impossible that England would have followed Wyclif's lead. As it was, an orthodox reaction arose in the next century. Reaction after Wyclif's death It is best symbolized by the treatment accorded the dead rector of Lutterworth. Half a century after Wyclif's death his body was disinterred and burned, and the ashes were scattered on the waters of the little stream flowing through the village.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

In the nationalistic tendencies of the time no result was more outstanding than the growth of the English language and literature. The language of Cædmon and Alfred had

wife merchant

been suppressed for centuries after the Conquest, intellectual and political, by the Norman and Angevin kings. Froissart There was for a time no national tongue, but numerous local dialects that can be roughly grouped as northern, midland, and southern. The French of the courts was the language of society and of romance. Froissart, the French chronicler, was the chief literary figure at Edward III's court in the sixties. Yet in that very decade English was made the language of the law courts. The French war could not but have an effect on the use of the tongue of the hated continental rival. A remarkable literature appeared in the later years of the fourteenth century to make certain the success of this particular nationalistic tendency.

John Gower, who died in 1408, was a poet who, in the transition age, wrote poems in Latin, French, and English.

John Gower The *Confessio Amantis* has a moral purpose; like so much of the writing of the time it is a jeremiad on the degradation of the people. Langland's *Vision of Piers the Plowmen* has already received mention. Wyclif's tracts in English and the version of the Bible that goes under his name were important factors in creating a national language.

But the leading literary figure was Geoffrey Chaucer. He was the son of a London vintner, took part in the French war just before the Treaty of Calais, and spent much of his later life in the employ of the court. He held numerous public offices; at one time he was controller of the wool customs. Both Edward III and Richard II found Chaucer valuable as a diplomat. As the result of a successful mission to Italy in 1374 he was granted the perquisite of a pitcher of wine daily. Chaucer was the recipient, also, of a pension, which was doubled in 1399, the year before his death. He lived in London, where his residence for a time was over the easternmost entrance to the City (Aldgate).

Chaucer had none of the religious fervor or moral earnestness of Wyclif, Gower, or Langland. He was a genial man

of the world, a shrewd observer of the life of his day in England, France, and Italy, a wide reader, and a consummate poet. He was well acquainted with the literature of the Renaissance in Italy, where Petrarch and Boccaccio were laying the foundations for the rebirth of learning. A thorough knowledge of the songs of France is also evident in his works. Chaucer had the power to make English the medium of an extremely graceful poetry and at the same time to infuse his work with the continental influences that prevented his contributions to English literature from being excessively insular.

Chaucer and
continental
influences

This fourteenth-century writer has been called the "father of English poetry," for in him we see the "first result of the Norman yeast upon the home-baked loaf." His greatest poem is a collection of stories told by a group of Canterbury pilgrims who start from the Tabard Inn in Southwark (across the Thames from the City of London) on pilgrimage to the tomb of Saint Thomas Becket. The idea was probably obtained from Boccaccio's *Decameron*. But Chaucer's device is much more effective than Boccaccio's plan to have his story-tellers retire to a villa to avoid the Black Death. For Chaucer is able to introduce his readers to the varied types of character that appeared in fourteenth-century England, as he gathered his people from every stage of life for the pilgrimage. He makes it possible for the student of social history to know more of this period than of any previous one we have so far studied. There is the "parfit gentil knight," and his Squire, the Yeoman archer, the Prioress and the pleasure-loving Monk, the jolly Friar, the Merchant, the Clerk, and many another. The period of transition in which Chaucer lived makes his depiction of life in the *Canterbury Tales* all the more valuable.

The *Canterbury Tales*

Chaucer wrote in the dialect of his part of England, the Midland. It was the language of the court, of the universities, and of the law as Norman-French was displaced. This dialect gradually prevailed, becoming the standard English from which our

The lan-
guage of
Chaucer

own language is descended. And the victory of the Midland over the northern language of Cædmon and the southern English of Alfred was largely the result of its use by the master poet of the time, Geoffrey Chaucer.¹

The Wessex dialect continued the colloquial language of that part of England. The northern tongue was extended into Scotland, where it became the basis for the written as well as the spoken language. Its earliest important literary use in Scotland was by John Barbour, a contemporary of Chaucer. He glorified the national hero in his epic poem, *The Brus*. Barbour himself regarded the language in which he wrote as "Ingliš." It was but the northern dialect common from York to Aberdeen. Barbour's *Brus* holds much the same relation to the literature of Scotland as the *Canterbury Tales* to that of England.

The language of Scotland

THE LANCASTRIAN REVOLUTION

Such were some of the great consequences of war and nationalism. Other aspects of the period might deserve attention, but they are less significant than the changes in trade, manufacture, villeinage, ecclesiastical relations and beliefs, language and literature. As the century came to a close, parliamentary affairs again loomed up. A study of Richard II's fall, therefore, will conclude this survey of fourteenth-century nationalism.

The growth of the Commons and of parliamentary power as a whole was markedly noteworthy in Edward III's reign.

Yet Richard had more trouble with his Parliaments than had Edward. Indeed his natural arbitrariness and lust for power brought into even greater contrast the royal position and the constitutional advance. The result of the high-handedness of Richard, in utter disregard of this phase of the growing national feeling, led to a crisis at the end of his reign which

Richard II and Parliament

¹ The Middle English of the fourteenth century does not greatly differ from the language of our own time. The English rendering of the French motto of the Order of the Garter (see p. 240) was "Hething have the hathel that any harm thynkes."

marks a veritable "turning-point in the long struggle between constitutional liberty and arbitrary power."

During the first half of the reign, when the young King was a boy, the government was not much better than during the closing years of Edward's rule. That he was a spirited young man has been shown by his conduct in the Peasants' Revolt. But his love of pomp and his greediness for power made his court party as obnoxious as that of Edward II, even if his favorites were not so bad as Gaveston. Very early Parliament complained against a condition in the state when "neither right nor law is done to any," but it was to little effect. At length, in 1386, the Commons undertook to remove Richard's ministers and to impeach the most important member, Michael de la Pole. Although the self-willed King declared he would not "at their wish remove the meanest scullion from his kitchen," he was forced to submit to Parliament. The constitutional opposition became more determined when Richard threatened to advise with the King of France; the retort was a reference to the deposition of Edward II.

Parliamentary opposition

With the removal of Pole, Earl of Suffolk, a commission of reform was appointed. Richard resisted the movement in vain. In 1388 the Merciless Parliament proceeded to stern measures. Five lords of the constitutional opposition accused Richard's advisers of treason, and Parliament condemned them as traitors. The Lords Appellant, so called because they preferred this charge of "appeal of treason," were led by Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, who was one of the younger sons of Edward III, and, therefore, Richard's uncle. John of Gaunt was absent in Spain, but his son Henry, Earl of Derby, was another of the Appellants.¹

The Lords Appellant

The power of the Appellants was short-lived. Disunion in their ranks and a popular reaction because the government did not improve led to a successful royal revolt against the humiliating conditions. In 1389 the King informed his Council that he was now

Richard's personal rule after 1389

¹ See the genealogy of the Family of Edward III, p. 245.

Person who changes principle or party
 twenty-three years old and able to rule the kingdom himself. Richard governed England with considerable wisdom and restraint for the next eight years, King and Parliament managing to agree. Useful measures were passed. The anti-papal legislation was reënforced. The French war was concluded by the King's marriage to a French princess.

Richard, unfortunately, was only biding his time. Still resentful of the treatment that he had received from the Appellants, he waited but for security in order to take his revenge. In 1397 he retorted to a criticism of his household expenses by seizing three of the Appellants and overawing Parliament with his retainers. Of the Appellants one was beheaded, a second banished, and their former leader, the Duke of Gloucester, murdered in Calais where he had been sent for imprisonment. The acts of the Parliament that had humiliated Richard were annulled. Parliament was so carefully packed that it obediently capitulated. Its functions were practically turned over to a committee, and Parliament became a mere recording machine.

Two of the Appellants, Derby and Mowbray, proved turncoats, and they became the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, respectively. The title of duke was actually conferred on five persons in one day. The two apostate Appellants soon quarreled, and Hereford revealed to Richard a conversation with Norfolk in which the latter had urged that they unite against the King. The parliamentary committee, to which the question was referred, decided that trial by combat be used to end the dispute.¹ But just before the duel began Richard banished them both, Hereford for ten years and Norfolk for life. Two more Appellants became the victims of royal revenge. Early in 1399 John of Gaunt died, leaving a country that was "in reputation sick," a "sea-walled garden full of weeds." The King knew no restraint. Richard boldly declared that he could do as he willed with his own; that his subjects and

¹ It is at this point that Shakespeare's *Richard II* opens.

their property were for the royal disposal. Seventeen English counties were accused of corporate treason, and compelled to agree to a fine. Private persons were forced to seal bonds in blank, to be filled out at the King's pleasure. Many were arbitrarily imprisoned. So extreme did Richard become in action and statement that he has been regarded as partially insane.

The end came when the King carried out his despotic claims by depriving the banished Henry of the estates left by his father, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The son thereupon landed in England to demand his rights. His return was greeted with widespread favor. Richard, returning from an expedition to Ireland, found the land in Henry's possession and the people and Parliament prepared to accept a new king. When Parliament met, it was before an empty throne, for Richard had abdicated on the previous day. Thereupon Henry arose and, speaking in the English tongue, claimed the throne "fur default of governance and undoyng of the gode lawes."

Lancastrian
Revolution
of 1399

For the second time in one century a king had been deposed. In 1327 the son had succeeded his father. In 1399 Parliament accepted a conqueror whose claim was not of the best. In other words, a revolution had occurred. Henry of Lancaster, who was probably the most capable of the descendants of Edward III, succeeded the last of the Plantagenets by the acquiescence of Parliament.

Accession of
Henry of
Lancaster

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CHAPTER XIV

THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

THE fifteenth century has an evil reputation. Its public life consists of a particularly dreary record of bootless foreign wars and civil troubles. Although Shakespeare devoted seven of his historical plays to this century — the germination time of the period in which he lived — even the genius of this master dramatist found it difficult to enliven and clarify the tiresome records of aristocratic jealousy, greed, and cruelty.¹ This century was devoid of any great statesmen. It lacked distinguished religious leaders and profound theologians. No period in the history of English literature is more uninteresting and fruitless. Among the confusing medley of persons who graced the records of this time but few are to be found worthy of a place beside the men of the thirteenth or of the sixteenth century. Even Henry V, the victor of Agincourt, hardly ranks with the third Edward, for the chivalry which he tried to incarnate was so moribund as to lose even its picturesqueness.

Nature of
the fifteenth
century

If the closing years of the Middle Ages are not of crucial importance politically, they are of real worth for other reasons. The transition from the old-world order was moving more rapidly than ever in the time when Lancastrians and Yorkists fought for power and place. The modification of life was even hastened by the seeming eagerness with which the older nobility was eliminating itself. The great mass of the people were wholly indifferent to the public strife going on between the dynastic groups, for they were busy creating conditions that account for the new world of the next century. Our chief purpose will be to find out the life of the common people, to discover

Its social
importance

¹ They include the two parts of *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, the three parts of *Henry VI*, and *Richard III*. Preceded by *Richard II* they form a continuous and epic handling of the public life of England from the Lancastrian revolution to the end of the dynastic quarrels.

the way they were rising through industry and commerce, and to trace the spread of education. To Langland the England of the previous century had been a "field full of folk from end to other." While the lord was away at the wars or plotting for an uneasy place in Westminster a new society of the very common folk was rising to wealth and power; in their hands the future was to be largely placed.

THE FIRST LANCASTRIAN

The years with which we are concerned extend from the accession of Henry IV in 1399 to that of Henry VII in 1485.

Henry IV, Henry IV was a Lancastrian who usurped, by
born 1366, the permission of Parliament, a throne that was
reigned 1399-1413 to be a continuous bone of contention through-

out this stretch of years. In 1413 he was succeeded by his son, Henry V, who reopened the war with France shortly afterward. This warlike Lancastrian died prematurely in 1422, and gave way to his nine-months-old son, Henry VI. The French war still continued to command much interest among the English upper class. Yet it came to a disastrous conclusion, with the nearly complete loss of the continental possessions, in 1453. Henry still had almost twenty years to live, but they were troubled by the dynastic conflicts with Yorkist claimants in a series of struggles known as the Wars of the Roses. Edward of York won power in 1461 and was crowned Edward IV. After ten years his rival of Lancaster was killed (1471), and the Yorkists assumed control of the government. On Edward's death in 1483, his young son, Edward V, succeeded, only to be murdered shortly afterward by his grasping uncle, the Duke of Gloucester (Richard III). But the reign of the third Yorkist was unquiet and short. In 1485 Henry Tudor won the crown at Bosworth Field. With him a new royal family and a new age fittingly began. Of the six monarchs of this period the first three were Lancastrians, the last three Yorkists. Too frequently the chief attention of students of this century has been directed at the fratricidal conflicts of these two parties. We shall examine, first, the foreign policy of

the Lancastrians, then study in retrospect the social aspects of the time, and, finally, conclude the survey of these years with an attempt to understand the general conditions of the British Isles as the Middle Ages came to a close.

The first Lancastrian, Henry IV, was the son of John of Gaunt and the grandson of Edward III. He had been a Lord Appellant when an effort was made to re-^{A parlia-}strain Richard II's despotic tendencies. The^{mentary king} revolution that brought the aspiring Lancastrian to the throne was, in consequence, likely to lead to certain interesting changes of policy. Since Henry Derby was not the nearest claimant, his tenure of the kingship depended on the good will he could win and retain. Needless to say, therefore, he leaned more on Parliament than his predecessor had done. He even promised that he would not be guided "by his own will or by his own desire or individual opinion, but by common advice, counsel, and assent." This is limited monarchy in very truth; and for a time the development appeared to be tending toward the supremacy of Parliament. This very promising advance was unfortunately checked by the civil wars that soon arose. The country was not yet ready for a stage which was to be measurably attained only with the lapse of two centuries.

In addition, Henry depended for his success on the sympathy of the Church. The followers of Wyclif, who had been unhindered for two decades, were perse-^{Henry IV}cuted henceforth by a government that became^{and the} thoroughly reactionary under its deeply pious^{Church} King. The first execution for heresy that had occurred in nearly two centuries took place in 1401; a Lollard was burned at the stake. In that same year Parliament passed an act for the punishment of heretics, *De Hæretico Comburendo*. By this measure, heretical books were to be destroyed, and persons suspected of harboring "wicked doctrines and opinions" were to be tried before the church courts and then, if guilty, turned over to the sheriff, who should cause them to be burnt "before the people in an high place, that such punishment may strike fear to the minds of

others." The measure seems to have had the desired effect. Lollardry practically disappeared, or became inarticulate under the Lancastrian reaction. The most famous of the Lollard martyrs was Sir John Oldcastle. He "testified by fire" in the reign of Henry V after a long career of proscribed activity.¹

Henry IV proved an efficient king in spite of his previous career of restless knight-errantry. Though he longed to restore the days of chivalry, and to that end established the Order of the Bath, and desired to die as a crusader, his reign was troubled by efforts to retain a throne he had rudely grasped. English rebels hampered him. In the north the Percies, under the lead of Hotspur, revolted because they had not received enough reward for assisting in the overthrow of Richard II. In the west the Welsh arose under Owen Glendower to attempt the reëstablishment of Welsh independence.² As party politics became more bitter, Henry IV's ceaseless efforts to keep the unruly kingdom in hand led to a breakdown of his health and to his death in 1413.

THE END OF THE FRENCH WAR

The chief interest of Henry V's ten-year reign was the French war. It is true that he had some trouble with Parliament, although he worked in fair harmony with the constitutional powers gained by the revolution of 1399. Henry was religious, for he persecuted the Lollards with redoubled vigor and seriously planned to crusade for the recapture of Jerusalem. But his preëminent military interests and ability made the renewal of the French trouble — quiescent since 1396 — the crowning interest of his brief and brilliant career. He must not be blamed excessively for reviving a war that seemed to many Englishmen a perfectly normal part of their nation's policy.

¹ He was the original of Shakespeare's Sir John Falstaff. Tennyson has vindicated the character of Sir John Oldcastle in a poem of that name.

² According to Shakespeare, Falstaff found it the better part of valor to counterfeit death in the battle where "this gunpowder Percy" was killed. For the rebellion of Glendower, see above, p. 210.





dizzy, disposed to fall or stagger or spin around. Making dizzy, unstable, slightly

THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

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The Second French War

(1429)

- Lands in hands of the English, 1429 
- Holdings of the French Dauphin 
- Burgundian Territories 
- The Agincourt Campaign 

SCALE OF MILES

0 25 50 75 100



Yet it certainly was kept alive by greed and renewed consciously by a King whose actual claims were even less valid than those of Edward III.¹ At least it busied "giddy minds"

¹ Henry V's demands were so monstrous that there is no doubt of his desire to provoke a war. He even demanded the territories held by Henry II, and feudal supremacy over Flanders.

with foreign quarrels" for the time, even though far-sighted statesmanship was lacking in the revival of a claim that could not possibly be made good.

Indeed, Henry may be pardoned for thinking that the chances of success were never brighter than in 1415. The French King, Charles VI, was subject to fits of insanity. The result was perpetual strife between the leading French nobles for the territories and power of the unfortunate King. The House of Burgundy, led by Charles's cousin, was developing great strength in the north. Its chief opponent was the group around Charles's brother, the Duke of Orléans. The civil strife of these two factions was not unlike the contemptible squabbles of Lancastrians and Yorkists, soon to arise.¹ In 1410 the Duke of Orléans was murdered in the interest of the Burgundians, and the internal troubles of France became worse than ever. The Orléanists were thereafter led by the dead leader's father-in-law, the Count of Armagnac; hence this party became known as the Armagnacs. The tendency of the English was to unite with the northern French interest, since the Burgundians had influence in Flanders, where the English export trade was vital to the islanders.

Henry's campaign of 1415 was as brilliant as any waged in the First French War. Landing near Harfleur, the English captured this port at the mouth of the Seine with the intention of making it a second and more strategic Calais for the conquest of Normandy and the harrying of central France. Instead of returning to England directly Henry resolved to go to Calais by land. He confronted a situation very much like that faced by Edward III in 1347. A French army several times the size of the English force met and gave battle to Henry's army at Agincourt, not far northeast of the site of the battle of Crécy. The outcome was precisely the same. Thousands of French lay dead on the field in addition to the large number of prisoners butchered by the English in cold blood after the battle. The victors lost scarcely one hundred men.

Battle of
Agincourt,
1415

¹ See below, pp. 283 ff.

The "God-given" victory was universally hailed with rejoicing in England.

It encouraged the English to prosecute the war with vigor. During the few remaining years of his reign the victorious Henry proceeded to a systematic conquest of Normandy. In 1419 he entered Rouen, where the government of Normandy was organized as an English holding. As yet the English conqueror had made no arrangements with either of the great French parties. But in the very year of the capture of Rouen by Henry, a conference of Burgundians and Armagnacs met to concert resistance to the English paladin; at the meeting John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, was murdered. His successor, Philip the Good, immediately allied himself with Henry in the Treaty of Troyes (1420). Henry was to marry the daughter of the weak-minded Charles — now in Burgundian hands — and to become regent and heir to the crown. The grandiose schemes of the English conqueror, who was without doubt the most important ruler of western Europe at the time, were as ambitious as the aims of Henry II. But they were cut short by his death at Vincennes in 1422.¹

The possibility of a successful issue of the interminable French war gradually became slighter and slighter. Henry's brother, the Duke of Bedford, was a good general and a capable administrator. He might have cared adequately for England during his nephew's infancy, but the double task of ruling and warring was too taxing.

What is more, the war in France soon assumed a new character. In 1429 the dormant French monarch was visited at his castle of Chinon² by a girl of French peasant stock from eastern France. Jeanne d'Arc came to Charles VII convinced that "voices" had revealed to her a mission to deliver her

¹ In his last words he asserted that his greatest desire had been to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. In fact, preparatory reports on the condition of Syria and Egypt had been made to Henry V. Again he reminds one of Henry II, who died just as he was preparing for a crusade. In the same year, Charles II of France was succeeded by his son, Charles VII.

² See above, pp. 123, 135.

country. To her it meant the driving of Burgundians and English from northern France. The first task was to relieve the city of Orléans, then beleaguered by the enemy. Thereupon, Charles VII was to be crowned at Reims. Arrayed in white armor she began her leadership of a hard beset country. Everywhere she spread the contagion of a new conviction that the divine aid was now with the French. The relief of Orléans was soon effected, and Charles was taken to Reims and there crowned. In the next year, however, the "Maid of Orléans" was captured by the Burgundians, who sold her to the English. The inevitable consequence was a trial for heresy in Rouen. The English feared the maid as a witch — the converse of savior — and were interested only in putting her out of the way. She was tried before a French ecclesiastical court as an unchaste sorceress,¹ and burnt in the market-place of Rouen in 1431. The blame for the deed must be divided. French inactivity joined with Burgundian connivance and the English determination to be rid of a dangerous enemy are all accountable for the death of a pure-minded peasant girl whose idealistic love for her king and country brought her early death.

Henceforth, the chance of English success was slight. Joan had roused a nerveless country to renewed activity.

Final defeat of the English Her martyrdom made the efforts of English and Burgundians less and less fruitful with the passing of time. After Bedford's death in 1435, no fit leader was found to continue an admittedly hopeless struggle. The warfare even degenerated into bloody forays like those of the last years of Edward III's reign. Slowly but surely the French won back territory after territory by systematic piecemeal conquest and by the avoidance of decisive battles. In 1449 Normandy was recaptured by them. A serious invasion of Aquitaine began in the next year. English resistance was unavailing, and the Hundred Years' War ended in 1453 with the entry of Charles VII into Bordeaux. Only Calais remained in English hands.

¹ This was the common English conception of Joan of Arc; it is preserved for us by Shakespeare in the *First Part of Henry VI*.

The effect of a century of enmity between the two neighbors on opposite sides of the Channel was far-reaching. Untold and indescribable suffering and loss had beggared France and England as a result of the strife. Misgovernment in both countries was too often the outgrowth of the persistent foreign quarrel. In the first half of the war, waged in the fourteenth century, the effect on English national feeling had produced results that have already been studied.¹ The second half of the struggle led to a similar national revival in France. Joan of Arc's influence came at a critical time and tipped the scales in favor of the French, on whose side the weight of success rested henceforth. The French King when he entered Bordeaux was at the head of a well-disciplined national army. The moral collapse of the English cannot be fully realized until we study the record of internal affairs during the Wars of the Roses.

Causes for
French
success

Leaving that aside for the moment, let us consider some of the results of the foreign quarrel on England. For one thing, a century of warfare had brought great changes in the conduct of battles and increased efficiency in the art of killing one's fellow men. English predominance at Agincourt as well as at Crécy and Poitiers had resulted from the large use of English and Welsh bowmen, who handled the longbow with much more speed and deadliness than their opponents manipulated the cumbersome crossbow. The value of an arm that was employed with increasing ability from long before the days of Robin Hood became conspicuous in the French invasions. In Edward III's time there were often three bowmen to one spearman; in Henry V's war the proportion had risen to five or six archers to one man-at-arms.

Methods of
warfare

The changes in armor had been noteworthy as well. In the days of Crécy the armor was still to some extent of mail. A century later the accouterments of the soldier were of heavy plate armor. He had become less mobile and used heavier and shorter

Growing use
of foot
soldiers

¹ See above, p. 247.

weapons. The fearful loss of the French at Agincourt was largely the result of the inability of the French knights to move in the mire of that sanguinary battlefield. The increased use of foot soldiers was to lead in time to the development of an infantry. Certainly the days of chivalry were numbered.

The most surprising change in warfare was the greater use of gunpowder. From ancient times various devices for Gunpowder throwing heavy missiles had been employed. The trebuchet, for example, was a highly developed enormous sling. The siege of castles necessitated such and numerous other kinds such as wheeled scaffolds, rams, "sows," and "cats" of various sorts. The use of gunpowder was an outgrowth of the attempt to offset the strength of massive walls with a weapon that would break down the defense of impregnable castles. The application of gunpowder to warfare became general in the fourteenth century. Possibly there were primitive cannons at Crécy; if so, they were of no importance in the outcome of the battle. At first the guns were but cumbersome tubes of cast iron or brass, bound about with iron bands. For long the ammunition consisted of rounded stones. At Harfleur Henry V had two hundred and fifty gunners. When Joan of Arc besieged Paris, the English and Burgundians collected large quantities of stone balls at the points of attack. But even at that time the cannon was of little use in battles, for the device of moving about artillery on carriages had not been perfected. In the late fifteenth century brass guns replaced the old "bombards," iron became the material for ammunition, and the carriage was improved. The use of smaller firearms began after the close of the Hundred Years' War. But the arquebus was about as useless before the longbow as the crossbow had been. Long after the musketeer was an important part of continental armies, the English stubbornly adhered to the use of the national weapon with which they had won successes in the Hundred Years' War. Nevertheless, the close of the Middle Ages witnessed a change in the methods of fighting which were

tapering flag esp. that at a most head of ship in commission

to render the endless succession of wars between nations more and more deadly. Possibly this greater effectiveness in war should be regarded as one of the distinctive aspects of modern history.

SEA POWER

The growth of English interest in the sea was another noteworthy result of the long war on the Continent. Edward III's first great victory was on the water at Sluys. But in his reign the mastery of the sea was not consistently kept. With the renewal of the war in 1415 Henry V made much more careful preparations for retaining command of the "narrow sea." Indeed, the control of the Channel was vital if the systematic conquests of Normandy and later of northern France were to be conducted without interruption. Piracy by both English and French seamen was suppressed usually by merchant vessels turned into war vessels, although they proved unsatisfactory because of the lack of a specially trained crew. The great difficulty was not in the structure of the ships, for even on naval vessels "castles" were built temporarily for an impending conflict. Sea fighting still was but a land contest transferred to the water.

Interest in the control of the Channel

Henry V appointed an "admiral of England," and established a definite royal navy, which is to be distinguished from a navy of merchant vessels hired for a particular expedition. At the time of his Norman conquests the navy consisted of some two dozen vessels of various sizes. A war vessel was chiefly distinguished by its decorations; it might even be painted red, have embroidered sails and numerous flags, banners, and pennants. Names connected with religion were commonly given the ships; the three most important units of Henry V's navy were the *Holy Ghost*, the *Trinity Royal*, and the *Jesus*. Chaucer's Shipman had a barge named *Magdelaine*.

War vessels of the fifteenth century

The command of the narrow sea was sought by the English not only because of the war but to protect the thriving commerce of the fifteenth century. Henry V's popularity

was to no little extent owing to the care with which he protected external trade, and favored the class upon which he was dependent for financial assistance. In the attitude of the Commons this point of view appeared again and again; they even declared the merchant navy the chief basis of the wealth and prosperity of England. An exceedingly interesting commentary on this aspect of English interest is a versified treatise written about 1430, called the *Libel of English Policie*.¹ It is an exhortation to "all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea; shewing what profite cometh thereof, and also what worship and salvation to England, and to all English-men." The attitude savors much of a policy that in later centuries was to become fundamentally British:

Cherish marchandise, keepe the admiraltie;
That we bee Masters of the narrowe see.

Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England;
And then is England kept by Goddes hande;
That as for anything that is without,
England were at ease withouten doubt.

THE EXPANSION OF TRADE

The rise of the commercial interests meant nothing less than the emergence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of a commercial class whose importance in the matters of government became distinct by the end of the wars.

The firm establishment of the staple system for the exportation of raw wool was made under Edward III, although the ordinances that gave the system its characteristic features appeared in Edward II's reign (1313). From the close of the fourteenth century until the loss of Calais in the sixteenth that place remained the staple town, and became the chief center of English over-sea trade. The importance of Calais for trade became so evident before the end of the fifteenth century that its gar-

¹ It is reprinted in Hakluyt's famous collection, occupying in the Everyman's edition pages 174-202 of volume one.

risson was paid from the customs revenue. The Merchant Staplers became an organized society under their own mayor and council with considerable privileges. During the fourteenth and earlier centuries, when raw wool was overwhelmingly the chief export article, the merchants of the staple were very important. With the rise of an expanding export trade in other products and the growth of the English carrying trade, the Staplers began to decay and the customs receipts at Calais to decrease. This occurred in the century which we are now studying.

The share that Englishmen were taking in the export of wool has already been noted.¹ The interest in commerce was greatly increased in the long period of war, and natives began to wrest from foreigners some of the trade that outsiders had monopolized for centuries. Mediterranean merchants did much to minister to the growing luxury of mediæval England, for they brought the valued wares of the near and far east to a remote island. The great banking companies of Italy encouraged this trade, and obtained for the Mediterranean fleets exemption from the Staplers' monopoly. They could come to Southampton instead of Calais, and buy at will in the country. In the early fourteenth century Florentine merchants were the most important of the Mediterranean traders, although the Genoese gradually became strong competitors because they had special facilities for disposing of woolen cloth in the east. The Venetians also forged to the front as a result of their eastern connections, and a thoroughgoing policy of state assistance.

In the northern European trade the great place had been occupied for centuries by the Hanseatic League. These merchants, known as Easterlings, had extensive privileges long before the period of the French wars. They were more formidable than the Mediterranean states, for the great trading cities, joined with Lübeck and Danzig, became much more than a mere commercial league. Merchants of the Hanse were established in several English

Increase in
the English
carrying
trade

The Hanse

¹ See above, pp. 248-50.

towns, notably in Boston, Lynn, and London. In London their house was called the Steelyard.

The monopoly of these foreign merchants was already being challenged in the days of Edward III. The growing Merchant familiarity of Englishmen with the sea and the Adventurers rapidly developing native cloth industry hastened English commercial activity. It became one of the great phenomena of the fifteenth century. Only as we realize its growth in the closing century of the Middle Ages is it possible to appreciate fully the amazing expansion of English commerce in the early modern period. English merchants had adventured in foreign trade despite the monopoly of the staple. But it was a dangerous practice, open to condemnation by their own government and unprotected abroad. The lack of a navy made England impotent if English traders were molested. The only recourse of the Merchant Adventurers — for any one not a Stapler had to adventure at his own risk — was to go in fleets heavily armed. In the years of the First French War the Adventurers were doing an increasing business particularly in the carrying of cloth, since the staple was concerned primarily with wool. The tremendous increase of the cloth manufacture meant, therefore, a growing place for the Merchant Adventurers. There were numerous companies of these upstart traders, the most important of which seems to have grown out of the Mercer's Company of London. By the close of the fourteenth century privileges were being obtained that gave to them a certain amount of recognition, and in the reign of Henry IV the Merchant Adventurers became a definitely chartered company with an organization similar to that of the Staplers, and with permission to include in their ranks all the adventurers of England.

They grew apace and waged successful war against their formerly powerful competitors. Strife with the staple was bitter since both dealt very largely in the trade with the Low Countries. But the Merchant Merchant Adventurers gradually obtained the upper hand *versus* the Hanse because of the decline in the exportation of raw wool.

struggle, scuffle

With the Hanseatic League, also, they had many a sharp tussle. For several centuries brigandage and open war were almost constant. One instance in the reign of Henry VI — he reigned from 1422 to 1461 — will serve as an illustration. A Hanse fleet of over one hundred vessels was seized by the English as it was returning to Lübeck; the League retorted by the capture of English vessels wherever they could be found. Henry VI even declared himself unable to pay a promised dowry because of the interruption of customs receipts as a result of the strife. One of the best evidences of the growth of the interest in the foreign trade was the increasing unpopularity of the Steelyard and its occupants in the late fifteenth century.

The growing native industry and native commercial activity led to a change in the treatment of the foreigner. In earlier centuries the kings had been satisfied with treaty arrangements with foreign merchants by which the king could collect dues. With the growth of a native trading class an insistent demand for protection arose. The financial importance of the burghers and merchants made the demands for a national protection sufficiently forceful to be heeded. As a result there were numerous protective enactments; the kings sedulously cared for English trading concerns — in their own interests. By the end of the century the change to a nationally protected industry is complete. The change is nothing less than revolutionary. In a century usually thought of as one nullified by dynastic strife, England had risen from one of the least important of commercial nations, the acquiescent host of alien traders, to a leading place among commercial powers. In this century the line of future development had become abundantly clear.

Commercial
advance in
the fifteenth
century

TOWNS

The revolutionary growth of industry and commerce brought the town to a place of power and opulence that it had never occupied before in English life. For centuries the urban communities had been

Growth of
towns

persevering, diligent, assiduous pursuit

growing slowly, but the towns were largely agricultural. By the twelfth century the more important communities began to possess privileges of their own, held under charters. By the end of the thirteenth century few towns of any importance were without charters, even though most of the towns were still woefully small. They grew with the growth of trade.

When the cloth-making industry so remarkably expanded in the later Middle Ages the prosperity of certain favored towns was spread to many a smaller community. In fact, some of the older towns seem to have been decaying in the fifteenth century, and to have been giving way to upstart communities. The Cinque Ports, for example, were in the heyday of their growth before the Hundred Years' War. But their frontier position was not so well fitted for commercial and industrial advance as towns farther removed from the attacks of the inimical seamen. Norwich was always one of the great towns of the country, along with York and Bristol. Mute evidence of the prosperity of the whole county of Norfolk is found in the numerous fifteenth-century churches of that shire that still remain as evidence. In Gloucestershire, where Cotswold wool did much to make Gloucester and Bristol of the first importance, the same evidence of fifteenth-century prosperity is to be found. The magnificent perpendicular churches of Chipping Camden, Northleach, and Fairford witness to the munificence of great wool merchants like the Tames, the Celys, and the Grevels.¹

Life in the towns was carefully regulated. The inhabitants were subjected to an abundance of rules that modern townsmen would find exceedingly irksome.² Not the least of their ever-present obligations were military. Frontier towns on the border of Wales and

¹ A tradition has it that the famous Flemish window glass of Fairford Church was captured at sea by John Tame as he adventured abroad. The most representative merchant of the day was Richard Whittington, "thrice Lord Mayor of London." He came from Gloucestershire as a boy.

² See above, p. 110.

Scotland must be always prepared for their own defense. The vicissitudes of the burghers of Berwick must have been lamentable, judging from the numerous times that this community was captured and recaptured. Coast towns were likewise in constant danger from pirates or recognized national enemies. The Cinque Ports, as a result of their position, had developed strong naval defense units that were regarded as the most important part of the defensive fleet of the country in the days before a large national navy was organized. Inland towns were little better off, especially in the Wars of the Roses, when they could depend only on themselves for salvation. The burghers as a community possessed certain common rights which they guarded jealously. The external holdings of the towns — the liberties — were often in need of defense.

Public works were carried on by the forced labor of the community as a whole. Indeed, the community was closely knit by its common interests whether in ^{Town} defense, in work, in play, in worship, or in trade. ^{government} The center of the municipal life was the Gild Hall, whence the regulative activities of the mayor and aldermen emanated. The very name is significant. The old merchant guilds and craft guilds had served a valuable purpose in the growth of the municipal wealth and government. Yet by the end of the Middle Ages the craft guilds were beginning to decline, and the merchant guilds had commonly become identified with the close corporation that managed the municipal affairs. Curiously enough, the influence of the boroughs in Parliament seems to have been slight. They were valued by royalty and the nobility for their wealth. In their turn, the towns gave their chief attention to local developments and the extension of trade. The burghers were almost entirely passive in the political sphere during the latter part of the fifteenth century.

THE WARS OF THE ROSES

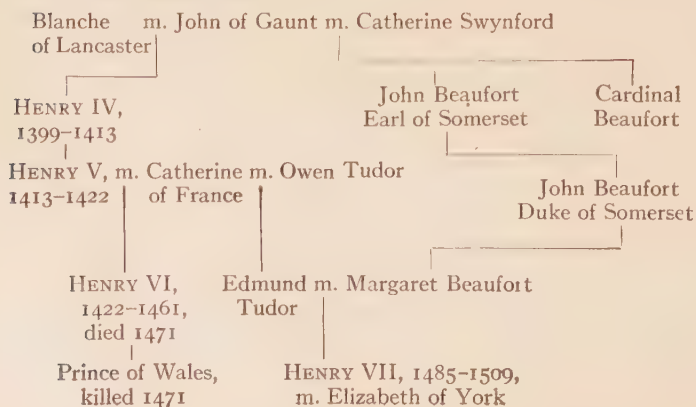
They might well be. Even to the present-day student who does not attempt to trace out in detail the family

quarrels of the time it is difficult to follow the fortunes of York and Lancaster. But a brief consideration of the struggle for the throne after the close of the French war is needed to bring the study of the Middle Ages to a close.

Henry VI was less than a year old when he became King in 1422.¹ After he grew to manhood he proved temperamentally quite unfit for the kingship in the turbulent fifteenth century. Pious and well intentioned, he was a man of no strength of character. He wore but black, brown, or russet, and never became sufficiently aroused to the use of a sharper exclamation than, "Forsooth, forsooth." He had inherited from his French parentage, apparently, a weakness of mind that carried him into stages of idiocy not unlike those of his grandfather, Charles VI of France. This strangely unkingly man married, or rather was married to, Margaret of Anjou, than whom a more vigorous personage did not appear in the history of the time. In the year 1453 she gave birth to a son. It was just about this time that the King became temporarily insane, and that the rival Yorkists, in consequence, grasped at a power they found difficult to retain.

The struggle that began at home as soon as the foreign war was over was a natural aftermath. The spirit of discontent with a failing government found popular expression in a formidable rebellion in Kent led by one who named

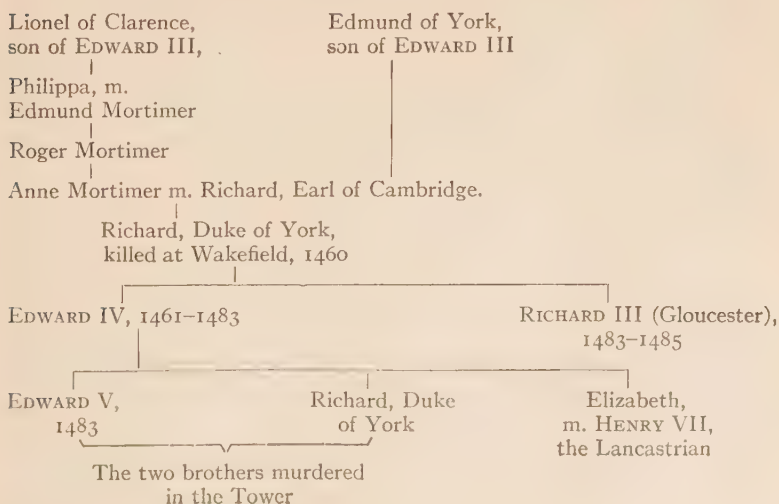
¹ The Lancastrian line:



himself John Amendealle, but who was thought by the government to be an Irishman named Jack Cade. ^{Jack Cade's rebellion} It was a protest against the general weakness of Henry's government. To make matters worse, the long training in a degrading sort of warfare showed its effects on the internal life of the country when an oversea outlet for lawlessness no longer existed. Warlike nobles with armed retainers became a national curse.

The party opposing the weak King, his strong wife, and their infant son was led by Richard, Duke of York.¹ Before the birth of Henry's heir Richard had hoped to succeed the witless King, for the Duke was ^{The Yorkist faction} descended on the paternal side from Edward III's fifth son, and he could claim descent from Edward on his mother's side as well. The Duke's following included a group of nobles, among whom the Earl of Salisbury and the Earl of Warwick were prominent. The Yorkist Duke did succeed in obtaining the title of Protector when the King lapsed into imbecility in 1453. But on the return of the King to sanity in the following year the struggle for power began in earnest. The common people were but slightly concerned; frequently they had badges of both parties, and chose to

¹ The Yorkist line:



wear the one that for the time seemed expedient.¹ Among the nobles the jealousy and desire for power was so keen that almost incredible brutality marked the numerous skirmishes of the "glorified tournament" for crown and revenue.

During the fifties the Yorkists were occasionally in power, and at times had the person of the King in their possession. In the year 1460 the Duke of York with the aid of Salisbury and Warwick actually claimed the throne. But in the battle of Wakefield, just at the end of the year, the aspirant was killed.² His son, Edward, now Duke of York, hastened rapidly from the west and continued the Yorkist demand for the kingship. The next decade saw much strife between the two parties. The Earl of Warwick,³ who became known as the "Kingmaker" because of his power, was gradually estranged from Edward, and continued to play his rôle of kingmaker by endeavoring to replace Henry VI in power. This he succeeded in doing for a short time in 1470, although the King, now a permanent imbecile, was nothing but the pawn of Margaret. The restoration was but brief, for in 1471 by the two battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury the Lancastrian power was completely destroyed. Warwick and the young Prince of Wales were killed on the battlefield, the imbecile King soon died (forcibly) "of pure displeasure and melancholy" in prison, and Margaret was sent back to France in the hope that she would cease to stir up the troubled waters of English politics.

Edward IV's remaining years were unchallenged. His secure tenure of the throne was largely the result of military ability and the ruthlessness with which he crushed opposition. In truth, the sanguinary battles followed by butcheries of prisoners and, in addition, the free use of judicial murder had so thinned the ranks of the older nobility that little opposition could

¹ The supposed badges of the two royal families later gave the name of Wars of the Roses to the struggles. The scene in the Temple garden of Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, where the Yorkists pluck white roses and the Lancastrians red roses as badges of loyalty, is apocryphal.

² For the location of this and other battlefields of the civil wars, see the map on p. 325.

³ He is said to have had a thousand retainers besides his personal household.

show itself. There was not much that was noteworthy in the conduct of the government. Parliament had degenerated into a spineless organ for royal use.

The public degeneracy of the time appeared in no uncertain light when Edward IV died in 1483 and handed the government on to his young son, Edward V. The boy King's uncle, Richard of Gloucester, grasping and heartless, seized the throne, imprisoned the King and his brother in the Tower, where they were murdered shortly afterward, and assumed the power for himself. This crowning result of a degenerate age was too much even for a public so hardened as that of fifteenth-century England. Within two years plots were abroad to displace the usurper. Henry Tudor, who had long been in exile, landed in his native country of Wales in 1485 to try for the throne. He was Lancastrian by descent, and it was the firm intention of the disgusted Yorkists that he should marry the sister of the murdered Edward V, and reconcile the troubles of the time. On the field of Bosworth Henry's forces met those of Richard and won. On the battleground where the murderous King was killed, Henry Tudor was proclaimed King of England and capped with the crown that was found in a hawthorn bush after the battle. The accession of Henry Tudor brought in a new line of kings and marks a dividing point in English history.¹

Edward V,
born 1470,
died 1483

Richard III,
born 1450,
reigned
1483-85

The study of the last century of the Middle Ages has been very largely confined to that part of the British Isles known as England. But it must never be forgotten that the other parts of the archipelago were ultimately to become a part of one British government. In the thousand years since the coming of the Anglo-Saxons to the islands there had been much advance in all parts of the British Isles in culture, in the prosecution of war, the

The state of
Scotland

¹ Shakespeare has given Richard III an evil reputation not wholly warranted. During the reign of his brother, Edward IV, Richard had proved a trusted and loyal councilor, an excellent administrator and military leader. Like the ruling class of his time, he was utterly unscrupulous, especially when there was a prospect of snatching the crown.

arts of building, in the development of trade and manufactures, and in the refinements of religion and government. Yet the advance had been very unequal. England was far ahead of its neighbors largely because of its superior position and larger population.

Scotland was next to England in its cultural and political growth, but the small population of northern Britain and the prevailing mountainous character of the country hindered advancement. The winning of independence in the fourteenth century had aroused a keen national feeling in Scotland. As an offset to this development perpetual quarrels among the aristocracy were unrestrained by the weak Stewart line of kings and by the rudimentary Parliament that did not serve as an effective check on king or lords.

By the end of the Middle Ages Ireland was less advanced in culture, government, and unity than the eastern island. The English efforts to subdue the island were largely unavailing save about Dublin. Elsewhere, with slight exceptions, the clan system and internecine strife were but too prevalent. The Anglicized environs of Dublin — called the Pale — had a Parliament that was as good as useless.

The process of unifying the British Isles had made little progress in the thousand years before 1500. Wales, it is true, was united to England politically. Yet the culture and patriotism of the Welsh was still decidedly local. Strife had ceased between these two after the fruitless revolt of Glendower. But the outlook for internal peace in the British Isles was certainly not good in 1485. A suicidal condition had developed largely because of the greatly superior power of the English, which led them to desire the domination of the weaker states, whose resentment at such claims was only natural. Fortunately the lapse of time was to heal division and teach moderation and good will.

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CHAPTER XV

A NEW AGE

WHEN Henry Tudor won the battle of Bosworth in 1485, and forthwith received the "crown of ornament which Richard III wore in the battle," it was by no means certain that the sanguinary civil wars were over. Only gradually did men perceive that a stay had come to the wearisome struggle of Lancastrian and Yorkist. Nor was there any clear perception of the change coming over England and Europe that has led students to regard these years as marking the opening of a new era; modern England began with the dynasty of strong Tudor kings. Henry VII was to bring his country out of weakness and war-weariness to strength and security. His solid achievements in internal organization, external policy, and commercial advancement made possible the brilliant position of his son. Henry VII was just the ruler needed to lead England through these transitional years.

THE FIRST TUDOR

The new King, born two months after his father's death and of a mother but fourteen years of age, was still a young man in 1485. His earlier years had been spent partly in Yorkist hands, partly in exile. The throne that he occupied in 1485 was none too stable, for his title was none too good. His grandfather had married the widow of Henry V; his mother, Margaret Beaufort, was a descendant of John of Gaunt, but the Beauforts were an illegitimate branch of the Lancastrians, whose taint had only been removed by a royal decree.

The Yorkist heir was Elizabeth, sister of the two princes who had been murdered in the Tower. Her accession at this juncture seemed well-nigh out of the question. The times were turbulent, and a woman was ill fitted to quiet

them. Nor had a woman yet succeeded of her own right to the crown; Matilda, in the early Middle Ages, endeavored to rule England — with two decades of civil war as a consequence. The combination of the male Lancastrian and the female Yorkist seemed the obvious arrangement. It happened, therefore, that one of Henry's first important acts was to marry Elizabeth. This strengthened his position without doubt, although he was insistent that before his marriage Parliament confirm his title to the throne. Possibly the claim of Henry seemed more valid, since the marriage was already planned and the date set. Before the end of the year 1486 a son, Arthur, was born to the royal pair.

Politic marriage of Henry VII

Even so, efforts were made to dethrone the first Tudor. For half of his reign Henry had risings to face. Two were of sufficient importance to deserve mention. Lambert Lambert Simnel, the son of an Oxford baker, was carefully coached to personate the young Earl of Warwick, the Queen's cousin.¹ Warwick had been imprisoned by Henry since the opening of the reign. In 1486 the supposed Earl of Warwick appeared in Ireland, where he was upheld by a strong, disaffected Yorkist following. It was in vain that the King took the real Warwick from the Tower and paraded him "to Paul's church in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled." Simnel and his followers crossed to England, but were defeated; the pseudo-earl was captured and assigned to the King's kitchen as a scullion, for he was but an "image of wax that others had moulded."

Lambert Simnel

A few years later another attempt was made to unseat the King. This time the counterfeiting game was played by a young man named Perkin Warbeck. This native of Tournai went in the service of a merchant of Brittany to Ireland. There his Yorkist features made some think he was Warwick or some other member of the deposed family. Finally he pretended to be the

Perkin Warbeck

¹ Warwick was the son of the Duke of Clarence, who was a brother of Edward IV and Richard III.

Queen's brother, Richard, who had actually been murdered in the Tower. The story was circulated, and gained wide credence that Richard, not murdered at all, had at last appeared to claim his dead brother's throne. For several years Warbeck, playing the prince, was a troublesome factor in Henry's relations with foreign states, for he wandered "like a landloper" (as the King said) from court to court. Warbeck was taken up by the Scots and even received a wife close to the royal family. In 1497 the game came to an end with the capture of Warbeck. Two years later, when another pretender developed claims, Henry's patience became exhausted; both Warwick and Warbeck were beheaded in 1499 as a lesson to any future aspirants. Henceforth, Henry's position was secure.¹

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF HENRY VII

If the danger from usurpers proved ineffective, the King gave even further stability to his position by a wise foreign policy. Henry VII and the Continent Henry believed in the wisdom of a peaceful, non-aggressive attitude. His caution was abundantly justified. He made no serious effort to revive the claims of Edward III and Henry V. Indeed, it would have been unwise itself to have attacked France. There was some trouble over Brittany early in the reign, but Henry did not have serious ambitions in this direction since he was easily bought off by the Treaty of Étaples in 1492. Charles VIII of France was exceedingly liberal in the matter of an indemnity that purchased the English King's non-interference in French expansion. Charles, also, promised not to "comfort" rebels against the first Tudor.

The settlement seemed ignominious to many Englishmen, who felt that the path of honor and glory lay in the renewal of the blustering mediæval policy against France. If

¹ Francis Bacon in his delightful *History of King Henry VII* thus ends the account of a long conspiracy: "This was the end of this little cockatrice of a king . . . It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate."

a serious effort had been made to win back the old holdings, the effort would surely have been wasted. Unification of France by the end of the century had become a strongly consolidated and flourishing monarchy with essentially the same limits that it has retained ever since. After the driving out of the English in 1453, the unification had gone on apace. Louis XI, who reigned from 1461 to 1483, added to France the territories of Anjou, Provence and the Duchy of Burgundy. Only Brittany remained without the spreading France. The marriage of Louis' son, Charles VIII (1483-98), to Anne of Brittany added this last remaining feudal province to the French crown. The treaty of Étampes simply insured the final step in French unification. The unification was momentous for French foreign policy. Now united and strongly nationalistic under a centralized government the French began to take an aggressive attitude in the hope of winning further possessions. The covetous eye of French rulers found Italy the fairest field for conquest. Charles VIII made a famous invasion of Italy just at the close of the century. His successor, Louis XII (1498-1515), was to continue that policy to such an extent that it became the French aim in the sixteenth century to win Italian possessions and national prestige. In consequence, England's relations with France were to hinge on matters of larger European import than formerly. The older and simpler plan to hold a part of the nearby continent gave way to the idea of a balance of power by which England's interests were protected in view of the development of such strong states as France and Spain. But the new policy was fraught with difficulties, as will soon be evident.

Additional arrangements by advantageous marriage treaties helped the English King to possess his estate quietly. Scotland had been a troublesome neighbor ever since the "shameful" peace of Northampton. The Warbeck affair had re-
Marriage of Margaret to James IV, 1503
 lighted the flames of hatred, and border trouble resulted. This was ended by a truce that led to the marriage of

Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret, to James IV of Scotland in 1503. The union which secured the amity of Scotland was to prove important, for the death of the last Tudor, exactly one hundred years hence, led to the accession of a descendant of James IV and Margaret to the English kingship.

If this alliance quieted the northern boundary, the more important union with Spain helped to strengthen the position of the Tudors. The Spanish peninsula, in fact, was rapidly becoming the center of two of the most promising national developments. Portugal's growing importance, out of all proportion to its size and resources, was the result of its adventurous sailors and their favorable nearness to the new sea-courses being marked in the Atlantic. Spain had long been a disjoined group of Christian states crusading more or less unitedly against the Moors, so long masters of the peninsula. The last of the Moorish kingdoms had been conquered in 1492. Previously the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile had combined the two strongest Christian states, which the wise policy of these two rulers formed into a powerful national monarchy. Like France, Spain was looking beyond its customary limits to larger possessions. Claims to Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia were successfully made. And in the very year of the last victory over the Moors, Columbus had been sent on his voyage of discovery, to add sources of great wealth to the new kingdom. Under Charles I, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain was to become the dominant part of the greatest political force in the Europe of the next century.

While Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII, was a child he was betrothed to Catherine, the fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The marriage was seven years in treaty before it was consummated in 1501; the prince and his lady were then but fifteen and eighteen, respectively. Much haggling occurred over the marriage portion. The dowry was set at two hundred thousand crowns, half to be paid at the time of the marriage,

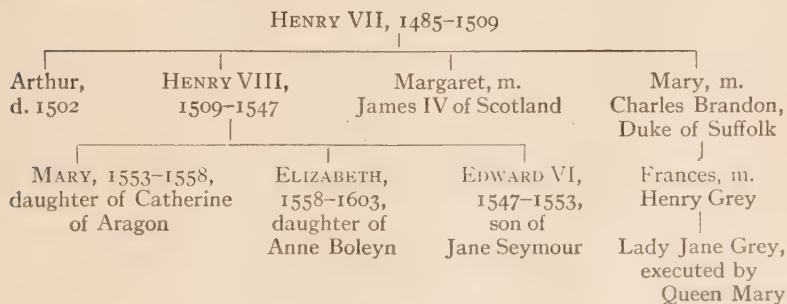
and the remainder in two years. Prince Arthur did not long survive the marriage; in truth, half of the dowry had not been paid. The fathers sought to reimburse themselves; Ferdinand demanded what had been paid, and Henry insisted on the remainder. The English King, who had recently lost his wife, even proposed to marry his widowed daughter-in-law. An agreement was at last reached by which Catherine was to remain in England and marry Arthur's younger brother, Henry, when he became old enough; he was then but twelve. This was contrary to the law of the church. Although a dispensation was obtained, the marriage did not actually take place until 1509 when Henry VIII succeeded his father. Tudor eagerness for the remainder of the marriage portion and the continuance of a useful alliance were later to be the occasion of "great events and changes."¹

THE KING'S THRIFTY GOVERNANCE

Internal administration, in the meantime, was kept well in hand by this cautious and masterful ruler. Like the first Lancastrian, the first Tudor was recognized as king by act of Parliament. But it must be regarded as the ratification of a successful military coup. There was little of the parliamentary government we think of to-day in England. The spirit of absolutism was everywhere in the air during the latter part of the fifteenth century. In the continental monarchies effective governments had grown up in the movements that made

Trend
toward ab-
solutism

¹ The Tudors:



Spain, Portugal, and France strong. England, on the whole, was less absolutist — in form, at least — than its neighbors, although Henry was “of high mind and loved his own will and his own way, as one that revered himself and would reign indeed.” Had not the English Parliament already made considerable progress in its remarkable growth, it might have been ignored or ruthlessly overrun. The result is an absolutism somewhat mitigated by the recognition of the place of Parliament as the mouthpiece of the nation and the appropriate avenue for enactments. Yet it was called but seven times by Henry and then for comparatively short sessions. In the last thirteen years of his reign but one Parliament met.

The real center of governmental activity was the Privy Council. Its members were chosen by Henry for their ability to serve his purposes, and not because of rank. The King was not afraid of an able man, although no one ever took a position similar to that of a modern prime minister, or resembled in his influence such men as Cardinal Wolsey or Thomas Cromwell in the next reign. The King himself sat often in his council, through which the greater executive power was expressed. There was danger of parliamentary growth being arrested through this change of emphasis. But as we shall find, the Parliament safely survived the lean years to reap a rich harvest in the seventeenth century.

The King was particularly careful to keep a strait hand on his nobility. They had too frequently been out of hand in the civil strife of his childhood. After 1485 the danger was somewhat less serious, since the warrings had decimated the older nobility. The King chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers for administrative work. Of these Cardinal Morton was the most prominent. The laws against livery and maintenance¹ were rigidly enforced chiefly through a new court, that of Star Chamber, within the council, for justices naturally found it difficult to act against the great nobles. The so-

The Privy
Council

Court of
Star Cham-
ber

¹ See p. 252.

called Court of the Star Chamber was nothing more than the Privy Council acting as an extraordinary criminal law court — sitting for that purpose in the Star Chamber — for the handling of important cases. It served the King admirably in his effort to establish order in England since it perfectly expressed his will and could not be intimidated by those most likely to be troublesome to the peace of the land. It was only in a later century, when its value had largely ceased, that this court received such an evil name. In the Star Chamber proceedings torture was used, contrary to the practice in the ordinary law courts.

Henry VII is probably best known for his rapacity. An indication of that has already been given in the matter of the Spanish marriage. He was granted taxes at the outset of the reign but was chary in asking for so unpopular a measure as their increase. It was to the advantage of a willful king not to demand money too frequently from Parliament and thus endanger his freedom by arousing the legislative power of the purse. More important as a source of revenue for him was the act that granted to the King all the property owned by Henry VI, thirty years before, much of which had gone into the hands of the nobles in the meantime. It enabled him not only to gain coveted wealth and royal estates but to weaken rivals by the confiscation of property.

Another method of filling his purse was by forcing the wealthy to grant to him apparently voluntary gifts, known as benevolences. This form of extortion had been practiced by Edward IV, but it had been declared illegal just before Henry became King. The famous method that Cardinal Morton used for extorting benevolences came to be known as Morton's fork or crotch. The instructions to commissioners for levying benevolence-money are famous: "That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them that they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living." This inborn royal covetousness was the more

hardly borne because the King had an abundance far beyond his needs.

In the latter part of the reign the public wrath was great against two efficient servants of his purse, Empson and Dudley. These extortioners stopped at no resource for adding to the King's wealth, and their own. Fines of all sorts for disobeying obsolete enactments were freely collected, juries were intimidated or dispensed with, outlawry and confiscation were freely exercised that these men might prey upon the people. Nor does this mean that, on the whole, justice was not well administered. It was only when the King was a party to the case that there was likely to be a miscarriage of justice. The best test of the unpopularity of Empson and Dudley was the perfect frenzy of indignation against them at the opening of the next reign. In order to stop the public outcry and to obtain the good will of the people, Henry VIII allowed these two men to be hanged, although he was wealthy as a result of their sharp practice, and proceeded to use the methods they had perfected.

The thriftiness of Henry VII is further shown by the way in which he fostered commercial life and maritime trade in particular. His love of peace was partly the result of a desire to increase the commercial well-being of his kingdom. In the earlier part of the reign, while Perkin Warbeck on the Continent was still a menace to Henry's security, a treaty was arranged which reopened commercial relations with Flanders by granting reciprocal privileges to the two countries, at the same time that provision was made against the recognition of the rebels of the one country by the other. This agreement, known as the *Intercursus Magnus*, was later supplemented by other agreements that helped greatly to reestablish the wool trade so valuable to the two countries. Toward the close of the reign, Henry entered into a commercial arrangement with Flanders that was of so much value to the English as to be called by the Flemings the *Malus Intercursus*.

Trouble over trading matters was not confined to rela-

Encourage-
ments to
trade

tions with Flanders. Ever since the Hanse merchants¹ had been established in England, the northern and northeastern trade had been largely in their hands. There was a growing consciousness in the years we are now considering of the value of English trade in English vessels. Much dissatisfaction was expressed against the Easterlings, as the Hanse merchants were called, because of their harsh methods of limiting British trade in the regions they were accustomed to monopolize. As an offset a treaty was made with Denmark in 1490 which opened the codfishing waters of Iceland to legal use by English vessels, and gave Henry's subjects liberal commercial privileges not only in Iceland but in Norway and Denmark. There was even some effort to strengthen English commerce in the Baltic, where the League was very strong.

English merchants were making advances in the Mediterranean also. Every year Venetians sent a fleet to England bringing spices and various goods of the Orient, in return for which they received raw wool for the cloth manufacture in Venice. Because of the incursion of English ships in the Mediterranean the Venetians attempted to restrict their trade by laying duties on articles they obtained directly. In retaliation Henry made a commercial treaty with Florence, the great rival of Venice; as a result, Venice repealed its restrictions.

In spite of the encouragement given to shipbuilding by the King, Englishmen had not yet sufficient control of the sea or enough vessels to make possible the commercial restrictions which were to be enforced in the days of colonial expansion. Nevertheless, the commercial ideal was progressing, for two navigation acts attempted to restrict trade in certain goods to English vessels.

An event of much more significance for the future than for Henry's reign was the discovery of land in the new world by John Cabot. This Venetian merchant, a Genoese by birth, had become a resident of Bristol in the latter part

¹ See p. 279.

Growth of
English
commerce
with north-
ern Europe

England and
Venice

of the fifteenth century. In this thriving port he aroused interest in a western voyage which would, it was hoped, serve for England as that of Columbus had for Spain. The King granted a patent in 1496 by virtue of which Cabot sailed west in a small vessel manned by but eighteen men, in quest of "Cipango and the islands from which oriental caravans brought their goods to Alexandria." He found land which has been conjectured to be Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. A larger expedition left in 1498. The voyagers seem to have coasted as far south as Chesapeake Bay. These journeyings are noteworthy as the first to bring Europeans to the American mainland if we except the shadowy explorations of Norse rovers. Cabot's work did not bear abundant reward for England. Over a century was to elapse before the English should make the first permanent settlement at Jamestown, and English colonization should definitely begin on the continent that Cabot visited.

Henry VII died at the age of fifty-two. His character can be construed from the nature of his reign. His love of order gave to England a breathing spell that was indeed welcome. Foreign wars and internal dissensions were stayed. His love of peace was particularly the result of a desire to amass wealth for himself and for his country. We have found his methods not always scrupulous, and his motives based on the love of an uncontrolled power. He was suspicious, yet merciful, domineering and yet of a strong religious temperament. He left to his son a treasure that made him the wealthiest ruler of his time. The King was a man of literary interests. He was greatly concerned in building, and lavish in expenditures for such purposes. To him is due the inception, at least, of the finest example of late Gothic architecture in England, the superb chapel of Westminster Abbey known by his name, and in which his body lies. He built a magnificent palace, of which few remains exist, not far up the Thames at a place he named Richmond.

Beginnings *Beginnings*

HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY

The new King was but eighteen years of age, handsome, of excellent physique, fond of outdoor sports, a good swordsman, archer, and wrestler. He had been well educated; both in books and in music it was thought that young Henry was a paragon. His very youth, joined with the possession of wealth, made him exceedingly promising and popular. All men saw the contrast with the close of the previous reign, especially as the King caused Empson and Dudley to be executed. The deferred marriage with Catherine was another cause for popularity. The contrast with other living monarchs was striking; Louis XII of France, Ferdinand of Spain, and Maximilian of Austria were old men made poor by many wars. With Henry VIII a new era seemed at hand.

Henry VIII,
born 1491,
reigned
1509-47

Yet the future was ominous. Henry was intensely proud, with an overmastering sense of his own power and importance. His personal ambition to play a conspicuous part in European affairs was to bring much that was evil. His frivolities and brutality made him a contrast to a father who may be blamed for having dowered his son with wealth which he knew not how to use. It is not surprising, therefore, that the young ruler should immediately embark on a vigorous foreign policy, leading inevitably to war in which he was to waste his substance. It was certainly unwise to renew the claim to the French possessions. But the ambitious King and the war party felt that France was growing too strong.

Character
of the
new King

In 1512 trouble with France culminated in war. Pacific counsels were unavailing against the invitations of Henry's father-in-law and the hope of recovering the lost provinces of Normandy and Guienne. Ferdinand of Spain succeeded in his objectives, but the English campaign of 1512 in Guienne was a complete failure. A later invasion of the country back of Calais resulted in a victory known as the "Battle of the Spurs," but it brought little good to England. During the King's absence in France James IV of Scotland invaded northern

Trouble with
France and
Scotland

England, where for a time he was a real menace. Forces, quickly gathered to repel the Scottish army, met the invaders at Flodden, just south of the Tweed and not far from Berwick, where the Scots suffered a disastrous defeat; James and a large number of his nobles were victims of the slaughter.

Shortly after, a kaleidoscopic change took place in continental affairs; Ferdinand patched up a peace with France and left his English son-in-law in the lurch. Marriage alliance with Louis XII of France Henry retaliated by doing what Ferdinand did not expect; he came to an understanding with France and cemented the agreement by a marriage alliance. The old French King, Louis XII, in spite of the fact that he was over fifty and visibly in his dotage, received Henry's seventeen-year-old sister, Mary, as his wife. It was a brilliant stroke of diplomacy even though it showed at its worst the disgusting character of dynastic politics. The understanding with France was short-lived, for Louis XII very soon died (1515). He was succeeded by Francis I, a young prince as ambitious as Henry VIII. The rulers of France and England were too much alike to get on together, and soon the recent friendship of the two nations was broken.

In the next year Ferdinand of Spain also passed from the scene, to be replaced by another youthful ruler, Charles I.

Growing power of Spain This young man was to prove a very powerful force in European affairs during the first half of the century. His mother was a sister of Catherine, Henry's wife. Through his father, Charles had inherited the county of Burgundy. Three years after he became King of Spain, another aged ruler died, his Hapsburg grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian. Thereupon the Hapsburg dominions in the Holy Roman Empire came into his possession. It was not long before Charles I of Spain also became the Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. Henceforth, the struggle between him and Francis went on more merrily than ever with disunited Italy as the battleground.

England played but an unimportant part in this rivalry

of Francis and Charles, which is not in its details germane to the study of English history. It is true that the island kingdom was valued as an ally, but its interests were not greatly furthered by active participation in continental strife. If the policy was ruinous, at least it may be said that the tangled skein of English diplomacy was held by the skillful hands of a keen negotiator. Cardinal Wolsey did much to raise the respect of European nations for the comparatively weak English nation.

England's
place in con-
tinental
affairs

Thomas Wolsey, the son of a well-to-do wool merchant of Suffolk, had received training at Oxford in preparation for a position in the church when he entered the royal service in 1506. He possessed remarkable gifts, particularly in diplomacy and administration. Success in these fields was assured by his willingness to work hard and long, and by an ambition that was boundless. He was largely responsible for the French war of 1512, and the later French marriage. Henry was willing to give over the guidance of the foreign interests of the country to so able an administrator as Wolsey. Honors were showered on him; in turn he became Bishop of Lincoln, Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor of the kingdom, and a cardinal in the Church. There was much cordial hatred of this "climber."¹ But Wolsey was safe so long as he held the favor of his King. His reputation was unexampled as the result of a treaty of "universal peace," signed in London in 1518. Peace, however, could not come with two such rulers as Francis and Charles contending for territories and glory. It took all of Wolsey's boasted skill and insight during the decade following the "universal peace" to keep England in a dignified and forceful position.

Cardinal
Wolsey

The English cardinal was, on the whole, successful in his efforts, even if fault is to be found with his type of policy. When ranked with contemporaries his place as a statesman

¹ His unpopularity was increased as the result of an unsuccessful effort to raise money forcibly, the so-called "Amicable Loan." The people were not in a benevolent mood. In order to remain in royal favor Wolsey gave the King his magnificent palace of Hampton Court.

is high. So far as a key can be found to unlock the meaning of his foreign policy, it is probably in the phrase, Balance of Power. To Wolsey the credit has been given for initiating this attitude to England's European problems. Certainly the well-balanced power of two such rulers as those of France and Spain made it possible for a strong third nation to exercise a force England had never before been able to exert. A sudden change came in the late twenties that brought Wolsey to his ruin. A situation arose that lost him the favor of a capricious King. The marriage difficulty and the break with the Pope over church jurisdiction ushered in a new aspect of foreign policy, to which attention will be paid in the succeeding chapter.

Idea of a
balance of
power

THE NEW LEARNING

In the meantime, interests other than political were deeply furrowing the life of all the European nations. During the last two centuries of the Middle Ages a revolt was gradually taking form against the grip which the church had so long held over the individual mind and conscience. A powerful world-church, as we have frequently observed, tended to subordinate persons and states to the See of Rome. The rise of the universities and the work of the friars had really aided the forces of tradition, instead of breaking them. The emancipation began in a marked way in Italy in the fourteenth century with the rediscovery of the Latin and Greek classics and ideals by certain forward-looking Italians.

Petrarch is often regarded as the chief initial figure in the Renaissance. Although his early years were contemporary with the later life of Dante, he had not the otherworldliness of the Middle Ages. A passion for the Latin classics developed a literary fruitage that won him the laurel crown at Rome in 1341. Although Petrarch sought especially to imbibe the spirit of Cicero and the Romans, his contemporary, Boccaccio, enlarged his view to include Greek literature. Their

The Re-
naissance

Petrarch
and the
classics

writings were of wide and profound influence, not only in Italy, but on apostles of the new point of view who spread the ideals of the Renaissance throughout the north and west of Europe. Chaucer was the earliest distinguished transmitter of the humanistic spirit to England. But his influence in England at the close of the fourteenth century was largely nullified by the deplorable internal conditions of the country under the Lancastrians and Yorkists.

The search for the literary treasures of Greece and Rome added a zest to the Renaissance not unlike that felt by such seekers of new worlds as Columbus and Cabot, or of Balboa as

Spread of
Renaissance
enthusiasm

He star'd at the Pacific . . .

Silent upon a peak in Darien.

Although Petrarch could not read the language of "deep-browed Homer," he was fortunate in finding the long-lost letters of Cicero. Others searched far and near, in German monasteries and Swiss libraries, in the repositories of Constantinople and the East, for the writings of the ancients. Scholars came from the east to Italy in order to teach Greek to the eager Italians. From France and Germany and England searchers found Italy the center of a new and intoxicating movement.

The spread of the Renaissance to the north of the Alps was not rapid. Not until the invasion of Italy by the French King, Charles VIII (1494), was the influence marked in France. The new learning penetrated Germany about the same time. The effect is noticeable in England in the reign of Henry VII, although the so-called English Renaissance reached its completest expression in those years of Henry VIII's reign which we have just examined.

Its influence
in France

Probably the chief reason for the rapid spread of the new cultural ideals in the late fifteenth century was the invention of printing — one of the greatest events in the history of the European world. Petrarch and Boccaccio, Chaucer and Wyclif had been compelled

Invention of
printing

to reproduce books by the slow and painful process of writing out by hand each reduplication of the original manuscript. Not only was "publishing" slow under those circumstances; inaccuracies were sure to occur, and but few could have the necessarily expensive manuscripts. Wyclif's poor preachers were greatly handicapped by these conditions, and had to depend on the ears more than the eyes of the people to whom they went out. But about the middle of the fifteenth century in Germany and Holland the device of using movable type in a hand press was hit upon. John Gutenberg of Mainz is usually credited with having started the printing process in western Europe about 1450. The first book printed in this way was a Latin Bible. The new invention was not opposed at first by the Church since it gave a convenient means of multiplying the number of Psalters and other books of devotion for the people. Yet its dangerous use was soon perceived by the Church, for the non-religious and anti-Catholic literature soon made good use of the new invention. The famous press of Aldus at Venice was particularly notable in forwarding a knowledge of the Greek and Latin classics. The first book issued from this press (in 1495) was a Greek and Latin Grammar. It was followed by a rapid succession of books in cheap form that immensely expanded the work of the Renaissance. By 1500 there were probably forty or fifty presses at work in Europe, and several million books had been issued.

Even before Henry VIII began his reign the new invention was at work in England. A wool stapler by the name of William Caxton, who preferred literature to business, was the first English printer. In the beginning he worked on the Continent, where in 1474 he printed the first English book. Not long before Henry VII became King, Caxton returned to England to set up his press in Westminster. The first English book to be produced on English soil was a characteristic product of the Renaissance spirit, the *Dictes and Noble Wise Sayings of the Philosophers*. When Caxton died in 1491 his press

William
Caxton,
d. 1491

did not become idle. Though Englishmen were less active in the actual printing of books than their continental neighbors, the epoch-making invention produced tremendous effects in their country as elsewhere. It came with a suddenness comparable to the development of the automobile and the electric light in our own day. A new world of the mind, broadened to include the hitherto dim past, was available for multitudes.

THE OXFORD REFORMERS

In due time, as a result of the influences we have noted, England became the home of the new intellectual enthusiasm. A group known as the Oxford Reformers The Oxford Reformers were chiefly responsible for the dawn of the English Renaissance. Four native Englishmen and a distinguished foreign scholar gave the years of the early Tudor period a brilliant intellectual lustre.

Thomas Linacre, an Oxford scholar, went to Italy with a mission announcing to the Pope the accession of Henry VII. He was so attracted by the new learning that Thomas Linacre several years were spent in Florence; he was even for a time the tutor of the children of the Florentine ruler, Lorenzo de' Medici. Linacre's particular interest was medicine, however. He introduced into England a knowledge of the Greek medical writers, was important in the establishment of the Royal College of Physicians, and served as the medical adviser of Henry VII. Another early English Humanist was William Grocyn, also of Oxford. He likewise studied in Italy, where he acquired the ability to teach Greek. He is supposed to have been the first to teach that language publicly in Oxford.

These men were precursors of several whose names and writings are much better known. John Colet, though the son of a wealthy London merchant, preferred John Colet and Saint Paul's School books and the Church to merchandise. As a young man he spent three years on the Continent imbibing the spirit of humanism. He brought to England a love for Plato, though his Platonism did not, as in the case

of the Florentines, dim his interest in the Bible. Essentially practical and of strong moral sense, he conceived of the new learning as a valuable servant for his moral and religious ideals. Colet began lecturing on Saint Paul's epistles at Oxford in 1497. But there was nothing of the ponderous scholasticism in his exposition; Saint Paul became a practical and refreshing guide under his interpretation. Just at the close of the century this ardent reformer and practical churchman was appointed to the important post of Dean of Saint Paul's in London. There about 1510 he founded a school for boys known as Saint Paul's School. In this new foundation the reformer applied his ideas to education. The master of the school, according to the statutes, was to be "learned in good and clean Latin, and also in Greek, if such may be gotten." Schoolbooks were prepared in "clean Latin," and classical authors were studied. The more conservative churchmen were alarmed at the tendencies in this "temple of idolatry"; yet their attempt to convict Colet of heresy failed.¹

One of the choicest spirits among the reformers was Thomas More. The son of a London lawyer, he was sent to Oxford in the last decade of the fifteenth century. There his impressionable nature was influenced by the new teachings, although he was always highly susceptible to the emotional forces and the more conservative influences of the Church. All through his life this double strain is evident. When he finally entered the world of politics and law, his rise was rapid. Before the death of Henry VII he had entered Parliament. In 1514 he was knighted and made a member of the Privy Council.

The influence of the Renaissance on More was marked. He was a close friend of the Dutch scholar, Erasmus, and was an enthusiastic advocate with Colet of the revival of learning and of the reform of the Church. More was one of those who looked for a new era to come with the new century and under the young

¹ Saint Paul's School was removed from its original site to more capacious quarters in western London only about forty years ago.

King. His hope of a better world was expressed in a never-to-be-forgotten form in a work published in 1516. The title of the small volume was *Utopia* (in Greek, "no place"). A traveler "very well learned in the Latin tongue, profound and excellent in the Greek language," supposedly told More and a friend of an island named Utopia among whose inhabitants were surprising and remarkable conditions. More's antipathy to the prevailing warlikeness of rulers found expression, for in Utopia war was regarded "as a thing very beastly, and yet to no kind of beasts in so much use as to man. . . . They [the Utopians] count nothing so much against glory, as glory gotten in war." In other regards More's description of Utopia makes it perfectly clear that he looked for something else than the conditions he found in his own day. In Utopia there were no religious persecutions, no harsh punishments for criminals, no love of ancestral names and fine clothes. All gorgeousness of apparel seemed to the Utopians shameful. All attorneys were excluded from the country. There was no coinage, for the natives deemed a heap of gold dangerous in the hands of a "lumpish block-headed churl with no more wit than an ass." Hunting was counted as butchery. Women were priests. Urban communities were garden cities instead of such evil smelling and appearing places as More found in his day. The traveler, in comparing this island with the countries he knew, makes statements not at all flattering: "When I consider all these commonwealths, which nowadays anywhere do flourish, as God Help me, I can perceive nothing but a conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities."

It was unfortunate that the "form and fashion of a weal public" such as More imagined could not be more nearly approached. It shows splendidly the yearning of the men of the new learning in a new age.

Of great inspiration in the English movement of thought was the foreign scholar, Erasmus of Rotterdam. Erasmus in
During his wanderings he spent some time in England
England. In the last year of the fifteenth century he was at

Oxford attracted by the promising munificence of English patrons of learning. There he came in touch with the English reformers of whom mention has been made. After Henry VIII's accession, the opportunities that seemed to be opening brought Erasmus to England again, this time to be a professor in Cambridge. While he was living with Thomas More in London (1511) just before going to Cambridge, Erasmus wrote that exquisite satire, *Encomium Moriae* or "Praise of Folly." This famous work boldly exposed the weaknesses and foibles of society and of the Church. Instead of transporting his hearers to a Utopian isle, Erasmus made his bold attack on the weaknesses of his age by making Folly deliver an oration in which this merry orator described many fellow fools where the world least suspected them.

The work of this restless scholar was not long confined to England. In 1513 he was again on the Continent. If any place could be called his home in later life it was Erasmus' aid to the study of the Bible Basel on the Rhine, where the famous press of Froben produced the multitude of works that made Erasmus the greatest literary force of the century. The practical moral feeling of this reformer resulted in the production of many works in the field of Biblical study. Paraphrases, or running commentaries on books of the Bible, were composed by him in addition to his very valuable translation of the New Testament into "clean Latin" with its parallel Greek text. The first edition of this noteworthy and extremely influential work appeared in 1516. Its value for the Reformation was soon widely realized.

The hopes of such men as Grocyn, Colet, Erasmus, and More were doomed to unfulfillment. Wars and selfishness and narrow views continued to dominate the world. But the greatest force that prevented the spread of the humanistic movement was the rise of religious strife in Europe. The Reformation began in Germany the year after Erasmus published his New Testament. The effect of the Lutheran movement on England was not immediate, however. But long before the end of

Humanism
and the Re-
formation

Henry VIII's reign it was to affect profoundly the life of the island, and to obscure, if but for a time, the humanistic forces that were so strong in the early years of the new century. It becomes necessary, therefore, to turn next to a study of the effect of the Reformation on English life and action. Not until the reign of Henry's daughter, Elizabeth, did the new humanism come to its fullest expression.

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closely confined, shut in or up

CHAPTER XVI

THE BREAK WITH ROME

ON the Continent a great stir had been caused by the revolt within the Roman Church, for the winds of the new doctrine were blowing stronger and stronger from Germany and Switzerland during the years when Henry VIII was beginning his long reign in England. Yet they had not reached England with any effectiveness by 1530 in spite of a decade of religious revolt on the mainland. Henry's reign, so far as we have considered it, seemed taken up with political and international developments under an ambitious ruler, well served by an equally ambitious minister, Cardinal Wolsey. The new learning, it is true, had begun to affect the intellectual classes even though the religious upheaval was by 1529 still confined to the continent. Yet the Reformation was to come in good time to England and Scotland, tingeing deeply the currents of private and public life, and troubling them with the rush of unpent loyalties and hatreds.

Importance
of the Re-
formation in
England

THE SPREAD OF THE REFORMATION

The rebellion against church organization and doctrines arose in Germany as the result of the vigorous attacks of Martin Luther, who was born two years before Henry VII began to reign in England. Luther received a university training, and entered the monastic life. In 1508 he became a teacher in the newly founded Saxon university at Wittenberg. There his study of the writings of Paul and of Saint Augustine led him to a belief in justification before God by faith, and not by faith and good works as elaborated by the Church. At the time that his thinking was changing, Luther was much angered by the "sale" of indulgences in the neighborhood. In the year 1517 the members of the parish of which he had charge (in addition to his teaching duties) paid a vendor named

The Conti-
nental Re-
formation

Tetzel for indulgences, not only for themselves but even for their dead friends and relatives in purgatory.¹ This cut Luther to the quick, for it affected the relation that he bore to his parishioners; and it seemed a particularly gross way of draining money from Germany for the Pope.

The result of Luther's objection to the sale of indulgences was a criticism of the Papacy that led to a greater and greater breach as Luther saw the consequences of his action, and as his doctrinal views took shape. He affirmed the liberty of individual thinking, and appealed with success to the German nobility and people against the "Babylonish captivity" of the Church. In order to replace the papal authority Luther translated the Bible into German. He organized a new church in which five of the seven Roman Catholic sacraments were discarded. Baptism and the Lord's Supper only were retained. It is significant of the new point of view that the other sacraments were rejected because nothing seemingly was to be found in the Scriptures regarding them. The Bible became the great weapon against the Roman Catholics in the controversies that arose as a result of the break-up of the religious unity of the Middle Ages.

The Reformation was not long confined to Germany. In German Switzerland the revolt against the Church was led by Zwingli; he preached the new doctrines at Zwingli and Calvin Zürich. He was more humanistic than Luther, with whom he disagreed as to the meaning of the Lord's Supper; to Zwingli it was only "in remembrance." Luther held to a real presence of Christ at the sacrament although he did not believe in transubstantiation. The early death of Zwingli in 1531 gave him less influence than another and younger Protestant leader in Switzerland by the name of John Calvin. This Frenchman was compelled to leave his

¹ An indulgence is a remission in whole or in part of the temporal punishment due to sin after the guilt of the sin has been forgiven. Protestants call Tetzel's practice "selling" indulgences, but it was always the doctrine of the Church that those unable to pay could obtain indulgences freely. From this point of view the payment could be considered an additional penitential act.

native land because of his beliefs. He took refuge in the Rhine region whence he was called to Geneva to lead in the Protestantizing of that city. There he labored until his death in 1564 to spread a "reformed" church that was to influence profoundly not only France and the Low Countries, but England and especially Scotland. In Great Britain Calvinism was reproduced with but slight modification in the Scottish Presbyterian Church of John Knox.¹

The effects of this disturbance of Roman Catholic unity were profound. A new cause of bitterness and national hatred arose. The Catholic Church early organized itself for defense and even aggressively attacked the Protestant countries through the Jesuit movement, the power of the Inquisition, and the strong Catholic kings of Spain and France. The Reformation undoubtedly stimulated the growth of national languages and literatures and education. Individual minds and consciences were taken more into consideration; in this regard it was somewhat similar to the humanistic movement, even though in general it lacked the broad tolerance and high intellectual ideals of the Renaissance. The excessive emphasis on religious beliefs did much to complicate the internal affairs of the nations.

The Reformation, however, had only slight effects on English religious life and institutions for some time after Luther began his agitation. This was partly owing to the political unity which prevented such action as was possible in the German Holy Roman Empire. We have found some discontent with the life of the Church. The Oxford Reformers were severe critics of many ecclesiastical abuses, but they never counseled such revolutionary action as that of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. Colet and More and Erasmus were desirous of remaining within the Church in order to effect wholesome and gradual changes. Sir Thomas More became, as time went on, increasingly certain of the value of the Roman connection — to his own hurt, as we shall find. Erasmus was opposed to Luther's

General
effects of the
Reformation

Slow response
of England

¹ See below, p. 350.

kind of reform and to his doctrinal ideas as well. By 1525 he had definitely broken with Luther because of a well-grounded distrust of the Reformation. From the humanistic viewpoint the reforming zeal of a Luther did not appear to further disinterested cultural and tolerant thought.

Henry VIII himself was keenly interested in the current doctrinal discussions. During the first few years after

Henry VIII, Luther's defiance of the Pope, the English King "Defender of the Faith" took pains to prove his orthodoxy. When the

Pope excommunicated Luther and commanded that his books be burnt, Henry and Wolsey were glad to accede to the papal wish. Searches were made in England for Lutheran works, and there was a bonfire of heretical volumes in Saint Paul's churchyard in the spring of 1521. In addition, the King wrote a reply to Luther's treatise *On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, a work in which the quondam Saxon friar called in question the papal authority by denying the value of several of the sacraments. Henry's defense of the seven sacraments and of the Pope's authority aroused so much stir that Luther replied in as scurrilous a fashion as he had been attacked, asserting, among other things, that Henry had helped to prove the truth of the proverb that there are no greater fools than kings and princes. Henry received the warm thanks of the Pope for his work, and was rewarded by the grant to him of the title "Defender of the Faith."¹

We should not be surprised at the attitude of Henry and Wolsey in 1521. The Pope's authority was all-important to the King, for the legality of his marriage depended on a papal dispensation. The legitimacy of his children and their right to succeed him was based on papal authority. Wolsey as a cardinal of the Church was not without hope of reaching the papal chair in due time. It was, therefore, wise to keep on good relations with the head of the Church and with Charles V.

¹ The title was retained by Henry after his break with the Pope, and has been used by the rulers of England ever since. The initials "F.D." still appear on British coins.

grossly or abjectly abusive, expressed with coarse vulgar language

Henry was particularly anxious about the succession at this time. Catherine had borne him several children, but all save one, a daughter named Mary, had died. In the very year that Henry defended the sacraments he showed his anxiety by the execution of the Duke of Buckingham because the Duke had been heard to make some idle remarks to the effect that he was next in succession to the King.

In foreign affairs matters were not going well. Wolsey had failed to "gain the popedom" in 1523, when Clement VII succeeded the short-lived Hadrian — and Charles V seems to have been largely responsible. Henry breaks with Charles of Spain In 1525, Charles won a decisive battle over Francis at Pavia, which led the English King and his chancellor to hope for Spanish assistance in reconquering part of England's ancient possessions in France. But Charles proved perverse. He would not marry the infant daughter of Henry, but took as his wife the infanta of Portugal instead. Moreover, he did not keep the French King, who had been captured at Pavia, in captivity, as Henry wished.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TUDOR CHURCH

It was about this time that Henry determined to put away Catherine and take another wife. The reasons are fairly clear. For one thing, the succession to the The problem of an heir throne seemed precarious enough. Even if Mary did succeed him, the prospects for the Tudor line were not bright. No woman had yet ruled England. When the Empress Matilda, back in Norman times, attempted to control the crown, serious civil disturbance had resulted. The Wars of the Roses were still a fresh memory. If Mary married a foreign ruler it might mean the subordination of England to a continental country, and the upsetting of all the schemes of Henry and Wolsey to make England more important in the European world. Possibly the King's marriage was not valid after all. Was God displeased, and was the death of five children a judgment on Henry for wedding his deceased brother's wife? ¹

¹ There is Biblical authority on both sides of the question. Compare Deut. xxv, 5 with Lev. xx, 21 and Matt. xiv, 4.

Besides, Henry became enamored just at this time of one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting. Anne Boleyn was the daughter of a well-connected knight, had been trained in the French court, was attractive and voluptuous. She was sufficiently coy to arouse Henry's deep interest in her. It may have appeared that the marriage with his brother's wife "crept too near his conscience." Even so, the union with Anne fitted his personal wishes as well as the demands of his conscience and the political needs of the time. The King thereupon determined to "divorce" Catherine and to marry the attractive lady-in-waiting.

Wolsey dutifully set about the task assigned to him. The Pope was approached, but he would not agree that the marriage of Henry and Catherine was invalid. If he admitted it, he would be declaring the dispensation of a former Pope wrong. In addition, Charles V, who was dominant in Italy at the time, was naturally opposed to this intended mistreatment of his aunt. A decretal commission, consisting of Wolsey and an Italian cardinal, was named to consider the question. Nothing, however, came of this expedient, as the Italian found it convenient to delay his journey to England. When he did finally come and the court was at work, the marriage problem remained unsolved until the Pope decreed that the case should be taken to Rome. To this Henry would not agree. Even the universities, domestic and foreign, were approached in the hope that their judgments would help toward a favorable solution of the question. But they gave opinions in accordance with the political pressure brought to bear upon them.

Cardinal Wolsey, as the result of the failure of his efforts, lost the King's favor. Since he was not popular with the people, he served as a scapegoat for policies and faults which were not altogether his. The Cardinal's degradation was followed shortly by his death while on the road to London to answer a charge of high treason. His great error was a failure to satisfy the King's latest whim. Sir Thomas More became chancellor in his stead.

Roosting Sp. Birds of Henry list. Bone or
begin discussing from, then Henry - bring up for
THE BREAK WITH ROME 319 discuss

The method now adopted by the King was to break definitely with Rome, or at least to frighten the Pope into an agreement by a threat to do so. Parliament was called in 1529 to serve Henry's purpose. During sessions that lasted over a period of seven years, legislation was passed, at the behest of the King, that makes this Parliament one of the most noteworthy in English history. Many Englishmen were not unwilling to have Parliament deal with the abuses in the Church, for there was much dissatisfaction with many of its powers and practices. Parliament was to serve the astute King as well.

The Parliament of 1529-36

At first, separation from Rome was not broached. Ecclesiastical abuses, however, were so vigorously attacked by the Commons that Bishop Fisher complained that "now with the Commons is nothing but Down with the Church." Mortuary dues had

Submission of the clergy to the King

been burdensome, as these gifts to the priest from the dying person's estate were not carefully fixed; Parliament settled the difficulty by prescribing fair dues. It also limited charges for probating wills, and regulated many other practices that had been open to abuse.¹ A priest might not henceforth hold several benefices or be a non-resident of his parish. It was not long before the attack on the Church became even more venomous. The clergy were accused of violating the act of *præmunire* because they recognized Wolsey as the legate of the Pope.² Before Wolsey's death he had been compelled to admit his guilt on a similar ground, that he had violated an act of Edward III's reign prohibiting the carrying of lawsuits out of the country. Both accusations were monstrous, for Wolsey and the clergy had acted at the wish of the King. The submission of the clergy was finally accepted upon the payment of a large sum of money to the Crown, and by the admission that the King was Supreme Head of the Church.

The work had but begun, however, for the treatment of the English Church did not lead to submission on the part of Catherine or the Pope. Certain of Henry's subjects

¹ Wills were probated in the Church courts.

² See p. 256.

official probate of will

were not amenable either. When Henry seemed bent on becoming the Pope of England, Sir Thomas More resigned the chancellorship, and Bishop Fisher soon after was imprisoned for refusing to give up Catherine's cause. Despairing of success in bringing the Roman authorities to terms, Henry, in January of 1533, secretly married Anne, who had already become his mistress. In order to pave the way for a legal annulment of the marriage with Catherine, an act was passed by Parliament forbidding appeals to the Pope. Thereupon, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, a pliant tool of the King, held an ecclesiastical court in which the marriage of Henry and Catherine was declared null. That settled the matter, since the affair could not be contested in a higher court of appeal. Anne was crowned queen in the summer, and gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, early in September.

Parliament now proceeded to complete the work. Legislation was enacted recognizing the new situation. As an answer to the papal excommunication of Henry and Anne, Parliament passed a law forbidding any payments to Rome, prohibiting the reception of bulls or briefs regarding the elections of bishops and archbishops, and providing for the control of the Church through the King. An Act of Supremacy, passed in 1534, marked an end of the process by which an Anglican Church was created as a distinct national Church completely separate from the Roman communion. Henry was "justly and rightfully" recognized "only supreme head in earth of the Church of England"; the step had been taken "for the increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England."

THE CHARACTER OF THE CHURCH

It would give a wrong impression to call this process the Reformation. Much about the movement does not arouse great respect for the irresponsible and selfish King. The royal motives were decidedly non-religious; personal in-

terests, the desire to establish more firmly the Tudor dynasty, and the need for recouping his depleted purse, all played a part. The King certainly had no interest in the new theological ideas that were stirring the minds of men. Henry proved himself, as we shall find, a good Catholic on most points of belief. Yet if the change was largely political and personal in its promptings, a way was open for the entry of the new learning into England. In time it was to become a Protestant land. But by 1534 the first move only had been taken toward the introduction of the Reformation, and that move was largely negative.

The King's
religious
beliefs

The position that people were compelled to take was peculiar enough. The King demanded their allegiance to him as supreme head of the English Church at the same time that he insisted on their adherence to Catholic ideas. A veritable reign of terror was introduced in which one was not sure of avoiding both horns of the dilemma. Henry early terrorized the Catholic-minded by several barbarous executions. In 1535 several Carthusian monks were publicly butchered because they held to the headship of the Pope in things spiritual. Bishop Fisher was another victim; he had defended Catherine and the legitimacy of her marriage. Even more startling was the execution of Sir Thomas More, one of England's most worthy and high-minded thinkers. In spite of a wish for reform, More had always remained a devout Catholic. He could not stomach the new doctrine of royal supremacy. The ex-Chancellor was brought to trial and condemned for refusing to the King his new title, and shortly afterward lost his head. In the darkness of his imprisonment he saw the hopelessness of his Utopian dreams of twenty years back.

Execution of
More

On the other hand, Henry was as careful that Lutheranism should not penetrate his kingdom. The King had shown his powers for defending the faith in 1521. The year after the execution of Fisher and More he exercised his prerogative as head of the Church by devising Ten Articles of belief for establishing "Christian quietness and unity," inasmuch as the Lutheran ideas were

Royal oppo-
sition to
Lutheranism

beginning to have some influence on the island. In certain parishes there was much ferment. Even in Convocation men of the old and of the new learning violently disagreed. Henry's Ten Articles of 1536 are highly significant as the first doctrinal statement of the new national Church. In them the King accepted the place of the Bible, the creeds, and the first four councils in doctrinal matters. Transubstantiation was affirmed, and good works were declared necessary to salvation. Although images were allowed they were not to be venerated. He held that purgatory existed, but denied, as did Luther, that pardons (indulgences) would deliver souls suffering therein.

The concessions to the new learning were slight indeed. In one regard, however, a genuine advance toward Protestantism is to be seen. Shortly after the Ten Articles were made the doctrinal basis of the Church, it was decreed that every church should have a copy of the Bible in English. At that time there was no authorized version. Wyclif and his helpers had made a translation in the fourteenth century — before the discovery of printing — but his Bible had not been widely disseminated. The perpetuation of Wyclif's beliefs by his Lollard followers was largely ineffective in giving people a knowledge of the Bible in English. During Henry's reign an Englishman by the name of William Tyndale had set himself to the task of translating the Bible in order that it might become known to "every boy that drives the plough." He began his work in the twenties, but was forced to go to the Continent to continue his task. There he was dogged by persecutors until in 1535 he was treacherously betrayed and put in prison near Brussels. In the very year that Henry enunciated his Ten Articles, Tyndale was burned at the stake. Before his death he had completed his translation of the New Testament and of the first five books of the Old Testament in an English that proved strongly reformatory in its interpretations.¹

¹ His English was homely and effective. Gen. xxxix, 2, reads: "And the Lord was with Joseph and he was a lucky fellow." Matt. vi, 7, advises that "When ye pray, babble not much."

The English Bible; Tyndale

Tyndale's work was not acceptable to Henry; he hated the ardent reformer, whose works, along with other tabooed volumes, were publicly burned in Saint Paul's churchyard by authorities who regretted that their authors were not at hand for sacrifice. But time worked a change. By 1537 another English version was published; it was known as Matthew's Bible because of the inscription on the title-page. The real author or editor, however, is supposed to have been John Rogers, one of Tyndale's friends. And Rogers included in this version the translations of Tyndale. By a strange trick of fortune this Bible attracted the attention of Archbishop Cranmer, who prevailed on Henry VIII to authorize its publication. In 1538 it was ordered to be supplied to the churches, and Tyndale came into his own. Copies of the Bible were placed in the church buildings, where they were secured to the reading desks by chains. Contemporary accounts would seem to indicate that there was considerable interest in them. Henry, in spite of his conservatism, was not averse to the reading of the Bible by the people, for much was to be found therein counseling obedience to kings and rulers, and nothing was said about a pope.

Yet we must not infer that Henry's mind was opening to Protestant ideas. The best evidence of the royal temper is the ferocious Statute of 1539 known as the Six Articles; it proved that the King at that late date in his reign was still essentially Catholic in his beliefs. The immediate occasion of the Six Articles was the "great discord and variance as well amongst the clergy of this his realm, as amongst a great number of vulgar people." In the previous year a Lutheran deputation had come to England, only to divide the church leaders into liberal and conservative groups. Henry "prudently pondering" the situation "like a prince of high prudence and no less learning" caused the enactment of the Six Articles Act of 1539, "to make a perfect concord and unity." They abolished diversity of opinions by affirming transubstantiation, the celibacy of the clergy, the necessity for confession, the need of prayers for

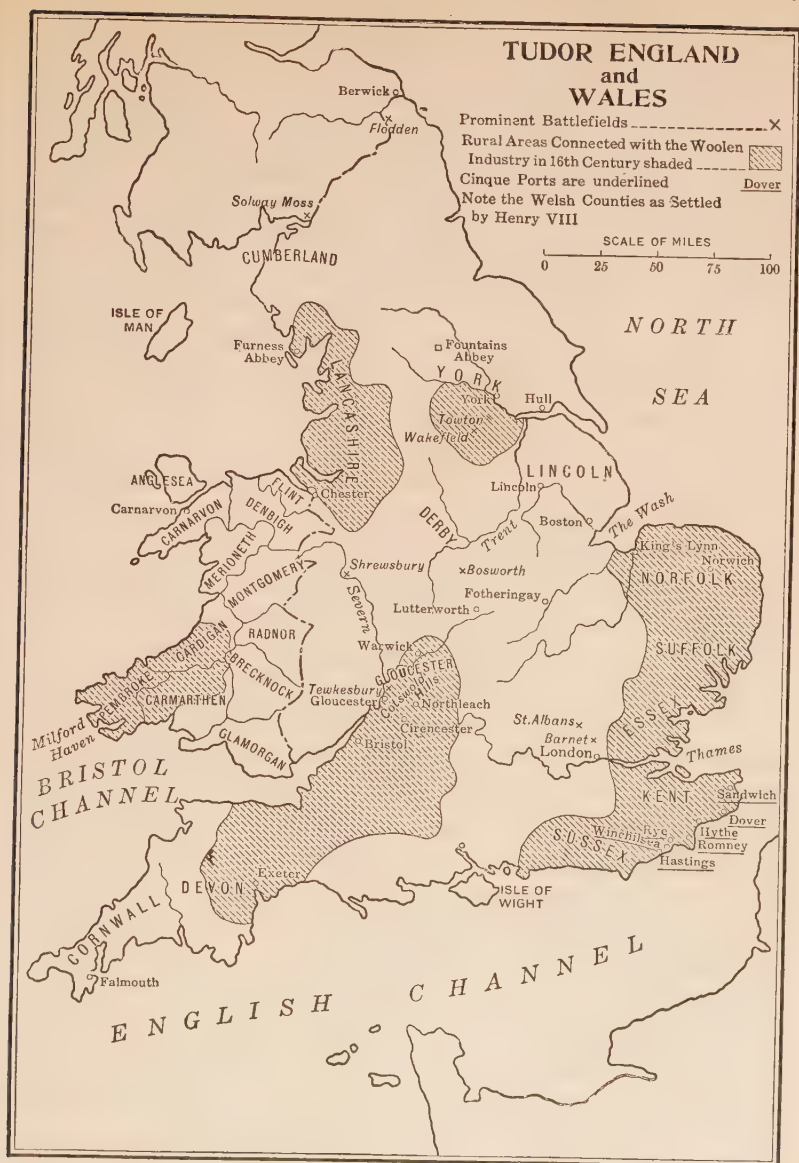
the dead, and communion in one kind only for the laity. So harsh were penalties for violations of these beliefs — to deny transubstantiation meant the stake — that this statute was known as the “whip with the six strings.” Shortly before its issuance a man was hanged in London for eating meat on Friday, and persons high and low were executed as a result of a tyranny that seems to have little in common with Christian beliefs.

AN END TO THE MONASTERIES

One can obtain an indelible impression of the despotism and violence attached to the religious change in England by observing the brutal way in which Henry and his servants carried on the spoliation of the Church. For his purposes the King found a splendid tool in Thomas Cromwell, an utterly unscrupulous, if very able, servant. He became vicar-general, that is, viceregent of the King in his capacity as head of the Church. In a particularly dictatorial fashion he proceeded to remodel the Church to the advantage of the royal coffers. A visitation was decreed with the intention of correcting the conditions supposed to exist in the monasteries, if dissolution should not actually result.

The monasteries had been of great use in the Middle Ages. Even yet they served in many ways as efficient institutions. In the earlier centuries they had been useful as inns for travelers, as means of poor relief, as pioneers in farming, as seats of education and learning.¹ Even in the sixteenth century their usefulness had by no means ended, although it is doubtful whether their services to society at that time were commensurate with their wealth. There was certainly much criticism of monasticism at the time. No longer were they conspicuous as centers of learning save at Oxford and Cambridge where semi-monastic colleges were devoted to education. Their old influence had waned decidedly at the same time that the property of the Church and its monasteries continued to ac-

¹ See p. 190.



cumulate in a dead hand. It was estimated at the time that the Church owned half the kingdom, and that half of the ecclesiastical income was in monastic hands. It is impossible to be accurate. Nor is it necessary, for other motives

than altruistic ones prompted a rapid and sharp investigation.

The visitation of the monasteries by Cromwell and his assistants began in 1535. The work was carried forward with great celerity. Speedy action was one of Cromwell's visitation Cromwell's virtues as an administrator. It was felt that a hasty visitation would prevent the chapters from disposing of their wealth before it was inventoried. Very elaborate instructions were given to the visitors; new ecclesiastical situation was to be introduced, abuses corrected, and conditions recorded. The reports showed many evils and much maladministration that would have abundantly justified the shutting-up of many monastic houses, if the charges were all true. Undoubtedly the biased visitors often found what they sought.

In the last year of the Reformation Parliament (1536) the evidence was laid before the lawmakers at a time when public clamor against the monks had been aroused by men of the new learning as well as by those interested in the lands and wealth of the Church. The result was the dissolution of some 376 monastic houses of small size, whose annual incomes were under £200. The ostensible ground was the hastily gathered evidence that "manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living is daily used and committed among the little and small abbeys . . . , to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and the great infamy of the King's Highness." The dissolution of the lesser abbeys was agreeable to the King also because of the addition of thousands of pounds of income and movable wealth to his annual revenue. The great abbeys were willing to vote the dissolution of the lesser monasteries in the hope that they would be untouched. The people in general thought the act a good one, for they expected that the money made available would, in part at least, be put to good use in education, for religious purposes, and for the strengthening of the national defense. There was also some desire among the monks to be freed from the monastic restrictions.

But the Church had not counted on Henry's appetite. During the next few years, monastery after monastery, untouched by the Act of 1536, was dissolved or in-
veigled into surrendering its privileges to the Crown. The work culminated in a parlia-
mentary act of 1539, which made lawful all previous seiz-
ures, and provided for the dissolution of all the monasteries
not yet in the hands of the King. Scattered over England
to-day are found the ruined buildings of the greater and
lesser abbeys, though some were adapted for residences by
the nobility and many were rapidly destroyed by neighbor-
ing townsmen who wanted building stone. Many imposing
ruins yet testify to their great position in England previous
to the dissolution.¹

End of the
great monas-
teries

The despoiling of these institutions did not help the na-
tion at large. It is true that landowners near the founda-
tions rounded out their estates as the farms
passed into secular hands. The buildings were
robbed of all their valuables until nothing but
shells remained. But the enormous wealth that came to
the Crown was not used for the public good, although sev-
eral new bishoprics were created and endowed. For the
most part the wealth went to Henry and his courtiers, and
to the establishment of a nobility and a moneyed class that
served his interests with the utmost servility.

Misuse of
monastic
funds

The revolutionary changes of these years produced dis-
content and trouble in many ways. Long before the dis-
solution took place secular landlords, according
to an Act of 1533, "daily studied, practiced, and
invented ways and means how they might accumulate and
gather together into few hands as well great multitude of
farms as great plenty of cattle and in especial sheep, putting
such land as they can get to pasture and not to tillage."²

Enclosure
movement

¹ The abbeys remote from great cities have been the most completely pre-
served. Notable among the monastic ruins are the abbeys of Fountains near
Ripon in Yorkshire, and of Furness in the Lake District. The former was dis-
solved in 1539, the latter in 1537. These two were probably the wealthiest
abbeys in England. The annual rents of Furness Abbey when the visitation
was made totaled about £1000.

² Bland, Brown, and Tawney, *English Economic History. Select Documents*,
pp. 264-65.

The enclosure of fields for sheep runs, and the imparking of large and broad woodlands for deer grazing brought destitution to many a hamlet. Idleness, "the stepmother of the virtues," produced vagabonds who became an increasing problem when the monasteries were no longer there to administer poor relief. Along with enclosure and idleness there was a rather rapid increase in the prices of staple articles. The poor became poorer. If Henry had felt as lively an interest in his subjects as he expressed he would have used the riches of the abbeys for improving the condition of the poor. As it was, a comprehensive handling of the question of poor relief was postponed until the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

There were several risings. In Lincolnshire the lower classes distrusted Cromwell's agents, and were unwilling to "Pilgrimage accept the changes in the Church. An appeal of Grace" for the good old conditions was met by the recourse to arms with the consequent collapse of the Lincolnshire rising. A more serious rebellion developed in Yorkshire. The abbeys had been of such great use in the wild country of the north that their suppression was deeply deplored. The resentment against enclosures played a part as well; the insurgents asked that the statute against enclosures be put into execution, and that all enclosures made in the last half century "be pulled down except mountains, forests, and parks." The movement was largely expressive of conservative religious feeling, for the most prominent objectives were, probably, the removal of "advanced" bishops and the restoration of the monasteries. The rebels carried a banner on which were depicted the five wounds of Christ; their march was known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The whole of the shire was in ferment. An armed force of over thirty thousand men was formed to register the wishes of the countryside. For a time the movement was decidedly menacing, even to the point where the King's commissioners agreed to a free Parliament. But nothing came of the promise. The Pilgrimage of Grace was suppressed brutally with no thought of granting the wishes of

the peasants as expressed in their articles. Henry took much the same attitude toward the movement that the German nobles and Luther did toward the Peasants' Revolt in Germany shortly before this time.¹ A large number of executions served to subdue the wishes of any who might think they could counsel the King on the way to govern the country and the Church. The solution of agrarian discontent as well as religious reform was, in consequence, postponed by the self-willed autocrat.

This disturbance made so clear the need for a stricter supervision of the north country that a Council of the North was created as a branch of the Privy Council. For one hundred years it was to be an important executive instrument for conducting practically the whole of the administration of northern England.

Council of
the North

THE CONCLUSION OF THE REIGN

At last the reward that so many wished came to the unscrupulous and terribly efficient Cromwell. In spite of the fact that he served the King as faithfully as Wolsey, that he had done much to make possible the despotism of Henry in Church and State, an ungrateful King sacrificed him as he had Wolsey — and for a like reason. The marital experiences of the ruler would not occupy so much of a place in history were the changes of his affection not so frequently connected with important modifications of policy. Wolsey had lost the chancellorship because of his inability to procure a divorce for the King. Thomas Cromwell lost his head in 1540 because he had obtained for Henry a bride who was unsatisfactory. To Cromwell a connection with the league of Protestant German states seemed a wise move of foreign policy since there was much talk in 1539 of an invasion of England by the Catholic forces of France and Spain. Anne, the sister of the Duke of Cleves (in western Germany), was the minister's choice.

Death of
Cromwell,
1540

¹ The German popular movement of 1525 was based, like the Pilgrimage of Grace, on agrarian as well as religious grounds. Luther feared the revolt not only because of its religious radicalism but because of the political unsettlement that might arise. He advised the nobles to "slay and kill."

Cromwell forgot that his master had developed expert taste in wives. The Catholic Catherine had been followed by Anne Boleyn. But the mother of Elizabeth Henry's wives did not long satisfy the royal fancy. She was sent to the block in 1536 on charges of adultery. Not long after, Henry married Jane Seymour, by whom he had the long-wished-for son, the infant Edward; the child was undoubtedly a legitimate heir, since Catherine had died before the third marriage. The mother, however, did not long survive Edward's birth; she sickened and died as a result of the exhaustion of the christening ceremony, in which Henry forced her to take part while unwell. Anne of Cleves, the fourth wife, was reputed fair and clever, but Henry found out otherwise when he met the woman; he likened her to a "Flanders mare." She was soon divorced and Cromwell was sent to the block. His fifth and sixth wives, Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr, were unimportant politically. The latter proved of uncommon discretion; she was able to outlive her husband.

After Cromwell's death no minister of the prominence of the cardinal or of the vicar-general succeeded. The seven years that remained of Henry's reign were years End of the reign of harsh despotism and of unbending allegiance, on the part of the King, to his conservative religious ideas. Foreign policy again loomed up prominently. Another war with Scotland embittered Anglo-Scottish relations at the end of the reign, at the same time that an alliance with the Emperor against France involved England in a continental war. The dire need for "running expenses" during these years led Henry even to debase the coinage.¹

It is not easy to estimate the character of this monarch. He retained popularity with the common people to a degree that is remarkable if the glaring faults and Character of Henry changes of his reign are considered. The people, however, were ignorant of much that we know, and the King was expert in laying the blame for unpopular policies upon his ministers. As we have found, they were again and

¹ See p 361.

again sacrificed to the popular displeasure. Henry was brutal, avaricious, sensual, and excessively self-centered. He was, also, an able ruler if we judge by the standards of his time; he had a keen and powerful mind and an excellent grasp of public affairs. His strength made possible a tremendous revolution that occurred without serious internal disturbances. Nor did he permit it to go beyond the limits which his conservative temper set.

The death of Henry in 1547 freed the religious movement from restraint. It also gave the nobles and landowners in general an unfettered chance to carry the greedy policy of Henry to its legitimate conclusions, now that selfish royalty no longer checked an unscrupulous upper class. The brief so-called reign of Edward VI forms, therefore, the climax of the break with Rome and of the changes that followed in its train.

Effect on
Reformation
of Henry's
death

EDWARD VI

The boy Edward was but nine years old when his father died. The Privy Council, therefore, took over the government. The King's uncle, the Earl of Hertford, was the most important of the governing aristocracy and the logical one to assume the leadership. He was selected as the regent under the name of Protector. Very shortly after the reign opened he assumed the title of Duke of Somerset, by which he is best known, and by which reference to him will henceforth be made. For nearly three years he was the ruler of England. Somerset was not a man of the caliber or type of Wolsey or Cromwell. His fame had been made as a leader of armies. He was egotistic and lacked diplomatic ability and the strength to enforce his purposes against the great landed class when he disagreed with their wishes. On the other hand, he was not bloodthirsty but tolerant and cultured, with a real concern for improving the general conditions. He was sympathetic with the new learning because of a genuine interest in it.

Edward VI,
born 1537,
reigned
1547-53

One of the first steps taken by Parliament was to repeal,

under Somerset's guidance, many of the extreme measures that Henry had forced through. The Treasons Act was modified. The Six Articles Act was repealed as well as the ancient statute on the burning of heretics.¹ All this was to the good. Another measure about which there is more question was the suppression of the chantries. These endowments, which had frequently been turned to secular uses, provided for the chanting of masses and prayers for the dead. The trend of the time, moreover, was against the belief in purgatory, which belief the perpetuation of the chantries seemed to imply. Henry had been empowered to dissolve the chantries, but the measure was not carried out until after his death. Large funds were released. The suppression did not seriously affect the chantry priests who kept grammar schools, but made no provision for continuing their elementary schools. The universities of Cambridge and Oxford were expressly excepted. The liberated funds were not used for extending the work of the grammar schools. The act was tarred with the brush of self-interest; it enriched the great nobles and the wealthy landlords. Indeed, it is best understood as the logical outcome of Henry's work of spoliation.

The advanced religious point of view of the government was indicated by other acts that were more genuinely religious in purpose. Cranmer issued a book of homilies. The preaching of the new ideas was insured by the imprisonment of the conservative bishops and the licensing of men of the new learning. Images in the churches became taboo; many were destroyed, especially in the south and southeastern parts of England, for there the Protestant movement recruited its largest following. In 1549 Cranmer issued a service book in English, known as the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Not long after its appearance an Act of Uniformity imposed the volume on the Church.

The religious changes, especially the evident tolerance that was enjoyed, brought to England many leaders and

¹ See p. 269.

thinkers who would not have dared enter the country before 1547. John Knox, the sharp-tongued Scottish reformer, was a prominent preacher in England at the time. The radical Protestant thinkers of Switzerland became for the first time an important influence in the religious situation. Calvin was during these years the despotic master of Geneva, whence his fervid anti-Catholic doctrines were very enthusiastically carried to all countries. The more radical Zwinglian beliefs had emanated from Zürich, and were a powerful leaven even though Zwingli had been long dead. Luther had died a year before King Henry, but that did not check the spread of Lutheranism. Yet England still was, on the whole, Catholic. Risings of the people in the western shires followed the effort to introduce the new church services. The rebellion was suppressed by harsh mistreatment, even to the hanging of many a pro-Catholic priest from the steeple of his own church.

Other grievances coalesced with the religious discontent to make the people of the country protest against the rapidly changing conditions to which they were unable to accommodate their minds and hearts. The conditions of the poor were certainly not improving in the second quarter of the century. The landlords were grasping more and more at the vested and ancient rights of the poorer classes. Enclosures were occurring in spite of laws against such measures. There was much raising of rents, destruction of cottages, denuding of woodland to make pasturage, confiscation of meadows, and speculation in monastic lands. Somerset was inclined toward fairness and honesty in dealing with the agrarian conditions. The Protector tried to justify his name by laboring for fair rents, the rebuilding of village houses, the preservation of commons as common land, and equal allotments to the poor. But his work was unavailing inasmuch as Council and Parliament were unaffected by any protective impulse. The people sensed the difference; to them, Somerset was the "Good Duke."

Religious
toleration

Dissatisfac-
tion among
the poor

Widespread risings were only natural. The most menac-

ing combination was in the eastern townships, where the Popular risings exasperated peasantry slaughtered sheep and tore down enclosure fences. Under the lead of a Robert Kett, sixteen thousand malcontents assembled near Norwich in the summer of 1549. The insurgents were orderly, on the whole, and even held rude courts to right the wrongs that they endured. Their demands are significant. No landlord was to "common on the commons," rivers were to be free to all men for fishing and passage, lords were not to purchase lands freely "to the undoing of your poor subjects," the keeping of sheep was to be restricted. It was a peasants' revolt. The outcome was the usual one; Kett and thousands of his followers lost their lives.

In the latter part of the year Somerset was replaced by John Dudley, a nobleman who is commonly known by the title of Duke of Northumberland. He was of the Cromwell type, more unscrupulous and greedy than Somerset, and without his ideals. Under his control the peasantry were harshly treated and thoroughly cowed, so thoroughly that agrarian agitation was largely stilled. For political reasons Northumberland was eager to advance Protestantism. And so was the precocious young King, who was now old enough to play at kingship. It follows that during the second half of Edward's reign even more radical advances took place than under Somerset. The religious changes became so pronounced as to make the former advance seem halting.

The service book was revised to fit the radical opinions of those in power. The so-called Second Prayer Book en-joined usages and a ritual that were distinctly anti-Catholic. The mass was the crucial sacrament upon which the divergence of opinion was most clearly defined. The Catholic custom of giving the laity communion in one kind only was replaced by a communion that included bread and wine for the laity. Nor was unleavened bread any longer necessary. The particular location of the altar was disregarded; indeed, the "altar" gave way to the "communion table." Transubstantiation

was definitely rejected for the Zwinglian doctrine that communion was "in remembrance" only.

Just at the end of the reign a creedal statement of forty-two articles gave definite form to a movement that in six years had gone far beyond anything that King Henry had contemplated when he broke with the Church. The danger lay in the venomous and bigoted character of the new Protestantism. Catholics but held the more tenaciously to the religion that was more precious in its days of decline. The work of Northumberland was by no means popular, for so much arrant selfishness was connected with the attack on the Church that his motives might well be questioned. He was safe, however, so long as Edward lived. Unfortunately for him the young King was not strong enough to withstand a tubercular attack that brought him to his end in 1553 when he was but sixteen years of age.

It also brought to an end the radical experiment of the past six years, inasmuch as Mary, a devout Catholic, succeeded to the throne. During the reforming days of Edward she had never forsaken the Catholic faith. The breach with Rome — the subject of this chapter — was to be healed, until a Protestant again ascended the throne to establish firmly the reformed faith as the religion of Englishmen. The final establishment of Anglicanism in England and of Presbyterianism in Scotland at about the same time furnish the next subject of study.

A halt in
religious
reform

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CHAPTER XVII

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

RELIGIOUS unsettlement continued during much of the last half of the sixteenth century in England and Scotland. On Edward's death in 1553, his Catholic half-sister, Mary, endeavored to bring England back to the mother Church. Her effort failed, partly because of a reign even shorter than that of Edward. Thereupon, in 1558, Henry's third child, Elizabeth, became Queen of the distracted country. Inasmuch as she was the daughter of Anne Boleyn, it was expedient to swing the country back to a Protestantism that differed in several particulars from the religious establishments of her father and her brother.

English
rulers of the
sixteenth
century

The reign of Elizabeth lasted nearly half a century. During that time varied impulses came to remarkable fruition under a Queen who ranks very high among the monarchs of England. The ultimate security that gave to the age of Elizabeth a lasting luster came not without considerable strain and danger, especially from those, within and without the country, who wished to return to Catholicism. For at least half the reign the danger cannot be said to have lessened appreciably. It seems wise, at this point in the narrative, to trace the religious forces primarily through the fluctuations under the Catholic Mary and the Protestant Elizabeth until the religious settlement seemed to acquire permanency. Other aspects of the Elizabethan years will need to be reserved for further study.

Slow settle-
ment of the
English Re-
formation

Nor can Scotland be ignored. Just as Elizabeth became Queen, the Reformation movement began to work momentous changes in Scotland, changes more important than any that had occurred there since the days of Robert Bruce. And the action in Scotland re-

Importance
of Scotland

acted on England to no slight degree, as a result of the tumultuous career of Mary, Queen of Scots. Owing to the prevailing Protestant sentiment in the two neighboring countries, the traditional Franco-Scottish alliance was severed and a more natural and prophetic mingling of interests developed between England and Scotland. Our attention will be directed first to the movement of the religious pendulum in England as it swung from Calvinism to Catholicism and back. Thereafter, the tense Scottish situation of the sixties will be studied as a preliminary to the religious equilibrium established in both countries.

THE CATHOLIC REACTION IN ENGLAND

Let us revert to the accession of Mary. Edward's life had not ended so abruptly as to prevent Northumberland Queen Mary, from making an effort to continue in power.
born 1516,
reigned
1553-58 His great fear was that the Catholic Mary would succeed. A possible substitute was found among the descendants of another Mary, daughter of Henry VII. After the death of her royal spouse, Louis XII of France, Mary had married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.¹ Northumberland settled upon Lady Jane Grey, a granddaughter of this marriage, as the one who should succeed Edward. She was betrothed to his son, Guilford Dudley, in the hope that this scheme would allow the father-in-law of the future Queen to keep a grasp on so profitable a business as government then proved. Under Northumberland government had become exactly what Sir Thomas More cynically described it to be in the *Utopia*: "A certain conspiracy of rich men procuring their own commodities under the name and title of a commonwealth." The dictator failed to keep Mary in his grasp, to his utter undoing. Lady Jane and her husband were received so coldly that the victorious Mary entered the capital after Jane Grey had "reigned" but a fortnight. Northumberland, even though he recanted, was unable to save his head; there were few

¹ See p. 302 and genealogical note, p. 295.

regrets for its loss. Mary's leniency toward the other leaders who had endeavored to deprive her of the throne was too sorely tried by a formidable Protestant rebellion in Devon and Kent. With its suppression the leaders and a hundred more of their followers were killed. At the same time Lady Jane Grey and her husband also lost their lives, although as prisoners in the Tower they took no part in the rebellion. Many were the regrets for the loss of the promising girl of sixteen, an "almost perfect type of youthful womanhood," who in an unlucky hour had been prevailed upon to seek a throne she did not wish.

The new ruler was the most devout of Catholics, who could not even accept the conservative beliefs of her father, not only because it was against her convictions Mary a Catholic but also for the reason that her self-respect prevented such a step. The accession of this devout Catholic of thirty-eight meant a violent religious change.

An important cause for the rebellion in Kent was the proposed marriage of Mary. The Queen, who boasted of her Spanish blood, and yearned to make England Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain Catholic, was set on a marriage with Philip of Spain, the son of the Emperor Charles V. Philip was twelve years the junior of Mary, but that made no difference to the Emperor, who saw the final consummation of his life-purposes in the creation of a dominion that would definitely overmaster France and bring back England to the union so harshly broken by Henry VIII. Englishmen were naturally distrustful of such a marriage. Parliament vainly endeavored to dissuade the Queen. Failing to do this, they hedged about the contract in such a way as to avoid the submergence of England within the Spanish dominions, since it was evident that Philip would soon succeed to his father's throne. Philip was given the title of king, but he was to have no share in the government of the country, and was not to succeed to Mary's position in case of her death. But even so, it was humiliating to have the years of Mary's reign known officially as those of "King Philip and Queen Mary."

The Spaniard came to England for the marriage in 1554. He remained for only a year because new responsibilities were calling him to the Continent. In 1555 King Philip Charles V turned the Netherlands over to him; in the next year Charles resigned the Spanish throne to his son. Philip II, as he is known, was to prove the most ardent, determined, and powerful advocate of Catholicism in the years of the Counter-Reformation, that is, in the active attempt of the Catholic Church to regain its lost position in the western world. England was never free from his designs during a reign that lasted until the end of the century (1598). The fear of Spain did much to strengthen a national feeling in England as well as to intensify the spirit of Protestantism. During the reign of Elizabeth the full effects of the struggle became evident.

To Mary the marriage with her cousin was chiefly valuable as a step in the reconciliation with the Church. A pliant Parliament was finally obtained after three elections. Thereupon, in the latter part of 1554, the papal legate, Cardinal Pole, was officially received, to the intense joy of the devout Mary. The Cardinal's barge with a silver cross at its prow bore him up the Thames to Westminster. After he was petitioned by Parliament for reunion and the King and Queen had besought forgiveness for the realm, the Legate graciously granted absolution to the kingdom in the presence of the Kneeling Parliament, as this body has ever since been called.

The act of reconciliation was one thing; to force the country to conformity, quite another. Mary bent to her task with an intense earnestness that overrode the moderation evident at the very opening of the reign. The heresy laws were reënacted by Parliament, and the church courts went at the task of persecution so ardently as to give to "Bloody" Mary's rule an evil name in English annals. The treatment of the Protestants was unusually malignant for the last four years of Mary's life. The attack had not even the

excuse of political necessity; it was wholly on religious grounds.¹

The first martyr was John Rogers, whom we have already noted as the real compiler of Matthew's Bible. In the presence of his wife and ten children Rogers met his death with a courage as unflinching as that of the Catholic martyrs under Henry twenty years before. It was a foregone conclusion that men as prominent as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer should suffer if unwilling to recant. Bishops Ridley and Latimer were burned together at Oxford after having listened to a sermon appropriate to the occasion. Cranmer, as Archbishop of Canterbury, received an elaborate trial, which was more lengthy than the others, owing to the necessary part taken by the Pope in the process. Cranmer's timidity led him to sign seven different recantations. But nothing could save one who had been so prominent in the break with Rome. To his credit it is to be said that when the supreme moment came he screwed his courage to the sticking point, and thrust the right hand, which had signed the recantations, into the flames first that the offending member might first be consumed.

Many of less prominence than the four mentioned went to the stake in those dreary years. Laymen suffered as well as the clergy. Even the dead were taken from a quiet grave to be tried and burned that they might not have the benefit of Christian burial. The total number that gave up life for religious belief was something less than three hundred. There were very few burnings outside of the southeastern part of England, where the Protestants were undoubtedly the strongest. In London

¹ Benjamin Franklin, in his *Autobiography*, makes interesting reference to the fortunes of his family during these years. It is worth quoting: "This obscure family of ours continued Protestants through the reign of Queen Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of trouble on account of their zeal against popery. They had got an English Bible, and to conceal and secure it, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint stool. When my great-great-grandfather read it to the family, he turned up the joint stool on his knees." A child stood guard at the door to give warning of any approach, when the Bible was easily concealed.

*Make return for Reward or revenge
Give up return*

one hundred and twelve went to the stake. An end came to the butchery with the death of the Queen in 1558. But before that easement the sickening succession of fires lighted a candle that burned long indeed. Hatred of Spain and of the Roman Church became a part of the English inheritance. Even though the Marian persecution does not compare in severity with Philip's treatment of Protestants on the Continent, or with the lot of the Huguenots in France, we shall find the faults of a narrow bigotry recorded on many succeeding pages.

Mary in her last days was conscious of failure. The Counter-Reformation did not uproot a movement that thrived on persecution. But that was not all that gave Mary gloom. The condition of the country was bad. The lack of adequate harvests caused want and dissatisfaction. Trade was dormant. Foreign affairs were in a deplorable condition, for without a navy and a vigorous diplomacy England's weight in continental matters was slight. The crowning calamity was the loss of a valuable holding on the Continent. The one remnant of the possessions in France retained during all the years since the time of Joan of Arc was the port of Calais; it was lost in 1558. To make Mary's last days more bitter there was the added sorrow that her husband did not re-quite an affection which she seems to have entertained for her cold-blooded spouse. The misguided woman, who believed she did all to the glory of God and the Church, died in 1558, giving place to her sister Elizabeth, and making way for the final establishment of Protestantism in England.

THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH

Mary had urged her successor to maintain the established religion and to pay her debts. The debts may have been honored, but to maintain the established religion was asking rather much of the new Queen. Anne Boleyn had become the wife of Henry as a result of the breach with Rome. Inasmuch as the Pope

Queen Elizabeth, born 1533, reigned 1558-1603

had excommunicated Elizabeth's father and mother, the new Queen would have courted the sinister mark of illegitimacy if the religion of Mary had been maintained. The Protestant religion, therefore, was reëstablished for the last time, though the settlement was by no means so advanced as that form which Edward's Councils had forced upon the country.

Elizabeth was a young woman of twenty-five in 1558. Her early life had been almost as checkered and unfortunate as that of Mary. Adversity and change had developed in Elizabeth a shrewdness and a power The new Queen of dissimulation that served her well many a time before and after Mary's death. In spite of the unsettled conditions surrounding her childhood she had been well educated. She was proud of her musical talent and her dancing; linguistically she was exceptional, for she could speak French, German, and Italian. The young Queen possessed many of the qualities of her father, whose career was to her an example of strong Tudor rule. She had his tact, strength of character, unscrupulousness, and impetuous temper.

There is doubt, however, as to whether she had any religious convictions. It had become her business to conform to the current situation. Although ac- Elizabeth's religion cused by contemporaries of atheism, it is probable that her own safety was the guiding motive to a skeptical mind. In this attitude she was not much different from the rulers of her age; it was Mary that was the exception. Elizabeth was proud of her British blood. In truth, she was more purely British than any of her predecessors for centuries back. The growing national feeling of the time appreciated to the full a Queen who was not half Spanish or French; it contributed to the growing enthusiasm that ultimately made her position secure.

The religious situation demanded careful treatment. The country, of course, was greatly relieved at the conclusion of what was to be the only serious period of Her prudence persecution that it underwent. Yet the people were not prepared for an extreme Protestantism. Nor was

Elizabeth; the Queen preferred a compromising position not unlike that of her father in his last years.

The heresy acts were once again repealed, and a new Act of Supremacy legalized the change of headship for the Church. The title of "Supreme Head," adopted by Henry, was dropped by the wily Queen, although she was in as true a sense the "supreme governor" of the Church of England as her father had been. In addition, she was willing to transfer to competent hands many of the powers which Henry himself had exercised, in order that the idea of headship vested in a woman might not seem too shocking. Significant of national feeling was the provision for the punishment of anyone maliciously defending the spiritual authority of a foreigner; the culprit was guilty of treason and not heresy. The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was reissued and enforced by an Act of Uniformity. It was somewhat revised to fit in with the general attitude of the government. A significant addition was made to the ritual of the communion service so that the Lutherans might not regard it as extremely Zwinglian. Elizabeth was not certain that Lutheran aid might not be of value. The bishops of Mary lost their sees, and were replaced by ecclesiastics of suitably moderate views and of unimpeachable loyalty to the State. Matthew Parker, who had been chaplain to the Queen's parents, was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

In 1563 the Anglican Church received the Thirty-Nine Articles as the true doctrinal statement of belief. They were based on the Forty-Two Articles of Edward, which were modified and somewhat toned down under the revision of Archbishop Parker. Lutherans were again placated by the omission of a strong protest against Christ's presence in the sacrament. These articles are still the creedal statement of the Church of England and of its offshoot, the Episcopal Church in the United States. The settlement was moderately Protestant, yet with sufficient of the external form and worship of the Catholic Church to satisfy the needs of the people as a

Reestablished
Protestant-
ism

The Thirty-
Nine Angli-
can Articles

whole. Not until the seventies, when the Catholic attack became severe, was subscription to the Articles required by act of Parliament.

The extreme Protestants, who were naturally dissatisfied, did not serve as a serious political menace until the next century. It was not so with the Catholics. Their interests were aligned with the growing power of Catholicism on the Continent during the first part of the reign. Many an effort was made to unseat the "Great Queen." For twenty-five years it was by no means certain that they would fail. The menace arose to a considerable degree from the rather remarkable changes that affected Scotland and made that country, hitherto rather unimportant, the keystone of the political arch. At this point, therefore, Scotland must receive a consideration that has not been accorded the northern kingdom since the days of Edward I and Robert Bruce.

Elizabeth's
difficult position

PRE-REFORMATION SCOTLAND

The effect of the Reformation on Scotland was nothing less than epoch-making, for the acceptance of the new religious views completely changed the course of Scottish history. Just as Elizabeth began to reign in England the Scottish people accepted Protestantism. If the actual step was taken in 1560, there was considerable preparation for it.

The Reformation and Scotland

The failure of Edward I to conquer Scotland produced a strong consciousness that had a natural anti-English bias. Since England was usually at enmity with France as well as with Scotland, the two states found it wise to ally against the common enemy.

Scotland in the late Middle Ages

Again and again, notably in the days of Edward III, Henry V, and Henry VIII, the Franco-Scottish combination gave England a double foreign problem. The northern country was not independent in action, nor were its annals particularly distinguished. Possibly the most outstanding fact of the late Middle Ages was the succession in 1371 of Robert the Steward after the son of Robert Bruce. The

first Stewart King was not a distinguished ruler. Students of this royal line have often remarked on the unusual accumulation of misfortunes that this dynasty suffered, not only in the Middle Ages but after the modern era began, misfortunes that seemed to be heavier than ever when they became kings of England as well as of Scotland.

The mediæval problems of Scottish rulers were difficult enough to have brought nemesis to any royal line. The English kings, whenever they were strong enough, continued the traditional attitude bequeathed by Edward I. The true policy of Scotland seemed an alliance with France even though it meant too frequently that Scotland merely served French ends. As compared with England and France, the country was backward in its development, very poor in resources, and without noteworthy urban centers. It was cursed by the growth of powerful noble families whose domineering position was uncontrolled by the incompetent Stewarts. The so-called Estates (Parliament) was but an assembly of the feudal lords, with occasional additions from the "burrows." There was also the problem of the Highlands. There the Gaelic independence of tribal groups found full sway. Nor was it possible to bring the Highland clans and the Lowlanders into an effective union. Cattle stealing was as regular as the return of the seasons. The country had no real unity, no balanced grouping of classes, no effective leadership, no healthful foreign policy.

The beginning of the modern era brought signs of improvement. The educational advance that had overspread Europe made its way to Scotland in the late Middle Ages. During the fifteenth century three universities were founded (Saint Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen). Though poor and small, they served to further the enthusiasm for education which has been one of the distinctive traits of Scottish life. But the mediæval religious influences had not given way to the classical renaissance when the Reformation began to pervade the land.

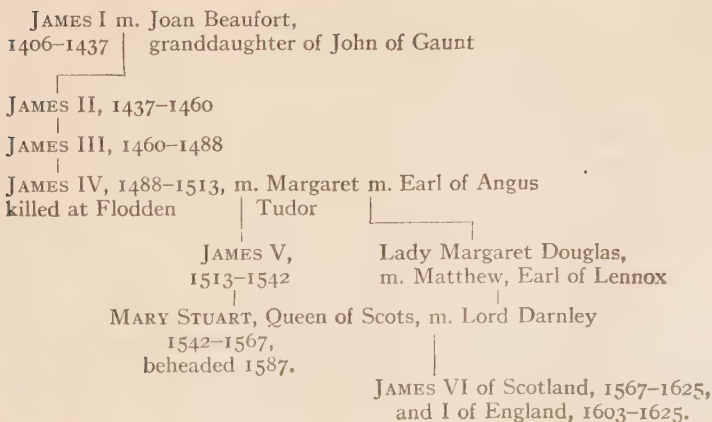
Its backwardness

Beginning of university education

The wise and pacific attitude of Henry VII of England brought peace on the island just at the end of the fifteenth century. His daughter, Margaret, became the wife of James IV of Scotland by a treaty that enjoined "perpetual peace and mutual defence" as well as an end of border lawlessness. The "perpetual" peace soon ended, however, when Henry VIII renewed the active and aggressive foreign policy of Edward III and Henry V. True to tradition, Scotland was involved in war when England and France became embroiled. It was disastrous for Scotland; on Flodden Field in 1513 James IV of Scotland lost his life.

James V,¹ born a year before his father's untimely death, could not fend off the baleful results of Flodden. The clansmen plundered the Lowlands at will, the English harried the Border, the nobles were out of hand. When the youthful Scottish King became old enough to rule, the memory of Flodden threw him into the arms of France. He married the daughter of the French King, and, when she died soon after, took for his second wife, Mary of Lorraine, daughter of the powerful Duke of Guise. He thus allied himself with the family in France that was to prove most bitterly Catholic in the approaching Huguenot wars. His only legitimate child was Mary

¹ The early Stewarts (Stuarts):



Stuart, "Queen of Scots," though an illegitimate son, the Lord James Stewart, was to play an important rôle in the Reformation drama about to open.¹ James V died a few days after the birth of Mary (1542) as the result of another disastrous defeat (Solway Moss) at the hands of the English.

THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION

In fact, the Reformation had already begun despite the efforts of the Church to prevent Lutheran ideas from penetrating the country. As early as 1525 Parliament had prohibited ships from bringing any of Luther's books into the ports, and forbidden any one the right to "desputt or rehers his heresyis": apparently the country had not always "bene clene of sic filth and vice," as the act averred. The first prominent Protestant preacher was a certain noble, Patrick Hamilton, whose severe criticisms of scholasticism and the Church led to his death at the stake in 1528. In 1532, when violent religious changes were taking place south of the border, the Scottish Parliament affirmed its intention to defend the liberty and freedom of the Roman "halikirk." And in 1535 the act of ten years previous was reaffirmed against the growing menace of the "dampnable opinionis of the grete heretik Luther."

The new religious movement spread but slowly in the early years of the reign of Mary Stuart. The official attitude continued to be harsh. Queen Mary's mother, Mary of Guise, was bitterly opposed to Protestantism. The chief minister of the kingdom, Cardinal Beaton, an unscrupulous, crafty, pro-French ecclesiastic, pursued the new religion with fire and sword. The most noteworthy victim of Beaton's persecution was a fiery preacher, George Wishart by name. He suffered death in front of Cardinal Beaton's castle of Saint Andrews

¹ There are various forms for the name of the royal Scottish house; Stewart, Steuart, and Stuart have all been in use. The earliest spelling was "Stewart." Mary Queen of Scots was the first to adopt the spelling, "Stuart." Although it was a French affectation, "Stuart" was henceforth the commonest form of the name.

in 1546. In that very same year a coalition of hatreds led to the assassination of the Cardinal in his own castle, and one more bloody act had been added to the long list.

The Cardinal's death brought on a crisis just as Henry VIII's reign in England was ending. Beaton's strong castle became a refuge for the murderers and for those who favored relations with England instead of France. With its reduction by the assistance of twenty French galleys, the French ascendancy was perpetuated. The Queen Mother, Mary of Guise, became the real ruler of the country a few years later, and the age-old Franco-Scottish union continued. The child Queen was sent to France to receive her education. She remained there for thirteen years that she might be fit to marry the heir of the French throne. Scotland was Gallicized as never before under the regency of Mary of Guise. Frenchmen occupied the chief offices. Garrisons from France held most of the important castles. During the years when Mary Tudor was bringing England back to Catholicism, the Scots were being prepared for nothing less than a union with Catholic France. In 1558 the young Scottish Queen was married to the Dauphin. The intention to unite the two countries under the dominance of France was made clear by a demand that the Scottish crown be sent to France to be placed on the head of Mary's husband when he succeeded to the French throne.

The changing conditions within the three nations in the years 1558 to 1561 made Scotland of greater importance internationally than at any previous time in its chequered history. In 1558, England, as we have just found, became Protestant. Although the change was welcome to the Scottish reformers, it was even more satisfactory to the French. Mary, Queen of Scots, became to Catholics the legitimate ruler of England. As wife of the French Dauphin she was soon to be Queen of France as well. In their jubilation the French boldly quartered the arms of England with those of France as a presage of their new and glorious day. In 1559 Mary's husband

Mary, child
Queen of
Scotland

The Scottish
Mary, Queen
of France,
1559-60

succeeded to the French throne as Francis II. Scotland became of cardinal importance, for the French wished the regency of Mary of Guise to be strengthened. Elizabeth naturally desired the reformers to grow more powerful.

The wish of Elizabeth was answered. Protestantism had been making important conquests in Scotland during the decade that was closing. Especially valuable was the strong leadership which the reformers found in two remarkable men, the Lord James Stewart and John Knox. The Earl of Moray, the title by which the Lord James Stewart is best known, had been converted to the wisdom of an English alliance as well as to the reformed faith several years before. In the crisis of 1559-60 he stood out as the leader of the pro-English group known as the "Lords of the Congregation."¹ They were bent on the abolition of the French and papal influences. By his integrity, moderation, and courage, Moray proved himself probably the most important single force in the change that was taking place. At least such was the conviction of Mary of Guise and her supporters. His defection to Catholicism would have hindered if not actually have prevented the reformation at the time.

John Knox is the best known of the Scottish reformers. His leadership gave to Scotland a strong religious guidance such as England had lacked. Without doubt, this Scottish incarnation of John Calvin is the most representative person of the Scottish Reformation. The life of Knox before the crisis had been stormy. University trained, he followed the course of Luther and Zwingli by entering on ecclesiastical duties. He revolted against the older Church about the time Mary succeeded her unfortunate father, James V. Knox was deeply affected by the martyrdom of George Wishart; henceforth he was an ardent and bitter opponent of the Catholic Church. With others he took refuge at Saint Andrews after the assassination of

¹They obtained their name from a covenant signed by a number of Protestant nobles in 1557, by which they promised to defend to the death "the whole Congregation of Christ," meaning thereby, the "true" Church.

Cardinal Beaton. Upon the capture of the place he was consigned to the French galleys, serving at the oars in chains for nineteen months. He lived in England during the tolerant reign of Edward VI, and as a preacher and writer was already becoming well known. On Mary Tudor's accession he went to the Continent to imbibe the Calvinistic doctrine so congenial to his type of mind. In his harsh, outspoken language, logical power, and rigoristic interpretation of religion, Knox was a true follower of Calvin.¹ In 1559 Knox returned to Scotland to spend his remaining years in winning his native land to Calvinism.

The Reformation feeling was already strong when Knox returned. The state of the old Church was deplorable if criticisms made at the time are an ample witness. The morals of the clergy were lax, and their ignorance was shocking. Nor was there a keen consciousness of responsibility among the Catholic clergy. It had become common for ecclesiastical positions to go to youthful or unfitted persons that their relatives might enjoy the perquisites. One illustration will suffice. The Lord James Stewart, even though an illegitimate son of James V, had been appointed at the age of five prior of an important abbey. To Knox and his followers the moribund Church was a "horribil and universal Defectioun from the Treuth, which has come by the Means of the Romane Antichryst."

The Scottish
situation in
1560

It was but natural that the Protestant party should find England a source of strength. Early in 1560, in response to a request for assistance, an English fleet appeared in the Forth, to the great surprise of the French forces. Even more valuable was a treaty drawn up at Edinburgh later in the year by French, English, and Scottish commissioners. The Treaty of Edinburgh is a

The Treaty
of Edinburgh

¹ While at Geneva he fulminated in no uncertain way against the evils of feminine government under the Queen Mother in Scotland, Catherine de' Medici in France, and Mary Tudor in England. The title of his tirade was *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. It proved somewhat unseasonable, for Elizabeth of England took exception to his sweeping generalizations. The contemplated second and third blasts were not issued, out of respect for the English Queen's delicate position.

turning point in Scottish history, since the Lords of the Congregation won numerous concessions from the French as a result of English pressure. French troops were to be withdrawn. Henceforth no Frenchman was to hold public office in Scotland. During the absence of Queen Mary—the regent, Mary's mother, had died shortly before—Scotland was to be ruled by a council of twelve. The acts of a Parliament, soon to be called, were declared valid for the country. The Lords of the Congregation had won the freedom of Scotland from the long-standing French dominance.

The opportunity was not lost. As the Estates opened in 1560, Knox and the other preachers fired the people and the The decisive year, 1560 representatives with the need of “rebuilding the temple,” which had been defiled by the “congregation of Sathan.” Religion took the most attention. A Confession drawn up by Knox and his helpers was read article by article, and adopted. The twenty-five divisions of the Confession bear the imprint of their chief author, John Knox, who wished in detail to distinguish between the true kirk and “Sathan's pestilent Synagoge, the Kirk malignant.” The new Confession became the basis for the Scottish Presbyterian Church. Summary measures against the Church itself soon followed. In one day the Estates abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope, condemned all doctrine and practice contrary to the new creed, and forbade the celebration of the mass. Henceforth the Calvinistic faith became the accepted religion of the country. A book of Discipline was drawn up by Knox and his co-workers shortly afterward. It overhauled all aspects of the national life in much the way that the theocratic Calvin had reorganized Geneva. Although there was difficulty over the disposition of church lands and the payment of the clergy, the new spirit was ultimately imprinted on the national life, without the necessity of serious persecution. The chief distinction between the Established Church of Scotland and that in England was in the absence of elaborate ceremonies in the Scottish services and of bishops in the church government.

The differences will become abundantly clear when the Stuart troubles are considered.¹

MARY STUART

The crisis, however, was not past. In 1560 Mary Stuart ceased to be Queen of France as the result of the death of her weakling husband. In the next year she returned to Scotland to rule in person a country of which she was ignorant. She was one quarter Scot in blood, but wholly French in education and interests, and as a convinced Catholic she was quite out of sympathy with the newly established faith. The rugged religion of John Knox was alien to the mind and heart of this passionate, dazzlingly beautiful, and frivolous girl of nineteen. The English ambassador wrote prophetically on hearing the report of her probable return: "I believe there will be a mad world." If Mary's return to Scotland complicated the Presbyterian program, it also increased the perplexities of Elizabeth.

Fortunately for the Scottish Church and the English, Queen Mary was her own worst enemy. Her "ungodly" light-heartedness was sharply censured by Knox, who had the hardihood to reprimand the Queen to her face. She alienated her subjects by an unsympathetic attitude toward the work of Knox and the Earl of Moray. For a time she cleverly put off difficulties by refusing to convoke the Estates, and by lavish and vague promises when they at last met. The choice of a consort proved to be the critical question. Elizabeth suggested her own favorite, Lord Dudley, whom Mary would not consent to marry unless Elizabeth would acknowledge Mary as her successor. Numerous other and more prominent suitors from other parts of Europe sought the hand of the attractive young Queen before she decided the matter for herself. In 1565 she married her cousin Darnley, who was next to Mary in the succession to Elizabeth's throne. Moreover, Darnley had been born and bred in England and was a Catholic.

¹ See below, Chapter XX.

He proved to be a debauched coward. A year after the marriage he was foully taken off by the blowing up of the house in Edinburgh where he lay sick. Shortly after the assassination Mary married his murderer, Lord Bothwell. It is not certain, though it is probable, that Mary knew of the plot that led to Darnley's death.

The cup was full. The country believed their Queen privy to the murder. In the civil war that ensued, Mary was captured, confined in Lochleven Castle, and forced to abdicate in favor of her infant son, James VI. Moray was named as regent for the ruler, and at the coronation of the one-year-old King, Knox preached the sermon. In 1568 Mary escaped from prison, attempted to raise rebellion, was defeated, and fled across the border into Cumberland.

Never again was she to set foot in Scotland. Mary had, indeed, made a mad world for seven years. But the troubles of the Presbyterian Church were now as good as over. Changes of fortune were to come. Moray was assassinated in 1570; Knox died in 1572. In the next year the "King's Lords," that is, the nobles favorable to Protestantism under James, captured the castle of Edinburgh from the Marian party, known as the "Queen's Lords." This really ended the warlike struggle with which the transition to Protestantism was accompanied. Moray was adequately succeeded by Morton; Knox by the even more outspoken Andrew Melville. There was much contention over the form of the Church; the King, as he grew up, more and more favored an organization including bishops. But the bishops were like Elizabeth's churchmen, staunch Protestants. Yet the country succeeded in passing through its religious crisis to emerge a self-conscious nation, thoroughly Protestant.

If Scotland had at last been purged of its Catholic Queen, England was embarrassed by her presence. In spite of Mary's imprisonment, plot after plot was formed against Elizabeth with Mary as the conscious or unconscious basis of the rebellions. The Catho-

Mary's escape to England

Final victory of Protestantism in Scotland

The problem of Queen Mary

lics of England, who were strongest in the north, arose in revolt in 1569 in behalf of Mary. The uprising was rather easily suppressed, but the cruel vengeance taken — nearly a thousand rebels were executed — indicates clearly enough how the English government took the matter.

Meanwhile the Pope had decided to come to the assistance of the English Catholics, who might have made a more stubborn and general effort to displace Elizabeth in 1569 if they had been clear as to their right to rebel against the Queen. In 1570 Pius V issued a bull of excommunication by which Elizabeth, the “pretending Queen of England,” was declared unfit to occupy the English throne and to receive the allegiance of her subjects, partly because she had become defiled with “Calvin’s impious mysteries.” The papal act cleared the atmosphere, for now the breach between the English Church and the Pope was complete. The people of England were compelled to choose between a loyalty to their Protestant Queen and to foreigners. The government was really strengthened instead of weakened. Loyalty to the Catholic Church became treason, in very truth.

It was not long (1571) before a new plot was hatched by an Italian banker named Ridolfi. His plan was to have Mary become the wife of the Duke of Norfolk. Spanish aid was to bring to a successful issue the effort to replace Elizabeth. The English government, however, was too keen. The proposed assassination of the Queen was frustrated, Norfolk was tried and executed, and the Spanish ambassador sent home.

The dangers that the Queen faced brought the country more unitedly than ever behind her. Parliament declared it high treason to question Elizabeth’s title. They even called for the execution of Mary, who had been clearly mixed up in the Ridolfi plot. The Queen was not willing to take so decided a step, not that she cared for Mary, but for fear that an action so clear-cut might later be cause for regret. The cautious, shrewd ruler preferred to step with exceeding care in the maze she was treading.

Excommu-
nication of
Elizabeth,
1570

The Ridolfi
Plot, 1571

Elizabeth’s
perplexities

Continental Catholics time and again attempted to arouse their coreligionists. Even though the chances of a successful revolt were dwindling, the government felt it necessary, from now on, to persecute aggressive Catholics in England. Elizabeth was not interested in disturbing Catholics who went quietly about their business, proving to be good and loyal citizens. It was the Catholic propaganda and workers from the Continent that were especially attacked. The Jesuits figured prominently in these efforts. Important and fearless "missionaries" came from Catholic seminaries on the Continent that made a specialty of preparing workers to re-win England to the Church. Men like Campion and Parsons labored unstintingly to convert England.

They were doomed to fail, as the measures against the Catholics became more severe. Executions increased, although the total number of Catholics done to death in the reign of Elizabeth was far below the number of Protestants executed by Queen Mary, if we except the semi-political rising of 1569, and but a fraction of the number who lost their lives in France and Spain during the same years.

With the brief survey of one more critical period our study of the establishment of Protestantism in England can be regarded as complete. In 1585 Elizabeth had felt strong and safe enough to give open assistance to the Netherlands. Philip of Spain, in reply, at last determined to settle once and for all this troublesome question of the future of England, a country which at one time seemed so decidedly under Spanish influence. Definite naval preparations were begun for a grand conquest of the island.

As this danger loomed up the English government found that the difficulties were the greater because of the presence of Mary, Queen of Scots, who now for nineteen years had been a prisoner in the country. During this long period of imprisonment her early misdeeds had been glossed over or forgotten until a delightful and affect-

Catholic ac-
tivity in
England

Executions
of Catholics

The Spanish
menace

The Babing-
ton Plot

ing legend made her the attractive center for Catholic hopes in the island and on the Continent. As luck would have it, just at the time when it seemed politic to do away with Mary, a plot was discovered in which she was implicated. Anthony Babington had been a page to Mary in earlier years. With five others he was induced to conspire to do away with Elizabeth in the belief that adequate Catholic support in England and abroad would be forthcoming. Philip of Spain contributed a large sum to aid the plotters. Mary was unwise enough to write letters that were intercepted, and the confessions forced from the conspirators before they were executed made her share seem clear enough. In addition, she had recently made Philip of Spain her heir. The Council brought pressure on Elizabeth to sign the authorization for Mary's death. She hesitated long, but at last put her name to the warrant. Mary's execution, 1587 For fear the Queen should change her mind the Council hastened the execution; Mary was beheaded at Fotheringhay in February of 1587. The Queen pretended to be very indignant over the execution, although she certainly profited immensely by the removal of her rival. The Protestant leaders both in England and Scotland could now breathe the easier.

In the next year (1588) Philip's Armada approached England. But the great fleet of one hundred and thirty vessels was disastrously defeated by dexterous British seamanship and contrary winds. Had the Armada succeeded in landing forces on the island, the Spanish would have found James and his people as stout opponents as the English. The victory marks the definitive end of the long and wearying religious crisis in Great Britain. It also indicates the strength of England on the water, and serves to introduce us to a phase of Elizabethan activity which is as important as that we have been tracing — the growth of English power on the sea.¹

¹ For the account of this great naval victory, see below, p. 371.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE ELIZABETHAN TRIUMPH

THE victory of the English over the imposing Spanish Armada in 1588 is one of those outstanding events of the century that indicate an important set of inter-^{England and the sea}ests. The great sea battle proved the English capable of contesting with the strongest nations on the water. It certainly created for Englishmen a feeling that their true empire was on the sea. Leading up to this notable naval victory are several conditions as important as the religious problem, which has been traced in the preceding chapter. It is now necessary to find the way in which the people of Tudor England were developing their trade, and the extent to which oversea interests were using the superabundant energies of the people.

THE PREPARATION FOR SEA POWER AND TRADE

During the reign of Henry VII trade had been nourished by treaties of various kinds as well as by direct encouragement from the King. His efforts had been significantly successful if the increasing wealth of the sovereign is an indication of success. He had^{Henry VII and commerce} encouraged shipbuilding by bounties, and the carrying of goods in English ships by means of favorable navigation acts. The increasing volume of commercial activity by the death of Henry VII witnesses to the direct stimulus of the monarch as well as to his peaceful inclinations and to the greater security of the country during his strong and orderly rule.¹

The years following Henry VIII's accession produced problems that turned the attention of many to other than commercial or maritime matters. There was the conflict over the Church as well as the King's personal desire to have a large share in European^{Henry VIII and commerce} political developments. Englishmen took by no means so

¹ See p. 298.

prominent a part in maritime activity and in exploration as the voyages of Cabot and the wishes of his master would seem to have foreshadowed. It was during the years that Henry was reorganizing the Church that Spanish and Portuguese explorers were busy enlarging the empires that had been established in the previous century. But apart from a few voyages to the northwest and the work of William Hawkins little of moment was done by Englishmen.¹

Even though the reign of Henry VIII was not notable for great maritime activity, the King did show a marked interest in the navy and in shipbuilding. The Royal Navy had consisted of very few vessels until this period. In time of war they served simply as the core of the fleet, the greater part of the shipping consisting of vessels furnished by the Cinque Ports and those obtained from other places for the particular purpose in hand. The Cinque Ports (originally five in number — Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich — to which later were added Winchelsea and Rye and many other smaller corporations) were organized as a means of defense in the days before there was an adequate navy. Since these towns were along the most vulnerable coast of England they had vessels and men prepared for the defense of their own interests. Until Tudor times they furnished, under the leadership of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the principal means of maritime protection for the country as well. Even after the organization of a permanent fleet of imposing proportions their assistance was long given in times of danger.

With Henry VIII the Royal Navy was first put on a sound basis as a means of protection at all times available; he has, in consequence, sometimes been called the Father of the British Navy. Henry made provision for keeping harbors open, for preserving timber, for making cables, etc. Many castles were built during his reign along the southern coast as means of defense. The Royal Dockyards at Woolwich were founded by Henry VIII. It is due to him that Trinity House was organized.

¹ See below, pp. 363 ff.

This association of mariners was formed early in the reign, and was naturally located at Deptford in Kent where outgoing ships obtained pilots, and where there was an important dockyard. Trinity House soon filled a real need, although its later important duties of erecting and maintaining lighthouses and of supervising pilots were not at this time an important part of its work.

In 1512, as a result of the loss of one of the great vessels bequeathed by Henry VII, his son started the construction of what was considered one of the most powerful vessels of the time, the Henry Grace de Dieu or ^{The Great Harry} Great Harry. It was of fifteen hundred tons burthen, four-masted, with cannon at ends and sides. The Great Harry — the largest ship afloat — had a complement of seven hundred men, of which half were soldiers, for fighting on the water was still thought of as nothing but an extension of land battles. This idea of war on the sea is further illustrated by the castles built at stem and stern of the "tall ships" of the time. Additions were made to the fleet, so that by 1547 the Royal Navy consisted of about seventy vessels.

In spite of Henry's interest in the navy, conditions in general were not favorable for the expansive energy so notable in the reign of his daughter Elizabeth. ^{Lack of over-sea interests} The agricultural depression resulting from enclosures, the speculation in monastic lands, the rising prices, these and other influences increased the landless poor who were dependent on charity. Violence and vagabondage were on the increase as the reign of Henry VIII came to a close.¹ Nor was the condition bettered under the landlord governments of Somerset and Northumberland.

Henry VIII made matters worse by debasing the currency at various times in his reign. This short-sighted expedient had been tried as early as 1526, although it was ^{Debasement of currency by Henry VIII} not until toward the end of the reign that it was practiced on a large scale. The old King is said to have realized £50,000 by issuing gold coins that were

¹ See pp. 328, 333.

four fifths pure, and silver containing two thirds of alloy. Somerset at the opening of Edward's reign reduced the alloy in silver coins to one half. Matters were not mended by the step, for large issues of base shillings, called "testons" or "testers,"¹ were sent forth by private individuals who received the right to issue coins after they had suppressed the risings. At least £150,000 of such coins were issued. The consequences were immediate as well as far-reaching. The bad money tended to crowd out the good, the latter naturally being hoarded or used in foreign trade. Matters were made worse by the natural fall in the price of silver as the result of large importations of bullion from the New World to Europe. Prices went up with no appropriate rise in wages. The condition became so alarming that by 1551 it was determined to rate the shilling at something like its real value. But the calling down of the value of the coinage was accompanied by further "high finance"; the Council, knowing what was to be done, flooded the country with an issue of silver coinage almost as large as that made earlier in the reign, in which there was three fourths of alloy. This was the monetary situation, created by Henry VIII and continued in the reign of Edward VI, that remained a menace to commercial activity and especially to England's international trade. Had such a condition continued, the great work of the Elizabethan traders would have been badly hampered, if not thwarted.

The policy of the new government was to establish an era of prosperity on a thoroughly solid foundation. In 1560 the Elizabethan debased coinage that had been issued in the past currency re- twenty years was called in, and paid for at its form actual value. In its place a sound currency was issued. The government proved honest and economical. The restored public credit did much to reestablish England internationally and to foster general prosperity. At the same time the fields that were being opened abroad were attracting private enterprise to a remarkable degree. In addition Elizabeth brought the navy to an efficient condi-

¹ The tester was worth sixpence in Shakespeare's day.

tion after its decline under Edward VI and Mary. Her wise policy produced an England that was able to take advantage of the new trade outlets, and to usher in an era of which Englishmen were exceeding proud.

THE ELIZABETHAN SEA-DOGS

The opportunities, however, seemed peculiarly restricted as the reign opened. Portugal possessed a monopoly of the route eastward around Africa, and held in her secure control the trade centers of the Far East. Spain as jealously monopolized the trade to the Americas, and to her possessions in the West Indies. In those days a trading route, such as that around Africa, with its necessary victualing stations along the way, was not open, supposedly, to any but the citizens of the country that possessed it. Colonies were not to trade with nations other than the mother country. Moreover, only certain citizens of the mother country were granted the right to trade with a colony or to use a trade route. It seemed, therefore, that the riches of the east, so much in demand, would be unavailable to Englishmen, and that trade outlets, in general, would be comparatively few.

Eager adventurers, however, made efforts to find a new route to the Indies. One possibility was to go around Europe to the northeast, whence the English thought they could easily reach the spices of Asia. In 1553 Willoughby and Chancellor attempted to find a northeast passage with an expedition that was aided by the advice and assistance of Sebastian Cabot. Willoughby lost his life in the effort, but Chancellor reached Archangel, whence he went overland to Moscow. Two years later the Muscovy Company was organized, and a treaty of commerce was arranged with Russia. Not long afterward, a famous traveler, Anthony Jenkinson, penetrated the continent beyond Moscow even into Asia. Jenkinson was probably the greatest overland explorer and trader among Englishmen of this time. He made several "voyages" through Russia by way of the Volga River to the

Spanish and
 Portuguese
 oversea
 activity

English
 commercial
 travelers



PRINCIPAL TUDOR VOYAGES

Names are those appearing on Hakluyt's map of 1599

Boundaries unknown to Hakluyt shown by broken lines

Cabot's Voyages of 1497 and 1498

Willoughby and Chancellor 1553

Jenkinson 1557-1558

Frobisher 1576

Drake 1577-1580

Davis 1585-87

Fitch 1583

Gilbert 1583

Hawkins 1592 and 1598-60



Caspian and beyond. It was through his labors that English trade was facilitated with Muscovy. But the effort to reach the east by means of the White Sea, Moscow, and the Caspian was too tedious to serve as a practicable route. Although geographical conditions did not make the northeast passage feasible, nevertheless the efforts to find it resulted in a new outlet for English trade.

Similar endeavors were made at a somewhat later time to open up a northwest passage around America. Here again geographical conditions hindered the success of the efforts. Yet it was some time before the facts became well enough known to prevent further exploration. In the seventies Martin Frobisher made several voyages into this region, and in the next decade John Davis carried on further exploration in the Strait that bears his name. In the next century, Hudson, Baffin, and Fox were to make noteworthy efforts to open up this "blind" avenue to the east.

Gradually, Englishmen found it more profitable to encroach on the preserves of their enemies, or to go into fields of general commercial activity with which heretofore they had not been much concerned. Even during Henry VII's reign Englishmen had ventured to trade in the Mediterranean. The Levant seemed a possible source of lucrative business to such adventurers as Chaloner and Chancellor. When the Pope prohibited trade between the Catholics and the Turks, the English were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity. Factories were established at Constantinople. A treaty was signed between England and Turkey in 1580, and in the next year the Levant Company was organized for carrying on this trade. It was always hampered, however, by Italian rivalry and Spanish interference. An enterprising Englishman, Ralph Fitch, began an interesting journey in 1583 from Aleppo to the Far East; this expedition was to be of value in stimulating the later establishment of the East India Company.

Some effort was made to trade with Morocco. More at-

tractive and lucrative was the coast of Guinea, where Portugal was supposed to monopolize the trade in ^{William} slaves, gold, and ivory. ^{Hawkins} William Hawkins (father of the more famous John) made voyages to Guinea in the reign of Henry VIII. During the fifties a number of expeditions sought the Guinea coast. Although a Guinea Company was established this field did not prove very fruitful until John Hawkins boldly took part in the slave trade in the next decade, after Elizabeth had become Queen.

More fruitful for the seafarers of the south and southwest coasts was the "piracy" carried on in the Channel and neighboring waters. The English were situated in a peculiarly favorable position for developing ^{England's} power on, and command of, the sea, as the evolu- ^{strategic} tion of European international affairs involved more and ^{situation} more the use of the open Atlantic. In earlier centuries the Mediterranean had been the scene of the major activity, and there shipping had developed to a considerable extent. Spain's natural connection with the Netherlands was up the Channel past England. The French relation to Scotland was always endangered by England's strategic position. And the English did interfere to a considerable extent with the commerce and intercourse on the Atlantic coast.

The position of England naturally bred a body of seamen who were courageous, and who adapted their methods and shipping to the rough open sea. The vessels ^{English sea-} were small, but they were heavily armed in com- ^{manship} parison with the stately Spanish galleons or with the galleys driven by oars and still used by Spain and other countries in naval conflicts. The English had experimented somewhat with the galley, but this low vessel with little endurance proved so unfit for British waters that Henry VIII's fleet of seventy vessels contained but two galleys. Gradually the English developed a type of vessel — small, easily maneuvered, and able to sail close to the wind — that proved uncommonly effective in the harrying of trade along the Atlantic coast. During the reign of Mary these sea rovers greatly harried Spanish shipping to the Netherlands.

Many a small inlet harbored these vessels that gave to their owners the opportunity to vent their spite against Spain for the humiliating subordination of England to Philip, or to express in this very troublesome way their protest against the Marian persecution. The religious motive played a part. More important, however, was the zeal of Englishmen to make gain quickly, and to weaken a great rival in the days when London and Bristol were becoming centers of commercial activity that reached far across the seas.

When Elizabeth became Queen this work of volunteer seamen, seeking their own gain and their country's good at one and the same time, was allowed to go on unrestrictedly. The wily Queen saw the value of showing Philip the strength of England on the water. Her unwillingness to take any decisive action gave to the sea-dogs their opportunity. By 1570 the whole Channel from Falmouth to the Downs was infested. Captured vessels were equipped and added to the growing number of English piratical ships. As time went on the tension between England and Spain naturally increased. The seamen of Elizabeth became bolder in their private enterprises, more conscious of their power, and a greater menace to what had seemed an imposing Spanish monopoly.

By the time that Elizabeth came to the throne, this wider challenge of Spain was already being made. Several notable leaders were active in this broader sea-roving that led, during the early decades of Elizabeth's reign, to the training of efficient captains for the approaching open war.

A noteworthy figure was John Hawkins, son of that William who had made voyages to the Guinea coast in the reign of Henry VIII. The son followed in the footsteps of the father by attempting in 1562 to take part in the trade from Guinea to America. Negro slaves were in demand in America on account of the rapid decrease in native labor that found the exacting Spanish service too severe. The great Spanish missionary, Las Casas, advocated the use of African negroes on humanitarian grounds. But Spain and Portugal did not care to have others share in

the trade they regarded as solely their own. In 1562 Hawkins made a first voyage to Guinea, where he obtained several hundred negroes that were sold in Hayti. Two years later a more elaborate expedition repeated with great success the trade in negroes. One of Hawkins's companions on this voyage was his cousin, Francis Drake. Even the Queen had a financial share in this second profitable venture which seemed to be effectually forcing the doctrine of the "open door" on a great rival.¹

By the time Hawkins went out in 1567, for the third time, the Spanish were prepared to close, if possible, the door he had forced. For this expedition the Queen gave Hawkins the use of two ships, and Drake commanded one of the smaller vessels. It is a reflection on the utter lack of a feeling that the trade in slaves was wrong that Hawkins's flagship bore the name Jesus. All went well until the fleet put into the port of Vera Cruz to refit. The Spanish fleet lay there helpless, but Hawkins did not conceive it right to capture this rich booty. Shortly afterward a fleet of Spanish war vessels appeared, and were allowed by Hawkins to enter the harbor. Later they treacherously attacked the unsuspecting English. The Jesus was lost; Hawkins and Drake had difficulty in reaching England in the smaller vessels.

English wrath was great because of this treacherous act, although the Spanish had no difficulty in justifying in their own eyes their treatment of those who were high-handedly invading their monopoly. Francis Drake was aroused to carry revenge to the more remote Spanish dominions. The veiled conflict became more bitter, although it was some years before the two countries were to be at open war. In 1572 Drake went on a fourth voyage to the Spanish Main, where he had uncommon success in obtaining gold and silver. He even saw the Pacific before he returned to England a rich man. Shortly

Spanish re-
prisals
against
Hawkins

English
interest in
the Pacific

¹ It was while the fleet was becalmed in mid-ocean that this pious Christian slave-trader gratefully records the rising of the wind in these words: "Almighty God, who never suffereth his elect to perish, sent us the ordinary breeze."

afterward one of his men, John Oxenham, crossed the Isthmus and sailed on the Pacific, but his expedition was overpowered, and he was killed.

Francis Drake made his name a household word in England by the boldest act yet attempted by an Englishman; during the years 1577-80 he circumnavigated the globe through Spanish and Portuguese waters, and freely took of the wealth of the national enemy. His fleet of five ships was led by the Pelican, or Golden Hind, a vessel of one hundred tons burthen. Drake set sail from Plymouth in 1577 on an expedition in which the Queen had a financial interest. After the vessels passed the Strait of Magellan, storms eliminated all but the Pelican. In this vessel Drake succeeded in reaching the rich sources of Spanish wealth on the western coast of South America. Abundant reward came to the daring vessel, which was literally ballasted with the precious metals intended for Philip. A treasure ship was robbed near the Isthmus of Panama of thirteen chests full of reals of plate, eighty pounds' weight of gold, and twenty-six tons of silver. Drake coasted as far north as the present site of San Francisco before turning westward to continue his journey. The Spice Islands were visited; there the Portuguese monopoly was as lightly regarded as the Spanish dominions to the east. At last in September of 1580 the adventurous vessel entered Plymouth Sound.

It is no wonder that Francis Drake was knighted, and that his name symbolized for every Englishman the growing success of English adventurers. English sailors became convinced that the Spanish monopoly could be invaded, and that Spain was by no means unconquerable on the sea. This conviction found its fulfillment eight years later when the imposing Armada was signally defeated. In the meantime Hawkins was bringing the navy to a high degree of efficiency by his work as Treasurer of the Royal Navy. Drake, who went on no more spectacular voyages for a time, became one of the prominent admirals of the Queen.

Other sea-captains were doing noteworthy work in these years. Martin Frobisher made several attempts in the seventies to find the northwest passage, and John Davis during the next decade added greatly to the knowledge of Arctic waters. Sir Humphrey Gilbert was bent on colonizing a part of the New World. In 1583 he established a settlement on the island of Newfoundland, which made this base for fishing the "senior colony" of England, a claim that it still proudly asserts. Since Gilbert lost his life on the return voyage, Sir Walter Raleigh succeeded to Gilbert's rights, and attempted in the middle eighties to establish a colony at Roanoke in Virginia. But this venture was doomed to fail. The time had not yet arrived for colonization. More successful was a second English circumnavigation of the globe by Thomas Cavendish in which the King of Spain's beard was again badly singed. This "admirable and profitable journey into the South Sea and thence around the whole earth" was being made at the time that Spain was endangering England by a great naval attack.

Frobisher,
Gilbert, and
Raleigh

THE SPANISH ARMADA

At last Philip's patience was completely exhausted. The fickle and facile Elizabeth refused to take a position which he could understand. Veiled attacks on his colonial empire by pirates who received royal assistance, and aid to the revolting Netherlands carried on by the English, brought him to the determination that England must be attacked by a great fleet. He planned to have the fleet prepared and gathered in Spanish and Portuguese waters, and thence to sail to the Netherlands for reinforcements of troops before beginning the attack on England.¹

Philip's plan
to attack
England

The departure of the Armada was delayed by the bold attack of Drake on the shipping at Cadiz in 1587; over

¹ In 1580 Philip II acquired the control of Portugal, as a result of disputes over the succession to the throne following the death of the last member of the ruling line of kings. Portugal became independent again in 1640.

thirty vessels were sunk in the harbor and a number in the open sea. Rich booty was obtained from the expedition at the same time that the departure of the Armada was put off. A further cause for delay was the death of Santa Cruz, to whom Philip had entrusted the preparation and leadership of the great expedition. A Spanish nobleman, Medina Sidonia, replaced him, a leader who had neither the experience nor the energy to lead the Armada to victory. Moreover, he was a soldier, not a sailor.

It was not till July, 1588, that the Armada was finally on its way to the Channel and the Netherlands, where it was to convoy the trained troops of the Duke of Alva to England. The great fleet consisted of about one hundred and thirty vessels of all kinds and descriptions. Over half of these were fighting galleons, "tall ships" of large tonnage, a number being over one thousand tons in burthen. The galleon was built high at the ends and was heavily loaded with soldiers, who were to carry on hand-to-hand fighting when the vessel grappled with an enemy. Galleasses and galleys made up a part of the great fleet. These vessels were partially or wholly rowed. Although they had been found valuable in the Mediterranean for centuries, they were unsuited to the rougher waters of the Atlantic and to the sea tactics of the English enemy. Moreover, they were not equipped to fire broadsides. Numerous supply ships accompanied the fleet. The whole was an unwieldy, slow-moving armament intended for a battle that was a transfer of land tactics to the water.

The English naval armament that awaited this imposing Armada was made up of nearly two hundred vessels, only one seventh of them in the Royal Navy. They were much smaller, on the average, than the ships of the Spanish Armada, and their total tonnage was considerably less. But there were compensating advantages that offset this apparent disparity and gave the islanders confidence as to the outcome. The English

depended not so much on soldiers as on sailors. In this respect the English vessels were much better off, for they were manned by men trained to the sea, and who through the preceding decades had learned the art of attacking Spanish vessels and of working rapidly and efficiently in the rough and choppy ways of the Channel. Their commanders, from Lord Howard of Effingham down, were accustomed to the sea; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher took an important part in the defeat of the Armada. The English had also learned the value of a small vessel that was speedy and easily maneuvered, and that was heavily armed with cannon along the sides for raking the enemy's decks and injuring the hulls of the bulky galleons. The guns on the English vessels were larger and could be fired faster than those used by the Spanish. As we survey these great fleets, the more imposing is not the Armada of Medina Sidonia, but the two hundred English vessels that were acting under Elizabeth's trained seamen.

On the 19th of July the Spanish fleet came in sight of England. That part of the English fleet lying at Plymouth managed to get out of the Sound and on the ^{Defeat of the} weather gauge of the Spanish. Thereupon a ^{Armada} running fight began in which the English refused to come to close quarters. The conflict was, on the whole, indecisive, although the English vessels took every opportunity of catching a loitering enemy or one that was crippled. As time went on, their "nibbling tactics" began to tell. The Spanish sailed on up the Channel after a third great engagement, and anchored before Calais, whence urgent requests for aid were dispatched to the Netherlands. The English, however, allowed no delay; they sent fire ships among the anchored vessels and forced them to take again to sea with every advantage of wind and position with the English. A great battle ensued off Gravelines in which the English ships so efficiently used the remainder of their ammunition that the Spanish ships were soon in full flight.

At this juncture stiff gales arose, and the winds completed the destruction that the English had begun. The Great

Armada was scattered; many vessels sank in the North Sea, others were lost in the attempt to regain Spain by sailing around the British Isles. Only a fraction of the imposing fleet reached home. The English loss was one ship and about one hundred men.

This great victory was decisive. Even though at the time the English hardly realized the magnitude of the result, it meant the loss of sea power by Spain and the attainment of an enviable maritime position by England. In a spectacular way it registered the beginning of a new era of accomplishment on the sea. The colonizing and empire-building of the next century were made possible. For the time being, it gave a security to the later years of Elizabeth's reign which came as a welcome relief from the tension of the earlier decades.

Philip was not willing to give up the hope that England might yet be defeated. War continued between the two countries until the end of the century, but it was now the English who took the offensive. In 1589 Drake led a well-equipped expedition to an attack on Lisbon and other Portuguese cities. In the next year Hawkins and Frobisher were doing damage in Spanish waters. By 1591 Philip had so far repaired his great loss that the expedition of Howard and Grenville to the Azores was met by an opposing fleet. Grenville in the *Revenge* refused to flee and was captured after a valiant and long fight against great odds — the only English war vessel taken by the enemy in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.¹

In 1595 Drake and Hawkins commanded an expedition to the West Indies. It was a sort of reversion to the old type of fighting with booty as the main aim. Both Hawkins and Drake died during this voyage, and the expedition returned without having done much to discomfit Spain. In fact, Philip was organizing a second Armada; he had even succeeded in harrying the Cornish coast. But in 1596 the English were again in the

¹ Tennyson has made a spirited interpretation of this famous combat in his poem, *The Revenge: A Ballad of the Fleet*.

ascendancy as the result of an attack on Cadiz. A surprise assault on its well-filled harbor brought great success; even the city was captured and held to ransom. The Second Armada of Philip sailed out of Vigo Bay in that same year only to be met by shattering storms.

Philip died in 1598, beaten in the long struggle with Elizabethan seamanship and enterprise. What a change from the days when his father, Charles V, had com- A third crusade manded the resources of half of Europe! The Spanish dominion on the sea had been lost, and soon the monopoly of colonial possessions was to be successfully challenged by the island kingdom of England. In addition, Philip saw in his last years that all hope of conquering the Netherlands had passed. In this former possession there was to arise another claimant for sea power and colonies. In fact, a so-called Third Armada, fitted out by Philip III for an attack on England, was lost at sea while chasing a Dutch fleet that was raiding the Canaries.

An additional security for Elizabethan England was the solution of the interminable civil war in France. For thirty years Huguenot and Catholic had fought for Situation in France favorable to England supremacy. At last in the year after the defeat of the Armada all danger from a Catholic France was dissipated by the death of Henry III (1589) and the succession of the Protestant Henry of Navarre to the French throne. Although he turned Catholic in order to bring peace to a distracted country, a large measure of toleration was granted. Another menace had been removed.

THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND

A project that took much attention at the close of Elizabeth's reign was the conquest of the western isle, where dominion had heretofore been very fragile. The Ireland and England during the Middle Ages English interest in Ireland during the earlier centuries was largely confined to the district around Dublin known as the "Pale." But even there the inhabitants were not safe from attack by the ruthless and uncontrolled neighboring Irish clans. In fact, the island

had no central government, no organized law or order. Each clan with its chieftain controlled its district, and spent most of the time defending the clan territory or encroaching on that of a rival. There was little contact with the outer world. The Catholic Church was not effective. Civilization was no further developed than in the Scottish Highlands; in Ireland matters were worse than in Scotland, for there was not even the semblance of deference to a national ruler. The conditions were truly chaotic.

Englishmen had little understanding of, and less sympathy with, the Irish problem. Land tenure by the clan was something that English settlers could not appreciate and would not tolerate. A feudal system did not exist in the primitive western isle, where the agrarian problem thus early served as one of the chief causes of bitter contention between native and invader. The English looked on the Irish as of a lower stage of civilization, and their lands as fit only for conquest and plantation; the attitude was not much different from that held toward Virginia or Newfoundland and their dark-skinned natives. Bitterness but increased when Irish monasteries were dissolved and the English attempted to force the Irish to accept the Anglican religion. But to England the subjugation of the western island seemed more than ever a necessity when Spanish intrigue and Catholic plots too frequently made it the basis of designs on England.

Henry VIII had assumed for the first time (in 1541) the title "King of Ireland." His efforts to bribe the Irish chiefs with monastic lands were not very successful, and further angered the common people. Mary and Philip received back Ireland from the Pope when England was recatholicized. But their efforts to subjugate the island were not successful. The rise of the O'Conors and the O'Mores in the country west of the Pale during Edward's reign gave to Philip and Mary the excuse to undertake a plantation in two districts that were named King's County and Queen's County, with Philipstown and Maryborough as the chief strongholds.¹

¹ For these places, as well as the limits of the Pale, see the map on page 440.

During the reign of Elizabeth, Irish matters demanded much attention. Many Irish chiefs looked to Spain for assistance in attacking their oppressors, and Philip was not slow to see the advantage of injuring the English position through Ireland. The emissaries of the Catholic Church seemed to have sown with assiduity discontent and rebellion. Munster (in the south) was a particular cause of vexation. There the Desmonds raised a revolt that brought to this part of the island almost continuous trouble for nearly two decades; when the English were not carrying fire and sword into the district the clans were fighting among themselves. In 1582 thousands of people had perished there from starvation. By 1583 Munster became somewhat peaceful largely because it had been made a desert by the harsh tactics of the conquerors. Thereupon the land was "planted." "Undertakers" were appointed to bring in settlers to replace the Irish, who were not allowed to take lands. Raleigh and the poet, Edmund Spenser, were among those who acquired grants in the Munster plantation of 1586. The poet, who wrote *The Faërie Queene* in a forfeited castle of the Earl of Desmond, was for a time clerk of the Munster Council. He has left a very valuable dialogue on the *State of Ireland*, which reveals not only the colonist's yearning for the quiet order of his native England, but also the typical attitude toward Ireland of the Elizabethan gentleman. Spenser believed that "so base and barbarous a people" as the Irish were almost beyond control "through tolleracion and too much temporizing"; "it is vayne to speake of planting of lawes, and plotting of pollicyes till that savadge nation is altogether subdued to better government and civilitye." Is it any wonder that Spenser found that the Irish "naturallie hate the English?"

Elizabethan
plantation of
Munster

The plantation of Munster was not successful, for revolt flamed up again over the land in the last years of the century. Spenser's castle near Cork was burned, and he was compelled to flee to England. The revolt that led to an Irish reoccupation of Munster had long

Irish revolt
of 1598

been gathering head before the severe defeat of the English in 1598 by the great Ulster chieftain, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. The movement was island-wide, and more like a national revolt than any uprising the English had yet faced. The Queen's favorite, Essex, was sent over only to fail in the face of united Irish resistance strengthened by Spanish aid. Elaborate preparations were then made to quell the rebellion. During the last four years of the reign much more than the Queen's total revenue for the period was expended in subjugating Ireland. A real conquest resulted. It opened the country to further plantation, this time in Ulster during the reign of James I.¹ But nothing like a final settlement of the difficulties was to come for centuries.

THE CLOSING YEARS

There is no doubt that the close of the century and the end of the long reign of Elizabeth was a time of great prosperity and of deep satisfaction to Englishmen. The Prosperity of Elizabethan England change in fifty years had been very marked. The growth in prosperity is to be laid in a large degree to the new opportunities for trade opened up by the daring seamen whose exploits have been briefly recounted. The attack on foreign shipping had crippled rivals to a considerable degree, while the rapid growth of the merchant interests in London and Bristol had led to much prosperous trade in all quarters. Not a little of the greatly increased prosperity is a result of the religious wars and of the immunity of England from serious disturbance. The Spanish treatment of the Netherlands crippled what had been one of the great commercial centers of Europe.

We have already noted the organization of the trading companies for the Turkish trade, for commerce with Guinea, and Morocco, and Russia. Just at the close of the century another trading company was formed, which serves as an eloquent witness to the expansion of mercantile activity. On the last day of the sixteenth century, Elizabeth granted a charter to the East

¹ See below, p. 421.

India Company to trade in all places in the Far East unclaimed by other Christian nations. Although the Company's first fleet was sent out in 1601, its development as the greatest of all the trading companies came many years later. There was as yet no idea of a national trade in which individuals could take part. Trade to a given district or in a particular commodity was likely to be restricted to a company or an individual that obtained the exclusive rights. At the time it was probably easier for groups than for lone adventurers to enter new fields. Yet the restrictive control of trade was causing considerable dispute even by the close of Elizabeth's reign.

The condition of the lower classes seems to have been better, on the whole, than in the first half of the century. Enclosures for sheep-farming were less numerous. But the higher prices and the restricted opportunities for labor in rural districts made the situation bad enough. Ever since the beginning of Henry VIII's reign, the lawmakers had tried to meet the acute and chronic condition of the poor in various ways. The tendency on the part of legislation was to force the laborers back into conditions that the changes of the century made simply impossible. Severe laws against begging, instead of wise efforts to relieve the cause of begging, were too frequent. For example, at the opening of Edward's reign an act laid down the following penalties for persistent vagabonds: they were to be branded with the letter "V" and to serve two years on "bread and water and refuse meat"; a repetition of the offense meant branding with the letter "S" and reversion to actual slavery. This cruel statute did not solve the problem, and soon gave way to measures that were relatively mild, though harsh from our point of view.

During the long reign of Elizabeth there were numerous efforts to remedy conditions. Important legislation appeared in 1563, 1572, 1576, 1593, and 1601. To examine these acts in detail would be useless and confusing. Their general trend is, however, significant.

State of the
lower classes

Poor law
legislation

At first, the punishments for vagrancy were unbending; whipping was supplemented with "burning through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass of an inch about." And by 1572 the realm was so "exceedingly pestered" that the measures for entirely suppressing vagabondage included even the death penalty. Along with the threat of severe punishment there was early an effort to provide work for the poor as well as conditions that were conducive to labor. The famous law of apprentices of 1563 attempted to supersede all former measures by simplifying the laws for laborers, and by suiting wages to the advanced prices. As would be expected, the regulations were exceedingly minute; hours of labor, movement of workmen from parish to parish, even the meals, were carefully decided.

But the Elizabethan lawmakers found the poor to be ever with them. Enactment followed enactment to regulate a social condition that could not be suppressed. The Poor Law of 1601 With a lessening in the severity of punishment, the later laws go into the problem of relief more fully. Compulsory assessments for poor relief appeared in the first act of the reign. By the great law of 1601, which summed up the experience of the half-century effort to meet the question of vagabondage and remained the basis of poor relief for centuries, the overseers in every parish were to raise "by taxation" the needed sums for their varied work; parentless children were to be set to work and cared for, work was to be provided for those with no ordinary trade by work on a stock of flax, hemp, wool, or some other material, and the helpless poor were to be relieved. Workhouses, or houses of correction, became an important part of the remedial arrangements, and prevented the poor from flooding the "common gaols."

The vaunted prosperity of the time was certainly not distributed fairly. The social conditions of the poor remained much as before. But among the upper classes many and rapid changes were taking place. The notable social evolution of this important time has been well preserved for us in the abundant literature of

Uneven distribution of prosperity

the time. We can know Elizabeth's England with more intimacy than any previous period in England's history. It is worth while, in consequence, to obtain some idea of the life of the upper classes before we leave the Tudor period for the complicated Stuart epoch that succeeded it.

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CHAPTER XIX

ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

Two of the outstanding features of Elizabethan England have been considered: the settlement of the religious troubles, and the expansion of English interest over the seas. There remains the brilliant literary activity which has done so much to make Elizabeth's reign "spacious." Along with this it will be worth our while to study the life and interest of the people in the island nation which had come so rapidly to the fore. Through all the varied life of the age there runs the abounding vitality, the full-blooded strenuousness of a nation conscious of its power, and with youth and energy to look forward to what had formerly seemed impossible. The refreshing hope that possessed the people at the accession of the youthful Henry VIII — and which was doomed to more or less disappointment — seemed to have its fulfillment in the attainments of a time when Englishmen gloried in their country's position.

CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

The government was not conducted in so bold a manner as it had been in the reign of Henry VIII. The caution needed for safely weathering the difficult conditions early in the reign was to a considerable degree the result of the Queen's wisdom and forethought. It was necessary to put the country behind the new ruler by lessening causes for discontent. In consequence, the policy of the government tended to follow the middle course in church matters, pleasing neither extreme Catholics nor ardent Puritans; in foreign policy the result was a veiled activity which only became clear and avowed as the country won security.

The Queen was aided by a number of remarkable men who gave her unstinted and lengthy service. At first she

largely depended on Sir William Cecil (created Lord Burghley in 1571), who had formerly been secretary to ^{Lord Burghley} Edward VI, but who had carefully conformed in an inconspicuous manner in the reign of Mary. He was a man of absolute integrity whose faithfulness to the Queen was unswerving even under difficult conditions. He was strongly Protestant. Though a master of compromise, he frequently went farther than his hesitant Queen would have liked. On the other hand, he was opposed to the left-handed recognition of the buccaneers that Elizabeth practiced. He died in 1598, not long before the Queen whom he had served so consistently for forty years.

Another important member of the ruling group was Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law. As Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, this ardent Protestant was a shrewd ^{Nicholas Bacon} assistant of the Queen, contributing his services effectively until his death in 1579. It was through the Lord Keeper that the Queen admonished her Parliaments when she felt they were too insistent.

Sir Francis Walsingham was of value in England's relations with foreign courts. He was the envoy sent to France in 1571 to form a Protestant alliance. Walsingham was eager for the breach with ^{Mr. Secretary Walsingham} Spain, and watched with remarkable success for plots and plans against the Queen. His knowledge of the Babington conspiracy made possible the decisive action that rendered Catholic plots henceforth of little danger. Walsingham's remorseless Protestantism and deep enmity toward Spain made him one of the Queen's most effective defenders in times when secret diplomacy and espionage were so common. He died in 1590.

Leicester, in the earlier years of the reign, had aspired to be the Queen's consort. As that hope became dimmed, this noble took a place of considerable im- ^{The Queen's favorite} portance in the group that followed Walsingham in a definite antagonism to Spain. A later favorite was the young Earl of Essex. This son-in-law of Walsingham had a meteoric career, but he was not a man of great

merit. His loud criticism of the way in which Irish matters were being mishandled led to his attempt to subjugate Ireland. The disgrace that followed brought about his imprisonment and execution at the close of the reign. Sir Walter Raleigh is best known for his persistent efforts to establish a colonial dominion. His eagerness to weaken Spain made this statesman of the younger generation a natural successor to Walsingham. His favor with Elizabeth was not constant in spite of the well-known story of the courteous use of his cloak in a muddy street. He was one of the most vigorous men of the time on the sea, in council, and in the field of literature. With all his shortcomings Raleigh has often been thought of as the typical Elizabethan.

In her relations to Parliament Elizabeth illustrates again the Tudor conception. The Crown was not thought to be absolute; that could not be after the development under the Lancastrian kings. But for practical purposes the royal wish was almost unchecked. There seems to have been little desire to increase the powers of Parliament during this period so long as the government was reasonably in accord with popular wishes. The forwardness of Paul Wentworth and other ardent Puritans was a presage of the opposition that was to greet the Stuarts.¹

The Queen found Parliament most troublesome over the question of her marriage. To her they seemed to interfere unduly in this matter where feminine coquettishness wished to pursue its singular path unhindered. And in the matter of religion she resented interference, since she fancied this domain was hers as the supreme governor of the Church. Elizabeth was not above speaking to her Parliaments when admonitions through Walsingham were of little avail. In 1567 she soundly scolded Parliament for calling in question her grants. "I have found in this assembly so much dissimulation that I marvel thereat. . . . And, therefore, henceforth beware how

¹ See below, pp. 408 ff.

you prove your Prince's patience." The last Parliament of the reign, in 1601, was much agitated over monopolies. Popular feeling was so strongly behind parliamentary criticism that in this case the Queen apologized for grants that she admitted were harmful. Her words well state the relation of Crown and Parliament during the reign. "Though God hath raised me high, yet this I count the glory of my crown, that I have reigned with your loves. This makes me that I do not so much rejoice that God hath made me a queen as to be a queen over so thankful a people."¹ Elizabeth's personal popularity and real ability and tact made it possible for prerogatives of Crown and Parliament to be exercised without coming into such bitter opposition as the next century was to see.

The life of the elaborate court was in charge of three great officers, the Master of the Horse, the Lord Steward, and the Lord Chamberlain. During the early years of the reign there seems to have been some restraint The Queen's household on extravagance, owing to the condition of the finances; with increased prosperity, however, the court became the center of all that could give pleasure. Balls, tournaments, banquets, bear-baitings, the acting of plays, elaborate Christmas festivities, boating on the Thames, and the like helped to while away the time of those in attendance on the Queen.

The court was located where the Queen happened to be, although it was chiefly at Whitehall. Here the court would be found during the winter, and when Parliament was sitting. But there were numerous Progresses of Elizabeth other royal residences and manor houses, such as Hampton Court, Windsor, and Nonsuch in Surrey. Although the Tower had been used as a place of residence by royalty in earlier centuries, it was now occupied only the day before the coronation. The Queen by no means confined herself to her own estates when she was away from Westminster. During July and August she generally went on a "progress" through her dominions. It gave her the opportu-

¹ Cheyney, *Readings in English History*, p. 415. See also Adams and Stephens, *Select Document*, p. 325.

nity to enjoy a sumptuous holiday at the expense of her wealthy subjects. Often several counties were traversed in a leisurely fashion, the court stopping for several nights or more at the residence of some nobleman. The incidental expenses for banquets and amusements were often a source of anxiety to a loyal subject none too well able to feed and entertain the court even for a short time. No one at court had a more "feverish love of amusement" than the Queen, and none of the ladies was more concerned with the adornment of her person.

LIVING CONDITIONS

The growing prosperity of the times is well pictured in the life at court. Certainly the development of industry and commerce had affected the upper classes to a considerable degree. Many changes toward a greater refinement of living were coming during this time as the result of the rapid increase of wealth among the upper classes, a development that was stimulated by the sound policy of Cecil and his assistants. The lower classes, on the other hand, do not seem to have prospered to any such degree, for the rising prices were not offset by a corresponding advance in wages. As we have seen, enclosure appears to have eased up somewhat. But the constant problem of the poor, which was much before Parliament, seems to indicate little change for the better in the lower sections of society. The middle classes, as one would expect, grew greatly in numbers as well as in wealth during these years of expanding commerce and successful buccaneering.

Estimates of the total population of England during this time are at best but tentative. Since the days of William the Conqueror, when the population was about two millions, there had been an increase to about two and a half millions by the accession of Henry VII. During the Tudor period the increase was more rapid than ever before. By the end of Elizabeth's reign the population of the country was probably

Classes in
Elizabethan
England

Population
of Tudor
England

between four and five millions. The acceleration was caused to some extent by the growth in prosperity and comfort. Men at the time were fearful of the consequence of such a rapid increase, a fear that seems groundless to us when we realize that modern England supports ten times that number to-day. The bulk of the people lived as yet in the southern part of the country, and in the rural districts and villages. With the exception of London there were few large towns. The rapid growth of London during this time was contrary to the wish of the Queen, who attempted to restrict its growth by various proclamations. It was to no avail that she forbade buildings without the walls within three miles of a city gate or declared it unlawful for more than one family to live under the same roof.

The increased safety of country life had led to a rather notable movement toward the country from the towns, which resulted in an actual decrease in the population of many towns. The movement ^{Roads and travel} to the country was undoubtedly stimulated by better conditions for communication. The roads, however, were as yet none too good. Merchandise and produce were generally transported by pack-horses, and commonly the people went from place to place on horseback. If a lady accompanied a gentleman she rode behind him on a pillion. But a change was taking place in the means of travel, for during this reign private coaches first came into general use. The Queen's coachman, a Hollander by the name of William Boonen, introduced them at the opening of the reign. The coach was long regarded as a novelty, but became very popular during this time, particularly for the use of ladies. For men to use them was at first considered a sign of effeminacy. By the close of the reign these heavy-wheeled and springless predecessors of the later "flying coaches" had become so common "as the streets of London are almost stopped up with them."

The houses of Elizabethan people differed considerably from the more commodious homes of later times. Timber was still the chief element of construction. In the typical

Thin strip of wood
Roof covering of straw, reeds
 Elizabethan house the heavy frame-work was filled in with Elizabethan lath and plaster so that the outside surface of houses the house showed squares and triangles of wood-work breaking up the plaster facing. The woodwork on the front of the house was often elaborately carved. Early in the reign of James I the use of timber for the outer walls was forbidden; the use of brick and stone only was lawful. The better houses were roofed with tile, the poorer with thatch. In most houses the windows were of glass, although in the dwellings of the poor open lattices or board shutters were used. The manufacture of glass was still in its infancy. In consequence, the panes were small and leaded together in the way that colored glass is still placed in elaborate church windows.

Chimneys were rare until the end of this century in the houses of the poorer classes. Fires were built on the floor and smoke found its way out through a hole in the wall or roof. William Harrison, in his valuable *Description of Britaine and England*, written in the years before the coming of the Armada, notes in particular the "multitude of chimneys lately erected," whereas formerly "each one made his fire against a reredos in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat."

The houses of the nobles were complicated structures where convenience instead of safety from external attack played the important part. The great hall was the common meeting-place, where meals were eaten and various occupations carried on. A room peculiar to the time was the long gallery. The inconvenience of this room, which was many times longer than it was wide, made it less popular as time went on. It did not appear in houses built in the next century. The withdrawing room (our modern "drawing room"), the parlor, the bedroom, the scullery, pantry, buttery, and spicery, all went to make up the elaborate Elizabethan house that was built like an "H" or an "E," or about a courtyard. The bedrooms were not always conveniently reached from a common hall; entry was apt to be from one

Introduction
of chimneys

Interior of
Elizabethan
houses

into another and on through a series of rooms. The ceilings of an Elizabethan residence were very characteristic of the period — richly ornamented with curious patterns and heraldic emblems of various sorts. A change of importance came at this time in the construction of stairways. Throughout the Middle Ages they had been of the circular corkscrew type. During Elizabeth's reign the broad straight staircases with frequent landings appeared for the first time.

In the better houses the floors were of stone or tile or wood. The wooden floor boards were often laid edgewise for the purpose of giving additional strength ^{Floors} and stiffness to the construction. Among the poorer classes dirt floors were still common. They were covered with rushes instead of carpets. In fact, carpets were commonly used to cover tables, chests, and beds. As a covering for floors they were largely confined to the chambers of ladies, for a carpet for floors was thought a sign of effeminacy. The rushes used were sold in markets (for example, at the Oystergate in London). They were often grown in the private garden; commonly a part of the garden attached to a residence was set aside for this purpose. The rooms were "rerushed" occasionally, but not so frequently as a modern sense of cleanliness would suggest. Instead of changing the rushes householders put new ones over the old, and a perfumer was called in to remove any odors that remained.

Reference has been made to gardens. They were a subject of as much interest to Elizabethans as to Englishmen both before and since. Harrison has left in his ^{Gardens} description of England a chapter on orchards and gardens which records the great interest shown in the subject at the time, an interest that seems to have been revived at the opening of the Tudor period. Of his own garden he wrote: "Let me boast a little of my garden, which is but small and the whole area thereof but little above three hundred feet of ground, and yet such hath been my good luck in the purchase of the variety of simples, that, notwith-

standing my small ability, there are near three hundred of one sort and other contained therein If, therefore, my little plot, void of all cost in keeping, be so well furnished, what shall we think of those of Hampton Court, Nonsuch, Tibault's, Cobham Garden, and sundry others appertaining to divers citizens of London, whom I could particularly name, if I should not seem to offend them by such my demeanor and dealing."

PERSONAL HABITS

If the prosperity of the time was of great effect on the decoration of the houses, its influence was even more marked in the way the Elizabethan people ^{Fashions in dress} decorated themselves. Probably never was English costume more ornate than during these days. Harrison could not criticize too severely the "phantastical folly of our nation (even from the courtier to the carter)" in the elaborateness and changing fashions of dress. All alike, it appears, dressed better than they could afford, and the Queen's attempt to stem the expensiveness of attire had little effect, possibly because she herself set the fashion in extravagance and personal vanity.

In truth, there was little attempt at fit. A man in full dress was laced from head to foot in garments that were ^{The Elizabethan dandy} enlarged to suit the style of the time. The doublet, the sleeves, the breeches, the hose, were stuffed and stiffened until the abnormal costumes made the men seem but dressed-up puppets. Toward the end of the reign the breeches became more and more puffed by wadding that consisted of wool, hair, rags, or even bran.

Hats were of all shapes and colors; they were frequently decked with feathers. The men dressed their hair in various fashions, but usually the young dandy left dangling behind the ear a lovelock to which he attached his lady's favor. An Englishman's dress was so odd in its medley of ideas from various countries as to be a byword even in the Europe of that day.

The women of the time dressed in an equally odd way.

Their hair was built high on the head and was frequently dyed. Indeed, both men and women dyed ^{Female} their hair various colors at various times to suit ^{fashions} an occasion or a particular costume. If one did not wish to do that, a suitable wig would be worn. Queen Elizabeth at one time had eighty wigs, and Mary Stuart, during part of her captivity in England, changed her hair every day. It is not surprising to know that face washes and complexion powders were in great vogue at the time, even though Shakespeare undoubtedly exaggerated when he wrote in *Antony and Cleopatra*: "There is never a fair woman has a true face."

But it was in the dress that woman's ingenuity expended itself. A characteristic part was the ruff, which was originally a simple frill encircling the neck. The new ^{The ruff} fashion which came from France was introduced by the men, and was quickly taken up by the women. The ruffs were made of linen, and their growing size was the result of the introduction of starch and starching that came at this time. A certain Mistress Vanderplasse from the Continent came over to England to introduce the use of starch. She gave public lessons in starching and starch-making. And to good effect. The stiffened ruff grew apace. Sometimes it contained as much as twenty yards of linen, and was nine to twelve inches deep. The ruff grew so cumbersome that it had to be under-propped with a wire frame. At last Elizabeth, in 1597, commanded "that after the twenty-first of February of this year no person shall use or wear such great and excessive ruffles in or about the uppermost parts of their neckes, as had not been used before two years past; but that all such persons should in modest and semely sort leave off such fonde, disguised, and monstrous manner of attyryng themselves."¹

The other peculiarity of the female dress was the farthingale, the wire or whalebone framework on ^{The} which the skirt was hung. It developed in the ^{farthingale} same way as did the ruff. There were different styles.

¹ *Shakespeare's England*, II, 94.

Some had the wire frame at the back of the skirt only, the "semi-circled farthingale" of Shakespeare's *Merry Wives*. Others were spread out on all sides, but descended in a curve. The most curious was the kind that extended straight out from the waist and then turned at right angles to the floor. These cartwheel farthingales, as they were called, often had a radius of four feet. It is no wonder that sober contemporaries thought that this style "deformed rather than commended" their bodies. It is hardly necessary to add that high-heeled shoes, known as "corks," were worn to protect the expensive skirts, and that at times "chopines" a foot high made it almost seem that the wearers were on stilts.

Fans were introduced into England during this reign. They were used largely by women. Queen Elizabeth had Elizabethan twenty-seven fans in her possession toward the vanity close of her reign. Her interest in dress and her personal vanity had led to an astounding accumulation of various kinds of apparel by gift and purchase. On her death the inventory of her possessions showed that the Queen was the owner of three thousand gowns.

Table habits were not greatly changed during this reign, save that the increase of prosperity brought extravagance in foods as elsewhere. Breakfast came at six-thirty, dinner from eleven to twelve, and supper about five-thirty o'clock. Meat was consumed in large quantities. On the continent the English had a reputation for the perfection of their roast beef. Odd flavorings and highly seasoned relishes were popular. The list of vegetables in use was much the same as ours, save that the "Irish" potato, asparagus, and kidney beans were lacking. The sweet potato had been introduced by this time, but the "Irish," or "Virginian," potato was not known until toward the end of the reign. Tobacco had become known about 1560. Both snuff-taking and smoking became very popular; so much so that James I felt it necessary to publish his *Counterblast against Tobacco* in 1616.¹

¹ The royal author condemned the use of tobacco as a "custom loathesome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black stinking fumes thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless."

Fingers were still the main assistants in eating, necessitating the circulation of water and a towel at the table. Knives were coming into general use at this time as a distinctive table utensil, but the place of the fork was commonly taken by the fingers. The fork had been known before 1600, although its growing use among the upper classes was stimulated, early in the seventeenth century, by the Italian fashion of the "forked cutting of meate." It remained a novelty, however, for a long time to come. Toothpicks came into fashionable use during this period; it was the mark of a gentleman to pick one's teeth ostentatiously in public.

The Elizabethan greatly enjoyed his pastimes. Since they differed in some respects from those of later centuries, it will be well to make some reference to them.

Hunting was very popular then, as it has always been with Englishmen. The stag, or hart, was killed in a hunt in which large groups of festive merrymakers took part for several days. The stag had first to be discovered by some expert forester who knew the animal's habits and the lair to which he retired for the day. The hunt consisted in dislodging him from his hiding-place, and then following the animal with the assistance of dogs until he was overtaken and killed. Numerous dogs were used, and they were of all kinds so that the collective "cry" of the pack would make a pleasant sound.

Next to the stag hunt stood hawking or falconry. This sport, which reached its zenith about 1600, completely disappeared a century and a half later. It was considered as above everything the proper sport of a gentleman. Often hawks and hounds were used together. Only female hawks were trained for attacking birds. They were caught young and put through a severe course of schooling in order to break their unruly spirits.¹ When the game was being followed the hawks were hooded

¹ Shakespeare, when he wrote *The Taming of the Shrew*, had falconry much in mind. Petruchio compares his taming of Katharine to the treatment of a female falcon. The famous lines are to be found at the end of Act IV, Scene I.

and carried on the wrist or on a cadge. As the hounds raised the game — pheasants, quail, partridges, and the like — the hawk was unhooded and loosed. It rose to a great height and dropped unerringly on its helpless victim.

The coarse pastimes of cock-fighting and bull- and bear-baiting were in great use. Contests were held between bulls or bears and mastiffs in public and private enclosures. Even blind bears were used in what would seem to moderns a brutal sport. Bull-baiting was not so common as bear-baiting. At Paris Garden, south of the Thames, near the place where Shakespeare's Globe Theater stood, bull- and bear-baiting flourished. In its palmy days Paris Garden was equipped with three bulls, twenty bears, and seventy mastiffs.¹ Cock-fighting enjoyed a like popular favor. Cockpits were numerous in London. King James enjoyed the sport so much that one of his officers was the "cockmaster." A peculiarly brutal sport was "cock-throwing," in which a cock, tied to a stake, was made a target for experts at throwing sticks, until it was killed. Sir Thomas More, as a young man, was an expert in this "sport."

Archery and fencing took considerable attention, although the duel does not seem to have developed in England into quite so serious a social disease as it became in France at this time. James, however, felt it necessary to issue a proclamation in 1613 against "private challenges and combats."

The Englishman loved the horse. The great horse was heavy and stocky; it was used in war. The small native breed was most common, and was used for packing on the roads. The favorite riding horse, or "roadster," was the pacer, or "ambler." The most sought-after animal for this purpose was the Irish hobby horse. The slender Arabian race horse was not introduced into England until the next century.

¹ In Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act I, Scene I, there is an interesting reference to the sport. Butler's *Hudibras* contains a famous bear-baiting scene.

The public enjoyed various forms of dancing, dicing, card-playing, chess, tennis, football, wrestling, quoits, and bowls. Sir Francis Drake was bowling Bowling on the green at Plymouth when the Spanish Armada was sighted on its way to England. Nor must it be forgotten that an accepted day for sports was Sunday.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

The days of Queen Elizabeth saw the bursting forth of a remarkable literary productiveness that stands beside the political and oversea developments in rendering the sixteenth century of peculiar importance in the history of the English people. The writings Causes for literary revival of the time of this time, both in prose and in verse, make it one of the greatest periods in the literary evolution of the country. This rather sudden development is explainable in part at least. The renascence of literary interests that arose in Italy in the fourteenth century had but slowly spread northward and westward. During the early Tudor period the Oxford Reformers frequently went to Italy for inspiration or found in its highly developed literary life a stimulus as great as that of Chaucer before them. But up to the reign of Elizabeth the work of Englishmen had been largely imitative. Culture meant the study of Latin and Italian, and, in addition, Greek for the learned. Even in the greatest of the dramatists there is to be found a large use of Latin and Italian models. A number of Shakespeare's plays have their scenes laid in Italy.

Notable translations of many classical authors and from the more recent Italian and French literature were made during this time. The work was carried on in Translations of the classics the same exuberant spirit of conquest that animated the captains of adventurous vessels on the Spanish Main. In a very real way the world of the past was recovered for the broadening mind of the English people by the vigor with which the translators sailed their broad seas. And this work served to develop creative accomplishments in the last years of the century. One of the most indus-

trious of the translators was Philemon Holland, to whom the time was indebted for an English version of Livy and of parts of Xenophon's writings. But the most famous of the translations was Sir Thomas North's version of Plutarch's *Lives*, a work to which the dramatists were largely indebted for their knowledge of ancient history. Tacitus and Sallust, Aristotle and Plato, Seneca and Cicero, became known in an English dress. Ovid, Horace, Vergil, and Homer were also rendered into English. Chapman's translation of Homer is justly famous, and deserves the praise accorded to it by Keats, who in a later century aptly compared the revelation of Homer in an English version to the effect on Cortez¹ of the Pacific as he stared upon it from a "peak in Darien." The age of English expansion overseas was also a time of notable mental expansion, and the two should be thought of together.

Englishmen also made acquaintance with the literature of Italy and of France. Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, parts of Boccaccio's *Decameron* were turned into English, but Dante remained unknown save in the original. An outstanding accomplishment was Florio's ornate translation from the French of Montaigne's *Essays*.

This groundwork was all-important. It bred a point of view, and furnished numerous sources for English literary workmen like Shakespeare, who knew little Latin and less Greek. The enrichment of the English vocabulary was a valuable attainment, although for a time the writers were so overwhelmed with alien riches that English took on an altogether unnatural form. Florio's famous *Worlde of Wordes* indicates this effect. The artificiality of prose and verse in the early Elizabethan decades probably reached its highest point in John Lyly's *Euphues*, published in 1579. This first English novel, with the thinnest of plots, was written in such highly alliterative fashion, with so many flowers of fancy and rhetorical ornaments, that such a style has ever since been

¹ It was not Cortez, but Balboa whose "eagle eyes" perceived the new ocean.

called "euphuistic." Lyly had some enthusiastic followers, but in time the extravagant use of language died down. Yet the refining and polishing of the English tongue was certainly aided by such work.

In the same year in which Lyly's pedantic work was published Edmund Spenser sent forth his *Shepheards Calender*, probably the greatest English poem that had appeared since Chaucer's time, though it is artificial and imitative. This great master of the language added to the wealth of the literature by numerous other writings. The *Faërie Queene*, partially written while Spenser was living in Munster, was published in part in 1590, and in complete form in 1595-96. Spenser drew extensively on Ireland for the "local color" of his dream world. In spite of the evident influence of Italian models, it ranks as one of the great poems in English.

One of the favorite forms for poetic expression during this period was the sonnet. This verse form, now so familiar, was an Italian invention that was first used in English by Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey during the reign of Henry VIII. Sonnetting became a perfect craze in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and few of the poetically minded refused to try this means of expression. Notable among the writers of sonnets was Sir Philip Sidney, whose untimely death in the Netherlands in 1586 was so widely deplored. In truth, it was the publication of his *Astrophel and Stella* in 1591 that made the sonnet so popular. Spenser was a master of this poetic form, and Shakespeare, had he never written a drama, would have a secure place in English literature on account of his sonnets.

THE DRAMA

The age of Elizabeth is chiefly noteworthy, however, for the wonderful dramatic production that gave such glory to her reign and that of James I. The dramatic instinct had found expression in earlier centuries through masques, mysteries, and

Edmund
Spenser
(1552-99)

The sonnet

Mysteries
and moralities

morality plays. These precursors of the drama were treatments of virtue and vice in an impersonal way. Gradually the religious drama passed out of the hands of the Church into those of amateur performers. In addition, the short play known as the interlude, because it could be played almost anywhere and was inexpensive and mobile, became popular and effective in producing a love for dramatic spectacles.

The revived interest in the classics called the attention of Englishmen to the dramatic survivals of Greek and Latin literature, particularly to the works of Plautus, Terence, and Seneca. The result of these diverse influences was the rise of a new drama in the middle of the sixteenth century. Comedies were adapted from Plautus and Terence even before Elizabeth's reign began. Udall's *Ralph Roister Doister* was probably composed about 1553. The author was at the time head master of the Westminster School for boys, and wrote the comedy for his pupils to perform. Another early comedy, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, was first acted at Cambridge in the next decade. It was in the schools and universities that the Latin plays were used and in these centers that their influence was potent on the developing English drama.¹

The earliest important tragedy was *Gorboduc*, first acted before Queen Elizabeth in 1562. Its dependence on Seneca was as great as the debt of early English comedy to Plautus and Terence. But it is significant that this tragedy was based on incidents in early British history, a plan that was to be followed by later dramatists.

By the eighties drama was becoming very popular, and plays were appearing in large numbers from competent hands. Although Peel, Greene, and Nash are important, the work of the golden age was rapidly culminating in the plays of Christopher Marlowe. This forerunner of Shakespeare (they were the

¹ The boys of the Westminster School still act annually a play of Plautus, with a prologue on current events.

same age) matured early; he produced *Tamburlaine the Great* in 1587 at the age of twenty-four. In this gorgeous historical play there is a breadth of scope that was congenial to the expanding English mind. Its great popularity was to a considerable degree the result of its expression of the dominating ideas of the time. It breathes conquest and kingship and the romance of discovery even though the plot appears on the surface to be alien. In his dying speech the hero calls for a map of the world:

"Give me a map; then let me see how much
Is left for me to conquer all the world,
That these, my boys, may finish all my wants."

Such words fitted the temper of the Englishman of the late eighties. In Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* and *The Jew of Malta*, the search for riches is one of the dominant notes. *Edward II* proved a remarkable treatment of a type of subject that later became a favorite with Shakespeare. Marlowe died in a drunken brawl in 1593 at the age of twenty-nine, before Shakespeare had done much writing.

Of Marlowe we know little; "a few daring jests, a brawl, and a fatal stab," are about all.¹ The details of Shakespeare's life are even more meager. He was born at Stratford in the sixth year of Elizabeth's reign. About the time of the great victory over the Armada he came down to London, where he was an actor as well as a "fitter of old plays for the stage." His creative work began in the nineties.² In 1593 *Venus and Adonis* was published; in the following year *The Comedy of Errors* was acted in Gray's Inn. *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* are productions of the early

William
Shakespeare
(1564-1616)

¹ Considerable information about the fatal brawl has been recently uncovered by J. L. Hotson in *The Death of Christopher Marlowe*.

² Plays and players were looked at askance by many in those days. A player was little better than a vagabond; he often plied his business under the protection of some great nobleman's livery. Londoners did not wish theaters erected within the City because of their effect on church attendance. Legislation prohibiting them resulted in the building of the Globe and other important early theaters across the Thames in Southwark. The famous Globe was burned down while Shakespeare yet lived, but the site is still indicated by a bronze tablet. Near by in Southwark Cathedral there is an alabaster figure of the poet.

nineties. *Richard II*, remarkably like Marlowe's *Edward II*, came about the time of Marlowe's death. This play shows the patriotic temper of the time as reflected in its literature. The lines given to John of Gaunt, in which he lauds "this precious stone set in the silver sea," reflect the pride of the insular Englishman. Again, the plays based on the reigns of Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI are noteworthy for the glorification of England. In *Henry V*, the King boasts of his country in true Elizabethan fashion, and calls on his good men, in the campaign of Agincourt, to "show us here the mettle of your pasture."¹

Shakespeare certainly knew and loved the sea. In *The Tempest*, which probably appeared about 1610, after the death of Elizabeth, there are references to the sea in English literature. Somer's shipwreck in the Bermudas in 1609. Caliban is probably a distortion of cannibal, and Setebos seems to be a Patagonian deity described in an account of Drake's voyage around the world. In numerous other plays there is abundant evidence of the effect on Englishmen of his day of the "magic of the sea." This master of poetic expression and character creation used themes and plots that seem at first un-English, but, like Marlowe, he represents for us the people and feeling of his time. Shakespeare's work was not finished when Elizabeth died in 1603; much of his best writing was done in the remaining thirteen years of his life during the reign of James I.

The virility and audacity of the age is evidenced also in the prose productions of these years. Walter Raleigh had the courage to attempt a history of the world. Hakluyt's *Voyages* Francis Bacon deemed himself capable of replacing Aristotle's *Organon* by a *Novum Organon*. But no production of the time is more significant than the stupendous task that Richard Hakluyt set for himself in recording *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. The first edition of this prose

¹ These plays may have been inspired by the various patriotic and national enterprises at the end of Elizabeth's reign

collection of English travel appeared in 1589, and an enlarged edition was issued just at the close of the century. This clergyman never took part in a voyage of discovery, but, nevertheless, his mind ranged far and wide; he was deeply possessed of a desire to advance oversea interests and to record the exploits of English seamen. In a preface to an early work he wrote: "The time approacheth and now is, that we of England may share and part stakes both with the Spaniard and the Portingale, in part of America and other regions as yet undiscovered."

It is impossible to make reference to all the accomplishments or characteristics of the Elizabethan age. But enough have been described to make clear that the time was replete with a wild and enkindling enthusiasm, with strenuousness of mind and of body. The broadening of the mental horizon and the promise of empire in the growing mastery of the sea make the years that follow of larger appeal.

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CHAPTER XX

THE FIRST KING OF ALL BRITAIN

THE seventeenth century in England has as distinctive a character as the preceding period. In some ways there is even more "personality." The fifteen hundreds of Scotland and England, were Tudor; the sixteen hundreds, Stuart. James, King of Scotland and England, born 1566. For the first time in the island's history, if we except the questionable claims of Alfred the Great's grandson — *Rex Totius Britannix* — Great Britain had one ruler. But James I could claim with justice more dominions than Athelstan, for James ruled the outlying Ireland as well. In 1603 he became the first king of the British Isles. This Stuart ruler was extremely well educated, with much training in the school of experience. Yet he generated conflict by bringing to England his peculiar conceptions of government. The strife became the more bitter because he was a foreigner.

The troubles of the century did not pivot around parliamentary claims only. Religious differences had emerged from the so-called settlement of the Reformation time that caused a curious mixture, nay fusion, of secular with sacred interests in the struggle between Crown and Parliament. Catholicism was by no means a spent bullet, but was still possessed of much force despite the failure of Philip's Armada. The conservative tendencies of Elizabeth's measured reform and James's own inmost wishes were opposed more and more by advanced Presbyterianism in Scotland and by the many-sided Puritanism of England. The first task, therefore, of the student of Stuart Britain must be an effort to realize the various underlying conditions that coalesce to make the pathway of James and his descendants so rough.

First, let us go to Scotland and observe the early life of James as he served apprenticeship in the boisterous northern kingdom. When we follow him across the border to

take up the scepter reluctantly laid down by Elizabeth, we shall attempt to appreciate the problem that he faced there. Our insight should be sharper than that of the first Stuart, for he saw but dimly the real needs of his amplified British inheritance.

THE GROWTH OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

The flight of Mary to England in 1568 had not settled the Scottish religious question, though it aided in the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland. The Queen's Lords — upholders of Mary — stubbornly opposed the Protestant nobles, known as the "King's Men." Not until 1573, when the latter conquered Edinburgh Castle, was the King's party in sure possession of the country. But by that time both Moray and Knox were dead. During James's childhood — necessarily marked by a succession of checkered regencies — there was no ordered movement to a definite end. The most prominent noble of the seventies was a Douglas, who had become through marriage the Earl of Morton.

This powerful lord illustrates well the type of Presbyterianism embraced by the upper classes. Knox had wished that all the old clerical endowments should adhere to the new Church; thus made practically independent of the State, its force would be not unlike that of Calvin's organization in Geneva. This end, expressed by Knox in the *First Book of Discipline*, had not been attained because the Scottish nobles were as rapacious as their brothers of England. Long before the Reformation many ecclesiastical incomes were more or less permanently attached to noble houses. In consequence the abolition of the offices of archbishop, bishop, abbot, and prior — another thwarted reform of Knox — had not come to pass; it would have made the use of ecclesiastical incomes by the nobility less easy.

Morton, if the most able of the nobles after Moray's death, was also the most avaricious. The preservation of the old titles was designed merely to make the flow of

Completion
of the
Scottish
Reformation

Protestant
nobles and
ecclesiastical
incomes

money to the nobles the more certain. Morton's bishops, in consequence, were maliciously called "tulchans."¹ Yet the regent could argue that he was leading Scotland in the right direction by his lukewarm Presbyterianism. Difference between religious beliefs in England and Scotland was, in Morton's eye, one of the gravest difficulties preventing the ultimate union of the two kingdoms. And union was his fond hope. We shall see later how such a belief affected King James. But self-interest bulked more largely than statesmanship. Morton underpaid and overworked the clergy. Livings were bought and sold. The Church was in danger of becoming even worse than the English establishment under the ruthless Northumberland, merely the tool of politicians. An ardent minister wrote at the time:

"Had gude John Knox not yit bene deid,
It had not come unto this heid."

He was banished by Morton for his verses.²

If Morton's Protestantism was turbid as well as tepid, ardent Presbyterians were not slow to preserve the tradition of "gude John Knox." His great successor, Andrew Melville, spoke with no uncertain voice in the church assemblies, where "tulchan" bishops and avaricious lords were boldly criticized. The jealous assemblies even questioned the power of the district superintendents, for their authority might well become episcopal if watch were not kept. This unbending type of Presbyterian is best represented by Melville, a man more learned than Knox and certainly as fearless. His great aim was the abolition of the bishop's office. During the later seventies the ministers were working out a "form of discipline and policy ecclesiastical" that was to become characteristic of the religion of Scotland. By the famous *Second Book of Discipline*, each church was to have its kirk session, composed of ministers and elders. Calvin's

¹ A tulchan was a stuffed calf's skin used to induce a cow to "give down" milk.

² Quoted in Lang's *Scotland*, II, 253.

theocracy was again affirmed; civil officers were to learn duties from the ministers and be subject to the discipline of the kirk. Just at the end of the decade this *Second Book of Discipline* was accepted by the Assembly; at the same time "the office of bishop was damned," and the grouping of churches under the characteristic presbyteries was established.

The issue was clearly drawn. But Morton was not to carry on the fight. On his death in 1581, the young James was old enough to take an interest in affairs, and began to act a precocious part not unlike that of Edward VI in England. For a time the impressionable young King was in the hands of pro-Catholic companions. His love of pleasure, particularly of hunting, was fostered. James early concluded that the religion of Knox was no more compatible with his rule than with his mother's; he set himself against the zealots, and labored for the rest of his life to subject the Church to himself, as Henry VIII and Elizabeth had so effectively done in England.

Indeed, this is the chief thread in Scotland's very tangled story during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The King's determination to rule the Church by bishops was certainly stimulated by much the same motives as had inspired Morton. The prospect of succeeding to the English throne grew more and more alluring each year. In 1585 James and Elizabeth entered into an alliance that involved an annual English pension for James. His policy was not unlike the English Queen's in its shrewdness and vacillation, but its end was the preparation of Scotland for a union in "ane religioun" of the two kingdoms.

The King was successful, but the victory was only slowly assured. When Mary was executed in 1587, her royal son vainly endeavored to make the ministers offer public prayer for an "innocent" victim. As late as 1592 James was compelled to sanction the pure Presbyterian system. It is small wonder that the Scottish

James VI
and Pres-
byterianism

Scotland at
close of six-
teenth cen-
tury

Bishops in
Scotland

King evolved an idea of absolute monarchy in view of the boldness of the churchmen in criticizing the government and the ruler. It was in 1596 that Andrew Melville seized the King by the sleeve and called him "God's sillie vassal." The royal retort was a denial in the same year that the Assembly could meet without his sanction or legislate on ecclesiastical matters without his ratification. Gradually he made his claims good by reëstablishing bishops — known as "commissioners" — who sat in Parliament as royal appointees. The King had the satisfaction of feeling in 1603 that he was in control of a State Episcopal Church not unlike that in England.

The secret of his success lay largely in the liberal use of ecclesiastical lands. There had been a Presbyterian party among the nobles thirty years before. By 1600 the forthright Presbyterianism of Melville had alienated the nobles; for them it meant loss of income. And as James had taken over more and more of the temporalities, his judicious use of the wealth of the Church had left the ministers without a party of influence to help them. He had created, as in England, a strong body of support made loyal by ties of self-interest. The situation was fraught with danger, nevertheless. If the King was stubborn, so were the ministers. And the Stuarts were to find to their sorrow that Scots could turn the scales in England against them when assistance was most needed.

At last, in the spring of 1603, the long-looked-for announcement of Elizabeth's death was brought to the King.

James VI of Scotland and I of England learned joyfully from the messenger, who had ridden three days and two nights to inform him, that he was to accede to the English throne without hindrance. Of this the Scottish King had not been sure; he had imported thousands of suits of armor thinking that he might have to fight for his southern heritage. But the leisurely progress to Westminster during the spring was one succession of banquets, and was punctuated by hunts and entertainments. On the whole the foreign King made a good impression as he left his home-

land, which he was to revisit but once during the rest of his life.

James VI of Scotland and I of England was in his prime in 1603. He was nearly thirty-seven and for most of those years had been King. The problems of his Scottish dominions had called for shrewdness, ^{Character of James} patience, and industry. He knew Scotland thoroughly, and had won a hard struggle with the zealots. His theory of absolute kingship had evolved as much from vivid experience as from the study of books. The King was exceptionally well educated. His tutor had been George Buchanan, probably the finest Latin scholar of his day. James had practiced poetical composition as well as the writing of numerous prose disquisitions long before he became King of England. Though he possessed little real literary power, the King was able to produce shrewd and pithy, though often unwise, sayings that led him to be called the "wisest fool in Christendom." In 1597 he published a volume on witchcraft, called *Demonologie*, to counteract the "damnable opinions" of those "who deny there can be such a thing as witchcraft." James even boasted that the devil regarded him as his most formidable opponent. The royal opinions on witchcraft had not a little to do with the spread of the delusion in England and Scotland. Four years before he became Elizabeth's successor, James had written his *Basilicon Doron* as a "royal gift" to his son, Prince Henry. In it advice of all sorts for kingly personages was freely given; it contains the extreme and well-known divine-right ideas of its author. His *Counterblast against Tobacco*, published in 1616, has already been quoted.¹

The King was ill fitted for his large work in a number of ways. His very learning, lopsided and curious, made him intrusive and fussy in matters that might well have been left to better-balanced minds. He ^{His unkingly qualities} was not courageous, though frequently reckless when at last a resolution had been made. Even though stubborn, he had sufficient opportunism in his make-up to keep his place

¹ See p. 392.

by yielding, though usually with bad grace. He lacked as well the personal characteristics to "carry off" his theory of divine right. His manners were coarse, his clothes ill-fitting and common, his face and voice such that efforts to act the divine-right monarch resulted in self-important pomposity.

THE RISE OF ENGLISH PURITANISM

One of the most serious of Stuart difficulties met James as he was on his progress to Westminster. The Puritans presented the so-called Millenary Petition "de-
The Millenary Petition, 1603 siring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church." It summarized well the state of feeling of those in England who were convinced that Elizabeth's church settlement had not gone far enough.

The struggle over the form of establishment in England had served to breed several distinct parties, although radical Protestants had obtained no such hold in
Rise of Puritanism in England England as Knox's followers secured in Scotland. At the very beginning of Elizabeth's reign the differences in religious belief became manifest. Mary's harsh Catholic rule had driven many Protestants to continental refuges, there to imbibe Calvinism. This form of belief, already familiar to us in Scotland, was the doctrine of the majority of the English clergy when the Act of Uniformity was passed at the opening of Elizabeth's reign. In spite of the punishments arranged for "any contempt or irreverence to be used in the ceremonies or rites of the church," there had been an acceptance of only a portion of the requirements. Elizabeth was conservative, fond of outward pomp, determined on unity for political reasons; she became suspicious of any effort to be in the establishment and not to accept all that it meant to her in the wearing of gowns and the performing of rites. The Calvinistically inclined thinkers, though loyal to the Queen, could not see eye to eye with Her Majesty. To them the sacraments were "naked signs"; God's spirit found expression and made an impression through Bible reading and

much preaching; the government of the Church in its ideal form was under the clergymen assisted by laymen, and not through bishops.

The Puritans, those who wished to purify the Church, had objected at first to certain forms of worship, such as kneeling to receive the sacraments, the use of the sign of the cross in baptism and the ring in marriage; they also found fault with the wearing of vestments, such as the surplice and cope, and with the requirement that the clergy have a distinctive dress when out of church. Archbishop Parker's *Advertisements* in 1566 allowed some toning down of the ceremonial, but it was insufficient to suit the radicals. The greatest advocate for the Puritans was Thomas Cartwright, a Cambridge professor. An increasing number of the clergy as well as the two universities became avowedly Puritan under his leadership. In fact, the theological education at Oxford and Cambridge was based on Calvin's *Institutes*. Parliament throughout the reign was decidedly friendly to the Puritans, but the Queen had been stiff-necked.

Soon the Puritan attack included the government by bishops as well as the forms and vestments. Cartwright led the movement against the bishops in his *Admonition to Parliament* of 1572. Yet the new vitality of Calvinistic preaching, encouraged and trained by the meetings known as Propheesyings, aroused the suspicion of Elizabeth and led to the suppression of the meetings in 1577. The gentle Archbishop of Canterbury, Grindal — he had succeeded Parker in 1575 — attempted to protest at the royal high-handedness, and was suspended from office. In 1580 the Puritans had gone even further by proposing in a Book of Discipline a system that would accommodate Calvinistic government to the episcopal form. This curious plan allowed for bishops, appointed by the Crown, whose authority was largely transferred to boards of Puritan clergymen formed by districts. These boards were to regulate worship and accept candidates for the ministry. A yearly general Assembly in London was

Puritanic
objections
to the es-
tablished
Church

Puritan at-
tacks on
Anglicanism

included. This scarcely veiled Presbyterianism had actually begun in parts of England in 1582. Puritan clergy even abstained from performing the ceremonies; they did the preaching after some one hired for the purpose had gone through the formal part of the service.

In the next year (1583) Grindal was succeeded by an archbishop after the Queen's own heart, Whitgift by name. The Brown-ists It was high time, for conforming Puritanism was no longer the only type of belief that was rending the Church. A more advanced conception, largely fostered by a certain Robert Browne, was growing apace. In the early eighties he had issued a manifesto under the quaint title, *A Treatise of Reformation without Tarrying for Any*. He and his followers would have separate congregations quite independent of the Church of England. Later when Browne relapsed and became a clergyman in the Church he had attacked, his sturdy followers, hitherto called "Brownists," became known as "Independents" or "Separatists." They were the pioneers of the modern Congregational tradition.

Whitgift bent every effort to the suppression of Puritan and Independent. He drew up articles in 1583 to which all Martin Marprelate Tracts, 1588 were to subscribe if they wished to exercise clerical functions. The Court of High Commission was organized and proceeded to enforce the demands of Whitgift and the Queen. But even to Cecil (Lord Burghley) it seemed "too much savouring of the Romish inquisition and rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any." The repressive activities of the Court roused Puritanism to such fury that it overstepped the mark in the scurrilous Martin Marprelate Tracts of 1588.¹ The work of Whitgift went on unhampered. Puritans were executed for such acts as libeling bishops. Prisons became full, and the effort to seek out offenders proved an embarrassment to the government.

¹ In 1588 and 1589 seven tracts were secretly printed on a peripatetic press under the name of "Martin Marprelate, Gentleman." They were so vigorous and bitter, and dealt so freely in personalities that the Puritans, in general, disavowed them. Their publication led to replies even more extreme.

The culmination of the repressive activity came in 1593. "Seditious sectaries and disloyal persons," who obstinately refused to come to church and receive communion, were to be banished from the realm. The Separatists measure produced a marked effect. Milder Puritans quietly conformed in order to await a more favorable time for pressing their wishes. The irreconcilables now became openly Separatists and settled in considerable numbers in Holland. Elizabeth and Whitgift were little troubled during the rest of the century. When James became King the more favorable opportunity seemed at hand, and the Millenary Petition, signed by some eight hundred conforming Puritans, was handed to the new King on his progress to Westminster.

RELIGIOUS STRAINS

James, proud of his theological knowledge, found the Millenary Petition to be a temperate statement of the desire to reform, not destroy, the ecclesiastical settlement of Elizabeth. The petitioners, "groaning under a common burden of human rites and ceremonies," besought the King, "as a good physician," to heal the ailments of the Church. They asked for the disuse of confirmation, of the cross in baptism, of the terms "priest" and "absolution"; for the better care of the Lord's Day; that "cap and surplice be not urged." Nothing was said against the episcopal system, for they sought "not a disorderly innovation, but a due and godly reformation."

Nature of the
Millenary
Petition

The King called a conference at Hampton Court in January of 1604 to discuss the questions that the Petition raised. He stood as the mediary between the bishops and the Puritans. The Puritan champion, unluckily mentioning presbyters, brought the wrath of the King on his head; James knew only too well the trouble presbyters could cause. His rebuke is famous: "Presbytery agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. . . . Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand that from me, and if then you

Hampton
Court Con-
ference, 1604

find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you." The Conference broke up with the victory of the bishops. Canons were issued during the year in reply to the petition of the Puritans. Enforcement was again pushed with the result that hundreds were added to the refugees in Holland.

Puritanism had attempted to attain its end, and had failed. The establishment of Elizabeth became more severely interpreted than ever. James had refused to allow any relaxation; he was taking the same course in England as had been pursued in Scotland. Yet, when the Commons met a few months after the Conference, it supported the Petition. This should have given James pause, but he does not seem to have appreciated the ominous portent of the religious and political conditions that he and his successors were to face. Puritanism was growing in influence and power. Not the least of the forces at work creating this new, stern, devoted, and devout body of puritanical Christians was the spread of "Bible reading." At the Conference of 1604 one of the petitioners proposed an improved translation of the Bible. This was accepted and acted upon with such vigor that in 1611 a new version, the King James's Authorized, appeared. So satisfactory was the result of the collaboration that the new translation became in time the accepted English form of the Scriptures. The common people, nourished by the reading of the Bible almost exclusively, in the absence of many books and any newspapers, were developing a spirit that would fit ill with the Stuart light-heartedness.

James also had his troubles with the Catholics. The influence of the missionaries in the last century has been noted.¹ In Scotland they labored earnestly to further their cause. Indeed, James seems even to have thrown out a sheet anchor by negotiating with them somewhat, although his desire for the English throne and the danger to Scotland if it were subordinated to continental schemes, kept him from open alliance with the re-

The King
James Ver-
sion of the
Bible, 1611

James and
the Catholics

¹ See p. 356.

ligion of his mother. In England Catholic effort was so unremitting that it obtained considerable success. But the work was largely secret. Two kinds of laborers, the secular priests and the Jesuits, attempted to win back England to the Church. The seculars were probably less fanatic than the Jesuits, inasmuch as the latter connected their labors with outside political influences, and sought by every means possible the return of the island to papal control.

The political danger from Catholic propaganda was felt to be more serious than the Puritan movement. Various penal laws exacted heavy fines for non-attendance at church (recusancy), and limited the movements of Catholics as well as their right to hold political positions. Even if the enforcement of the fines was irregular, the laws were always at hand in case of need. The number of Catholics cannot be known with any accuracy. Many were like conforming Puritans, attending church to avoid fines; others were nonconformist. Though mass was forbidden, it was held daily in the homes of many nobles and in districts strongly Catholic. The priests did their work secretly, coming at night, and usually took refuge during the day in the "priest's hole," a small secret chamber high up in the thickness of the manor house chimney.

Catholic
strength in
England

James was at first inclined toward a limited toleration, but was soon led to the persecution of the Catholics and the strict enforcement of recusancy laws by the discovery of a scheme to seize his person and compel him to adopt milder measures. The result of the persecution was the famous Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Certain Catholic noblemen, of whom Robert Catesby was the leader, joined with ardent Jesuits in a plan to blow up King, Lords, and Commons on their assembly in November of 1605. They conceived that the resulting confusion in a leaderless country would enable a carefully prepared Catholic group to seize the government and attain the end so long sought. Guy Fawkes, an English Catholic soldier well

Gunpowder
Plot, 1605

trained in Continental service, supervised the mining operations and the distribution of thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, interspersed with bars of iron and covered by firewood, by which the building and its occupants were to be destroyed.

As the conspirators awaited the assembling of Parliament, arrangements were made for a country-wide rising.

Effects of
the plot

One of the conspirators had relatives in the House of Lords whom he tried to forewarn in a roundabout way. The "hellish powderplotte" leaked out in consequence, and Guy Fawkes was seized a few hours before the opening of Parliament while he was watching over the gunpowder. The conspirators were dealt with ruthlessly. Fawkes was sent to the scaffold after the most excruciating torture, priests were dragged from hiding, nobles were executed. The impression left on Englishmen by the plot was indelible. For a time severe persecution was the Catholic lot. In the minds of the majority of Englishmen the plotting religion was cordially hated. It and its votaries were looked on with suspicion. The later pro-Catholicism of the Stuarts was one of the chief causes for the hatred they engendered in a population that was becoming more firmly Protestant day by day. Ever since, Guy Fawkes Day has been a time of celebration, and the formal opening of parliamentary sessions has been accompanied by a perfunctory search of the cellars for gunpowder plotters. The opening years of Stuart rule augured ill for the cessation of religious bitterness.

PARLIAMENT AND THE KING

Nor was James more fortunate in his relations with the representatives of the people. He had succeeded in

James and
the English
Parliament

squaring his absolutist theory with practice in Scotland before 1603. The Scottish Privy Council and Parliament were completely subservient to James during the whole of his rule, to his great satisfaction. "This I must say for Scotland," he gladly asserted, "... here I sit and govern with my pen. I write

and it is done; and by a clerk of the Council I govern Scotland." But the English representatives in Westminster met his well intentioned, if extreme, claims with suspicion, born of a long parliamentary growth of which the members were more keenly conscious than their alien King, despite the great blessing that James thought he brought "by my descent lineally out of the loins of Henry VII."

One of James's greatest wishes was a real union of his enlarged dominions. He expressed it thus in a speech at the opening of his first Parliament: "Hath he not made us all in one island, compassed with one sea? . . . What God hath conjoined then, let no man separate. I am the husband and all the whole island is my lawful wife. I am the head and it is my body."¹ But his amiable intentions found much opposition. Scots seemed to have too much of a place in the government, when they came down to share in the spoils.² The proposal for a closer union, that James might not be a "polygamist and husband of two wives," caused trouble. Parliament acquiesced to the point of nominating commissioners for a treaty of union; the Scottish Parliament did the same. But the resultant treaty, accepted hesitantly by the northerners, was rejected by the English. A narrow, selfish attitude, inevitable under the provincial conceptions then prevalent, brought the plan to failure. Union was put off for a century. All that James could obtain was the concession — and it came from the courts — that those born after 1603 (the *post-nati*) were naturalized subjects of both kingdoms.

Especially obnoxious were James's extravagant claims. Had he been an Englishman the claims that he made might have been stomached. For a foreigner to come and declare that "the state of monarchy is the supremest thing on earth," that it is "sedition in subjects

Question of
union of the
two king-
doms

Divine
right

¹ Prothers, *Select Statutes*, p. 283.

² Some of them lived near the Parliament buildings in a court that received the name of Scotland Yard. Lady Hutchinson wrote: "He brought with him a company of poore Scotts, who comming into this plentiful kingdom, . . . got all the riches of the land."

to dispute what a king may do," or to "meddle with the main points of government," was too much. Parliament early in the reign felt it necessary to furnish the King with a statement of parliamentary privileges and ancient rights in order to correct the royal misconceptions.

During the life of his first Parliament (1604-11) friction was frequent, particularly over finance. James was a much more expensive monarch than Elizabeth; his court was notoriously corrupt. The King sought and found funds from the royal imposition of import duties, by the sale of monopolies, and by the exercise of purveyance.¹ As a Puritan of the time put it, James was "faine to invent projects to pill the people, and pick their purses." The Commons was alert enough to see the danger if the King became financially independent of Parliament. By 1610 a vigorous opposition to the King's use of these privileges was based on the former power of Parliament to consent to such levies. When Parliament was lectured and dismissed in 1611, James had succeeded in fomenting a dangerous feeling among the representatives, ominous indeed to Stuart rule.

Between the conceptions of James and the evolution of Parliament there seemed an unbridgeable gulf. The King called another Parliament in 1614, but this "addled" body was dismissed after two months without a single law to its credit. The next time they were called (1621) the representatives vigorously attacked monopolies, impeached the Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon,² and boldly considered foreign affairs. They were soon dissolved in consequence. James even tore from the House Journal the leaves containing the assertion of their prerogatives.

In fact, James felt that foreign affairs were his own field, that it was a "main point of government" with which

¹ The right of the ruler to provisions. See, e.g., pp. 385-86.

² The impeachment of Bacon for accepting bribes while a judge was an attack on the King through one of his loyal supporters. Bacon's crime was a common one at the time. The revival of impeachment in his case gave Parliament a stronger hold on the administration.

Parliament should not meddle. Matters in this department went poorly enough because the King's choice of ministers was unwise, and because James's conceit led him to courses that sage statesmanship might have avoided. During the early years of the reign Robert Cecil (Lord Salisbury) held over from Elizabeth's time the policy of peace and of aloofness from Spain. But Cecil was succeeded by favorites who were worthless for the most part, men like the Scot, Robert Carr (Earl of Somerset), and George Villiers (Earl of Buckingham). Persons of solid judgment, such as Francis Bacon, were not allowed any great influence.

The King
and foreign
affairs

If Puritan feeling was shocked by the frivolities and extravagance of the court and its favorites, it was even more put to strain by the determination of James to come to terms with the hated Spain. This cardinal point of the King's foreign policy added fuel to the flame of hatred that was already large. The sentiments aroused by the Gunpowder Plot were openly flouted. Through the skillful work of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in England, the King was led on to closer and closer relations with Spain. Toward the close of the reign a marriage treaty was actually negotiated by which Charles was to marry the Infanta of Spain.¹ Charles and Buckingham even went to Spain with the chivalrous determination to bring the Infanta back. The fond King was disappointed in the madcap scheme, for the two knightly emissaries aroused hatred, and returned decidedly disillusioned.

Attempted
marriage-
alliance with
Spain

In 1618 the Thirty Years' War broke out in central Europe. The King of England and Scotland was rather intimately connected with it through the marriage of his daughter to Frederick, the Elector of the Palatinate. It was this Frederick who had been invited to become King of Bohemia in order to wrest that part of the Hapsburg possessions from the control of the

The Thirty
Years' War

¹ Charles had become the Prince of Wales on the death of his elder brother, Henry, in 1612.

Emperor. Frederick seems to have accepted the invitation in the hope of assistance from the Protestant world in general, including his father-in-law. James, however, was too timorous to take a decisive stand. He was eager for the Spanish alliance and fancied, anyway, that his diplomatic skill would compose the trouble. The disastrous conclusion of Frederick's step proved at least James's inability to gauge the situation. If we consider popular opinion in England, the foreign policy of James was just what was needed to arouse national opposition. Protestants saw in the abandonment of their coreligionists in Germany and in the *rapprochement* with the hated Spain a complete misunderstanding of the interests of the country.

THE BEGINNING OF COLONIZATION

The first quarter of the seventeenth century is marked by several interesting steps toward the creation of an overseas empire, though they did not seem prominent at the time. The East India Company, created in 1600, began to trade on a small scale with the Far East. The adventurous traders found much opposition from Portuguese and Dutch rivals. The Dutch, in particular, were unwilling to share with the English the riches to be found in the Spice Islands. Rivalry led finally to the so-called Massacre of Amboina, in 1623, when a dozen Englishmen were executed by the irate Dutch. Even before this disaster the English were beginning to trade on the west coast of India. As early as 1615 Sir Thomas Roe had gone as ambassador to the Great Mogul, and obtained for English traders the right to a "factory" at Surat, the chief port of the Empire on the west coast of the peninsula. At least a beginning had been made in the expansion of the eastern trade and in the momentous connection with India.

In the West, as well, several interesting attempts were made in the reign of James to win wealth, fame, and land. The unfortunate efforts to settle in Virginia were renewed in 1607. Two Virginia Companies, one largely

composed of Londoners, the other of west countrymen at Plymouth, were allotted stretches of coast extending from the present State of Maine to North Carolina. The Plymouth Company did not succeed in establishing permanently a settlement that was started at the mouth of the Kennebec River in 1607. The London Company was more fortunate. A party led by a Captain Newport landed at the southern point of Chesapeake Bay on the banks of what they called the James River. There they established Jamestown, which proved to be the first permanent English settlement in the New World of the West. The conditions for a few years were precarious indeed. Earnest search for gold and an outlet to the western sea took a deal of attention. The intrepid Captain John Smith did much to make the settlement permanent by his vigorous leadership in the early years. He explored the coast as well as the James River.

Settlement
of James-
town, Vir-
ginia, 1607

The colony soon began to prosper as a result of sober leadership, but especially because the colonists found that they could raise tobacco with profit; the colony was originally intended to supply England with naval stores and to produce tropical products. In 1616 one of the colonists, John Rolfe, the husband of the famous Pocahontas, sold a cargo of tobacco in London. It was in that same year that the King bitterly opposed the use of the "noxious weed" by his tirade, *Counterblast against Tobacco*. As early as 1619 a cargo of African negroes was landed in Virginia to assist as slaves in the expansion of the colony. The continuance of the supply of negroes for doing manual labor was already assured, since the English had established a trading post on the west African coast at Gambia in 1618.

Tobacco

An interesting, if foolhardy, attempt to win wealth across the seas was made by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1617. This restless Elizabethan had been back of the ill-fated Roanoke colony of 1585. He was prominent in the anti-Spanish activities of the late sixteenth century. In 1594 Raleigh led an expedition

The ill-fated
Raleigh
(d. 1618)

up the Orinoco River in the hope of finding El Dorado in the interior of South America. The only result of the fruitless quest was the publication of his *Discoverie of Guiana*. Raleigh was *persona non grata* with James because of his warlike attitude to Spain. Imprisonment was his lot for a time, until James's need of money led the King to allow Raleigh to make search for a fabled mine in the Orinoco region. The King insisted that Raleigh should not attack the Spaniards. The adventurer failed to find the mine and did attack a Spanish post. For the double sin of omission and commission, he was beheaded on his return in 1618.

Shortly after Raleigh's ill-starred effort a noteworthy beginning of English colonization was made on the North American coast above Virginia. The successful venture was undertaken by a band of puritanical Separatists, who had left England for Holland early in the century, there to join fellow believers. At Leyden they maintained a unity under the guidance of their minister, John Robinson. The fear that in time their identity and faith would disappear in Holland led to a determination to go to the New World. James was intent on uniformity in Great Britain, but was willing to allow the Separatists a home in America. Accordingly they set sail from Plymouth in 1620 in the *Mayflower*. The small band landed on Cape Cod, much farther north than their intended destination. By the end of the year they had settled in Plymouth. Hardship lay at their door for some time, but persistence triumphed over conditions much more adverse than those which harried the Jamestown settlers. The emigration of the Pilgrims to Plymouth is worthy of note because it began a new principle in colonization, emigration for religious reasons. A colony where English laws and customs were cherished and where religious differences with the homeland were permitted meant the expansion of the British overseas in a manner hitherto untried. It was not many years after the death of James before the Pilgrims were reinforced by thousands of Englishmen with much the same motives and ideals as their own.

The
Mayflower
Pilgrims

Most of the colonial activity of the reign was by Englishmen. One interesting attempt was made to settle a Scottish colony in the new world. The King enthusiastically accepted a great scheme for a ^{Nova Scotia} Scottish settlement by the grant of a patent to Sir William Alexander, the father of the plan; he was to settle New Scotland (Nova Scotia) between New England and Newfoundland. Baronetcies were offered as an inducement in the hope that gentlemen of little means would people New Scotland. In spite of James's great interest in Nova Scotia in the last years of his reign, little resulted but the attachment of a new colonial name to territory that still belongs to Great Britain's empire.

Colonization was also attempted within the British Isles. Even before James became King of England he granted a patent to some "gentlemen adventurers" of Fife to take over and settle the island of Lewis. The ^{Efforts to "plant" the Hebrides} colonists found much difficulty with the natives. In consequence the effort to "plant" the northern Hebrides was without much result.

More successful was the colonization of northern Ireland (Ulster) with English and Scots. The Elizabethan efforts in Munster had furnished a bad example. Early ^{The Plantation of Ulster} in the century plans were already formed to send colonists to northern Ireland to occupy certain lands, when a widespread rebellion gave James the opportunity (1607), of dispossessing the native chieftains of six of the northern counties. The ambitious scheme provided for grants in thousands of acres to "undertakers" who were to build castles but not to allow Irishmen the use of any of the land. The city of London received the whole country of Coleraine and its town of Derry, henceforth known as Londonderry. Many Scots as well as English came over to add a permanent element to the northern Irish population — and also a new difficulty to the Irish question, for they brought their form of Protestantism with them. The English and Scots saw no reason to treat the Irish more humanely than other colonists were treating American Indians and African negroes.

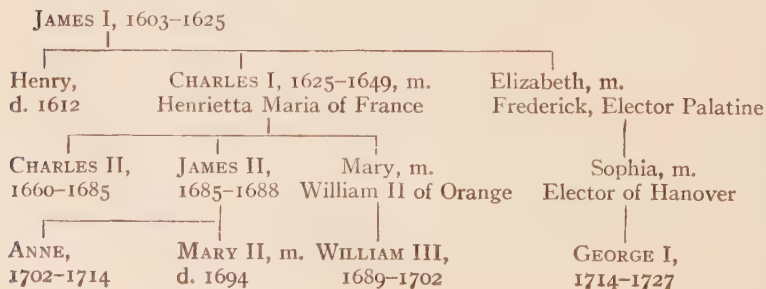
In a later chapter colonial activity for the whole of the century will receive full consideration. It is sufficient at this point that we appreciate the place that growing trade and oversea settlement occupied in the minds of the British peoples as the seventeenth century opened. The study of James's reign has made clear, however, that other interests were of more immediate moment. Colonization did go on vigorously under James's son, Charles, especially since dissatisfaction led to emigration. For the son had received from his father governmental and religious questions that were to make his reign a chapter of accidents.¹

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CHAPTER XXI

THE OVERTHROW OF MONARCHY

THE death of James in 1625 did not produce any immediate change in the government of England and Scotland. His King Charles favorite, Buckingham, who had been made a I, born 1600, duke while on his journey to Spain, was the es-
reigned 1625-49 sential master of the country as well as of the youthful King, Charles I. Buckingham's dominance began about five years before James's death, and was to last until his own untimely death three years later. The favorite was frivolous, unstable in policy, egotistic to the last degree, hungry for plaudits and adventure.

Buckingham increased the popular ill will against himself by his total incapacity as a war minister. Thousands of Englishmen were sacrificed in Holland to a foolish attempt at sharing in the great European war of the time.¹ Soon afterward an effort to capture Cadiz ended disastrously. And then the favorite began a war with France in spite of the marriage of Charles to the sister of Louis XIII, Henrietta Maria. In 1627 an expedition personally led by Buckingham failed utterly to obtain a foothold on the isle of Ré off the French coast near Rochelle.

THE EARLY PARLIAMENTS OF CHARLES I

Joined to these grievances, costly as they were and out of tune with the general feeling, was the exercise of a despotism that was as gall to the parliaments meeting in rapid succession in the opening years of the reign. The first Parliament of Charles (1625) refused to "resupply the royal coffers," and was promptly dissolved. A second Parliament met in 1626. But it boldly attacked the Duke, only to be dissolved in order to prevent the impeachment proceedings against Buckingham.

¹ See above, p. 417.

The King "would not endure the question of his favorite." Charles and Buckingham went through 1627 without a parliament, though they were put to it for men and money with which to carry on the war. Forced loans and impressment of men further inflamed the people. The unwilling recruits were kept under duress by martial law. The lack of supplies was solved by the quartering of soldiers on the people, and opposition to the royal measures meant imprisonment.¹

Is it any wonder that Parliament met in an ugly temper when called again in 1628? They knew they were called to obtain money. Charles told them as much, warning them that he would obtain supplies by other means if they did not furnish them; he declared that this was no threat, "for I scorn to threaten any but my equals." The unwisdom of such a statement soon became evident. And Charles himself should have realized it if he had glanced at the membership of the body he was defying. The high-minded John Eliot, who had moved the impeachment of Buckingham, was back to continue his leadership. John Pym was another representative already well known, and destined to become famous. Hampden and Wentworth were both there with intent to ward off despotism, though their paths were soon to diverge. With them was the most famous of English lawyers, the aged Coke. And a young squire from Huntingdon, Oliver Cromwell by name, had his first parliamentary experience as a member of this House of Commons.

They felt, as Eliot put it, that "these privileges, which made our fathers freemen, are in question." As a result, redress of grievances was sought before the voting of supplies for the needy King. The criticism was drawn up in a Petition of Right, ever since regarded along with Magna Carta as one of the fundamental bases of an Englishman's privileges. Nothing new was sought;

Membership
of Parlia-
ment of 1628

The Peti-
tion of Right

¹ It was in 1627 that five imprisoned gentlemen demanded a writ of habeas corpus; in reply, the cause of their detention was declared to be the King's special command. They were not released.

no effort was made to "trench upon the king's prerogative." All that was asked was the confirmation of "ancient liberties." In strictly lawyer-like fashion reference is made in the famous document to earlier laws. They petitioned for an end to arbitrary imprisonment, since "your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed"; that there might be no more quartering of soldiers and sailors "against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people"; that no repetition occur of the use of the "law martial" except in times of manifest need; that "no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge without common consent by Act of Parliament."

Charles was constrained to accept the Petition of Right so that the foreign policy of the government might not collapse. But Parliament next sought the removal of Buckingham, only to be prorogued. Their wish and the national desire — if the general rejoicing be a test — was attained when a disappointed lieutenant named Felton stabbed the Duke to death as he waited at Portsmouth for a wind that would carry the fleet to France. The expedition that went without Buckingham failed. It marked the end of British activity in the great war that was to grip the continent for two more decades.

Charles dissolved the troublesome Parliament of 1628 in the spring of the next year. They had questioned his right to collect import and export duties (tonnage and poundage) without special permission of Parliament. But the end of this famous assembly did not come before the passage of articles of protest against the royal actions. They left as a statement of their position three famous resolutions against innovations. They were aimed at the introduction of "Popery or Arminianism," at the levying of tonnage and poundage "not being granted by Parliament," at the betrayal of the "liberties of England" by submitting to the King's demands. Thus ended the four-year conflict between two prerogatives, the royal and

the parliamentary. The King determined to rule henceforth unhindered, at least until it was clear that the popular feeling had come over to his side. Charles's actions, however, were not calculated to win good will. He imprisoned nine members of the offending Parliament. Sir John Eliot, one of the nine, died a few years later of a disease contracted by the unnecessarily harsh treatment he received, a martyr to the "liberties of England."

A GROWING OPPOSITION

For eleven years (1629-40) Charles carried on the government unchecked by any effective opposition. The years were, on the whole, quiet. The long internal peace of a century and over had bred a civilization that hesitated to rise in insurrection even if there was cause. With no Parliament in session, criticism had little chance of expression since there was effective censorship of voice and pen. Yet the years of unchecked rule were exceedingly important, if quiet. The actions of the court were accumulating against the time of reckoning. The political and the religious temper of the people were not softened; instead they were hardening into a settled feeling of opposition. Charles was careful to live as much as possible within the law. But that advantage was thrown away by the overstraining of the legalities in order to line his purse. He was constantly committing the mistake against which his father's supporter, Lord Bacon, had warned: "There is no worse torture than the torture of laws."

Government
without
Parliament

For example, the King still collected the tonnage and poundage even though Parliament had not given its consent. The great development in trade made this mode of obtaining funds increasingly lucrative. Some of the merchants stood out for principle on this matter just as Eliot had stood for principle in parliamentary issues. But resistance gradually wore down. Various other ingenious devices were used to bring in money. An obsolete law of Edward I requiring landowners to be-

Devices for
obtaining
money

come knights, because of his need of warriors,¹ was revived that fines might be exacted. The King also resurrected claims to former forest land that had long been regarded as arable. Monopolies were again sold despite the prohibition a few years before of their sale to individuals. The King fancied that he avoided the prohibition by selling monopolies to groups instead of individuals.

His most famous perversion of an old law was the extension of levies for ship-money. Coast towns and counties had long been liable for aid in the country's defense in time of war by furnishing ships, or money as an equivalent. Charles demanded this tax in 1634 of the maritime counties, though the country was not at war. In the next year the levy was repeated and inland counties were taxed as well. Apparently Charles intended the tax to become an annual source of revenue when it was again imposed in 1636. John Hampden, one of the members of the famous Parliament of 1628, determined to test the legality of the levy. He refused to pay the twenty shillings — less than five dollars — which was demanded of him as a resident of inland Buckinghamshire. Hampden could easily pay the twenty shillings, but he could ill afford to see parliamentary privileges lapse completely. The case was tried in the Exchequer Court before twelve judges. In spite of the difficult situation in which they were placed, five out of the twelve declared for Hampden. Though the King had won, he had also lost in the eyes of the people, and ship-money was paid more grudgingly than ever.

In the meantime a deep change in the religious attitude of the people was increasing the importance of the religious issue. In Eliot's Resolutions of 1629 the Commons had objected to innovations in religion as well as in taxation. We have already found how the religious feeling of the nation had been embittered by James. It was more than ever estranged by Charles.

For one thing, he was suspected of "Popery," because of his marriage to the Catholic, Henrietta Maria. The court

¹ The original writ was issued in 1278. See Adams and Stephens, *Documents*, p. 70.

was "replenished with papists and many who hoped to advance themselves by the change turned to that religion."¹ After the death of Buckingham the King fell in love with the French lady whom he had married by proxy. Her influence over Charles was rightly suspected to be in the interest of the Catholic Church.

Charles's
marriage to
a Roman
Catholic

To the Puritans the religious policy of the King seemed only too clearly to lean toward the "idolatrous practices of popery," as the extremists put it. To carry out this religious policy the ruler had a very efficient churchman in William Laud. He was influential not only in ecclesiastical matters, but in secular affairs as well. After a long series of promotions, Laud at last became Bishop of London and then Archbishop of Canterbury (1633). He was honest, conscientious in his service of divine-right monarchy and ecclesiastical order. With all his consuming zeal for the institutions and forces of the church, he possessed an imperious manner and a hot temper. Nor was he willing to have freedom of speech in matters where authority was deemed sufficient.

Archbishop
Laud

His activities were manifold and varied. Ritual was revived and extended by the strict enforcement of the Prayer Book. Considerable controversy arose over the correct place for the communion table. Laud and his followers objected to its position in the middle of the chancel, where it was even used to hold hats; they wished it placed "altar-wise" at the east end and railed in. Laud also "cleansed" the churches by forbidding their use for secular purposes, where bargains might be made, lawyers consulted, goods hawked, secular meetings held. The Archbishop's earnest efforts to improve the morals of the people did not include, however, the advocacy of the Puritan Sunday, for Charles and Laud distinctly favored "lawful" recreations after the Sunday service,

Laud's
"cleansing"
of the
Church

¹ *The Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* by his widow Lucy is a well known and highly prized product of the time; the spirited writer reviewed the history of the early Stuart period by recounting the life of one of the Puritan nobles who took an active part in the revolt against Charles.

“such as dancing, either men or women, archery, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation, nor from having May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances.” Needless to say, the Puritans objected to this “profanation” of the day.

The Archbishop's efforts were also directed against wrong doctrines. The custom of keeping private chaplains or Doctrinal reforms lecturers, who were really Puritan preachers, was forbidden. The press was severely censored. Harsh punishments were meted out to refractory opponents of the system which Laud had so much at heart. The prerogative courts, that of Star Chamber as well as the more strictly ecclesiastical Court of High Commission, tried and condemned persons to branding, the pillory, or even the brutal sawing off of their ears. All in all, the religious question aroused as deep a hatred as the more purely civil excesses, and the aggravated politico-religious opposition had a depth and a power that proved to be fanatical.

The Puritan spirit grew apace under such provocation. Students of this period can hardly appreciate the issues unless they realize that the flow of Puritanical conviction was in flood during these very years of Growth of Puritan conviction repression. The use of the Bible as almost the sole means of education had done much to make multitudes wise and pious. There were undoubtedly hypocrisy and pharisaical holiness to some extent. Yet the solemn condemnations of the “stretching of superstition to idolatry,” of the “emptiness and carnality” of the public services, of the “mire of sin and wickedness” in which many were declared to wallow, were genuine, if strong, expressions by those who gloried in being branded with the name of Puritan. As yet, the cardinal doctrine with the zealots was the Calvinistic belief in “that great point of predestination.” But as Lucy Hutchinson points out, “this great doctrine grew much out of fashion with the prelates, but was generally embraced by all religious and holy persons within the land.”

It was at this time that “Arminianism crept in to the corruption of sound doctrine, till at length they (the bishops)

had the impudence to forbid preaching of those great necessary truths, concerning the decrees of God." Ar-
 minianism, if despised by the Calvinistic Puritans, Arminianism
 was accepted by Laud and his followers. The name needs explanation. A Dutch theologian, who had died early in the century, Arminius by name, taught the doctrine of the freedom of the will in opposition to the Calvinistic belief in predestination which was at the time prevalent in Holland as well as Scotland. Much scholastic discussion was aroused by the doctrine of free will when it was accepted as the best counter attack on the Puritan beliefs. Its political aspects fitted the needs of the time as well. The doctrine of Laud became one more means of embittering the Puritans, as well as a test of orthodoxy within the Anglican communion.

For the most part, the Puritans bided their time. Many, however, felt the situation to be less and less hopeful. As a result, thousands of the "discountenanced and
 persecuted" Puritans chose to abandon the coun- The Puritan
emigration
 try for foreign soil where they might enjoy what to them was the "free exercise of God's worship." The Great Emigration to New England was the Puritan movement over again, but on a large scale. During the eleven years of the personal rule thousands left for New England, probably as many as twenty thousand in all. Boston, Cambridge, and the neighborhood were rapidly peopled with deeply religious persons of one mind. Other settlements of a like character were started at the mouth and in the valley of the Connecticut River. The most prominent of the colonies in that region was New Haven. By the middle thirties another colony was laid down between the Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies. Rhode Island came to be, because of the intolerance of the Puritans, for they could not abide any other variety of religious experience or belief than their own. Roger Williams, the founder of Providence, was broader minded; he made his colony a place for freedom of worship.¹

¹ Early in the decade another important venture grew out of the intolerant English situation. The persecuted Catholics found a haven on Chesapeake Bay that the Catholic Lord Baltimore had obtained for that purpose. Maryland, named after Charles's Catholic Queen, was also a plantation in which freedom of worship was practiced.

The Puritan migration may help to account for the quiet that reigned in England during the years of Charles's personal rule, since it served as an escape valve for the more ardent and determined members of the Puritan group. At the same time it gave to the religious zealots a model Bible Commonwealth as an earnest of that they hoped to build in England. And this migration was to serve as a characteristic step in the expansion of Britain overseas. An exodus from Europe for this purpose and on such a scale was something new under the sun.

IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

In the meantime England remained so quiet that the contemporary historian, Clarendon, could write that "the like peace and tranquillity was never enjoyed by any nation." The same could not be said of either Scotland or Ireland. A brief examination of these two parts of Charles's dominions will show that the excellent composure of England was to be disturbed by the state of its two island neighbors.

Ireland's plight, as usual, was melancholy. The plantation of Ulster in the reign of James left an ugly wound that refused to heal. The despoiling of the country and the violent dispossession of native owners were preliminary to crafty measures that added further causes of hatred. When Charles freed himself from Parliament he sent his ablest assistant to Ireland to bring the island into a more useful condition. Thomas Wentworth, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was preliminary to crafty measures that added further causes of hatred. When Charles freed himself from Parliament he sent his ablest assistant to Ireland to bring the island into a more useful condition. Thomas Wentworth, whom we have already met as a member of the Petition-of-Right Parliament, had been taken into royal employ after the personal rule of Charles began. Wentworth was a man of "deepe policy, stern resolution, and ambitious zeale."¹ His enemies accused him of being a turncoat and dishonorably ambitious. Self-interest may have played an important part in his change of front, for he was imperious and forward. He was not entirely in sym-

¹ Lady Hutchinson's *Memoirs*, p. 98.

pathy with the Puritans from the first. At any rate, he soon became as ardent an upholder of royal prerogative as could well be. After serving for a time as president of the Council of the North,¹ he was made Lord Deputy of Ireland.

Wentworth ruled with an iron hand in the royal interests. His purpose was to make the western island an asset instead of a liability. Money was obtained in various ways, by an intensive and extensive examination into land titles, by the calling of Parliament, and by the organization in something like orderly form of the life of the country. He worked wonders. Finances were put in order, discipline injected into the army, linen weaving encouraged, foreign trade developed, and pirates driven from the waters separating the islands. His administration was aptly called that of "thorough," since he was determined to carry his purposes "through." The attitude toward Ireland was very different from that toward New England. Uniformity in the near-by island was demanded in spite of the belief that it was really a field for plantation. The Puritans of the north were alienated, and the Catholics, who were treated with more thoughtfulness, were rightly suspicious of Wentworth's real purposes. His policy was crafty instead of wise. Further dispossessions and further plantations, this time in Connaught, were intended and would have been executed had not the conditions in England in 1640 demanded first consideration. The upshot of this policy was the further alienation of the Irish population in spite of much good work to the credit of Wentworth.

It was in Scotland that the royal nemesis first became distinct. Although the country had been subordinated by James to his divine rule, zealous Presbyterianism had been repressed rather than suppressed. The country acquiesced in the policy of a ruler who was shrewd enough to know the limits of oppression and "walked delicately." The Church of Scotland had bishops during the reign of James, though their juris-

The policy
of "thor-
ough"

An aroused
Presbyter-
ianism in
Scotland

¹ See p. 329.

diction was not so extensive as he would have liked. Charles, however, blundered lamentably. He did not know the northern kingdom at all, for he had left the country when three years of age, and had never returned. Cautious diplomacy was succeeded by blundering that soon brought the house down on his ears. The first grave mistake was when he endeavored to endow the bishops in Scotland. All church and crown lands that had been alienated since the beginning of Mary's reign (1542) were to be returned. At one stroke the enriched nobility, to whom James owed his measure of success, were estranged.

This was but the beginning. When Charles was crowned at Edinburgh in 1633 it was to the accompaniment of Anglican ceremonies and vestments. The spiritual children of Knox and Melville saw only idolatry in the use of an altar, of candles, of wrought tapestries to which the bishops "becked and bowed." Before returning to England Charles forced the Scots to agree to the use of the surplice. The systematic work of "reformation" included a Scottish Court of High Commission for enforcing the arbitrary acts of the monarch and of Laud, and a book of canons or regulations to effect order in the Scottish Church. Extempore prayer was forbidden and confession was permitted. This was soon followed by a liturgy — to the Presbyterians it was but a "Popish-English-Scottish-Mass-Service Book." Laud was rightly regarded as the author of this insult; it was to take the place of Knox's Book of Common Prayer, then in general use.

Riots followed the efforts to enforce the use of the new liturgy. In Saint Giles's, Edinburgh, stools were thrown at the dean. Petitions against the book came from all classes. The opposition finally materialized in such a portentous situation that the petitioners were allowed to form a committee, or "Table," made of representatives from the various classes. It was a dangerous concession because the aroused national feeling became organized. When Charles ordered the dispersion of the

The royal attempt to Anglicize the Scottish Church

The National Covenant, 1638

discontented, the reply was the famous National Covenant of 1638. Like the Petition of Right of a decade earlier, it was based on precedent. But the Covenant was essentially a religious manifesto; its most important statement was the promise to defend the King's "person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the aforesaid true religion." The King's person, however, was less in mind than the "aforesaid true religion." Allegiance to the true religion meant the rejection of all "innovation" not approved in free assemblies of the Church and in free parliaments of the country. The Covenant was signed under conditions of unusual gravity — in the churches, on the tombstones, and often with blood. Principles were at stake; their disregard by Charles had brought on rebellion in Scotland. Shortly it was to be followed by the rising of England.

And for this reason. Charles, without military forces to repress his mutinous countrymen, tried persuasion. The service book was withdrawn and a General Assembly was permitted. But this was as un-
The First Bishops' War and the Short Parliament
 wise as the permission for the committees that brought about the Covenant. The Assembly proceeded to depose the bishops, to abolish the Court of High Commission, and to put back in its entirety the "aforesaid true religion." The English had never gone so far. The General Assembly was not a parliament. Yet it represented the people better than a parliament could, and voiced the national defiance of the King. War followed. The inefficient levies of Charles in the so-called First Bishops' War (1639) would have been no match for the Scots had fighting materialized. In consequence, the King obtained a truce so that adequate forces might be organized. Wentworth was recalled from Ireland — henceforth he is Lord Strafford — to assist the King in the crisis. Strafford's advice was that recourse would have to be had to Parliaments, English and Irish, for supplies. The Irish Parliament was subservient, but the English representatives that met proved the long-neglected remedy to be as useless as ever. Again grievances took more attention than did

supplies at Westminster, for men like Pym and Hampden had not forgotten earlier experiences. The King, in disgust, dissolved the stubborn parliamentarians after twenty-three days. It is appropriately known as the Short Parliament.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT

Charles was now in a worse plight than before, for the Scots were across the border and in occupation of North-
 The Long Parliament
 umberland and Durham. The King was in no better position to fight the Second Bishops' War than the First. The invaders petitioned for redress and the calling of another English Parliament, and they demanded the payment of their military expenses, totaling £850 a day. The King was unable to obtain help from a meeting of peers, and at last, in despair, he convened a new Parliament in the latter part of the year 1640. It was under these circumstances that the Long Parliament came into being. It is no surprise to realize that the temper of the Short Parliament reappeared. Reforming zeal was so strong that an amazing number of reformatory measures were rapidly passed in the two years before the opening of the civil war. Their purpose, though it appeared mutinous to the King, was to make impossible a recurrence of arbitrary rule.

The first task was to break up the court party on which the King depended. If the court party was effectively
 The Death
 of Lord
 Strafford
 scattered, the King would be at the mercy of a determined and united Parliament. Strafford and Laud were both imprisoned, and the former was given short shrift. The hated Irish administrator was impeached in the spring of 1641. But the Commons found it difficult to secure the conviction of so faithful a follower of Charles of treason, that is, of "levying war against the king." The attack was accordingly changed to a bill of attainder in view of the imminent danger that the Parliament was facing.¹ After the bill had passed the Commons and

¹ An attainder was not a trial like impeachment but a legislative act. Hence it did not need to include proof for the charges. A bill of attainder had to pass both houses and receive the royal assent. The punishment of criminals by statute has often been abused. Henry VIII put Thomas Cromwell and many

the House of Lords, it was necessary that it receive the royal sanction. Charles's position was certainly a difficult one. When Strafford returned to London he had received the King's promise that he would be protected. Yet Charles — his palace was surrounded by a violent mob — agreed finally to the bill of attainder on the ground of the safety of his kingdom, Strafford to be the scapegoat therefor. The faithful servant of the King, on learning of the royal assent to the bill, declared, "Put not your faith in princes." In May, on his way to a death witnessed by 200,000 relieved people, he went past the prison window of Laud, whose hands were raised in silent benediction. The aged Archbishop followed Strafford to the block three years later.

Along with the attack on Strafford and Laud went the legislative activity that was to assure the supremacy of Parliament. Monopolies, the fining of knights, forest exactions, were condemned; the assumed right to levy ship-money was swept away; the hated prerogative courts, including Star Chamber, the Council of the North, and the Court of High Commission were abolished. The famous Triennial Act, requiring the summoning of Parliament at least once in three years, was passed. The most astonishing measure, if the older constitutional practice be borne in mind, was the declaration, accepted by Charles, that this Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent. This concession was wrung from the King at the same time that he consented to Strafford's attainder. These measures and others of a like nature meant nothing less than the remaking of the government into a carefully checked or limited monarchy. They were the spirited reply to the years of personal rule.

The logic of events rapidly led to war. Charles went to Scotland in 1641 — the Scottish army had returned and broken up after payment of its demands — in the hope that aid might be obtained to check the English revolution taking place in London. He

The parli-
mentary
limitation of
the King

A Catholic
rising in
Ireland

another out of the way by attainder. It was prohibited in the United States by the Constitution, and abolished in England in 1870.

already saw that there was no stopping the avalanche of Puritan action save by force. In the same year the parliamentary fears were further roused by a Catholic rising in Ireland. It was a bloody revenge for the accumulated wrongs suffered not only under Strafford but in earlier years. Thousands of English were slaughtered atrociously, and the toll of lives was greatly magnified as the accounts spread through England. The frenzied fear of Englishmen pictured the Irish happenings as part of a systematic Catholic attempt by Charles's Queen and her husband to begin the work of repression, as the "rehearsal for a like tragedy in England." Color was given to the story by the assertion of the principal Irish leader that he held a commission from the King.

Strife, however, had already begun within Parliament, and the King was to find sufficient supporters there and elsewhere to make the continued attack on the King a civil war in England. In 1640 there was unity. But courses began to part as the revolutionary steps were taken. Strafford's trial aroused some feeling for the King. A greater cause of division was the treatment of the religious question. Extreme Puritans wished the Church made over and especially to have the office of bishop abolished. Some would have parliamentary commissioners take the place of bishops. Others were for pure Presbyterianism. Religious radicals sought for freedom of worship on a congregational basis. In the spring of 1641 the Commons passed a measure removing bishops from the House of Lords. But the Lords rejected this measure, and a more extreme step was taken by the Commons by means of the passage of the Root-and-Branch Bill. This measure, of which Cromwell was one of the sponsors, would modify church government by abolishing episcopacy "with all its dependencies, roots and branches," in favor of a system "according to God's word." This step was disliked by many who were in favor of reform but not of such an extreme step. And the King's party grew as a result of the controversy over religious conditions, for Charles de-

Growth of
differences
within Par-
liament

clared he would "die in the maintenance" of the discipline and doctrine of the Church of England.

The King was cheered by these signs of division. There was real evidence of approaching civil strife when Pym and his party framed the Grand Remonstrance as a direct challenge to the King and the Episcopals, and as an appeal to the people. It passed the Commons by a majority of only eleven. Shortly after, toward the end of 1641, Cromwell proposed the organization of military forces in parliamentary hands. Early in the next January Charles retorted by attempting to impeach five of the principal commoners, including Pym and Hampden. On the House informing the King that they would care for the five members, Charles came to the Commons in person "attended by his extraordinary guard of about four hundred gentlemen and soldiers, armed with swords and pistols," to arrest the five. Forewarned, they had escaped to the City. Not only did Charles fail to capture his chief enemies, but he left the House deeply conscious of a breach in its privileges. Thousands of men came from the City and the country to protect their representatives. The game of Charles was up. He fled northward to make preparation for the inevitable conflict. In August he raised his standard at Nottingham, and the war between King and Commons, between cavalier and roundhead, was on.

CIVIL WAR

The years from 1642 to 1649 (when Charles was beheaded) were taken up with much fighting not only in England but also in Ireland and Scotland. The interest centers chiefly in England, however, since there the issues between King and Parliament were threshed out. The fighting from 1642 until the King surrendered himself to the Scots in May of 1646 is known as the First Civil War. Thereafter the negotiations of Charles with the Presbyterians and the Parliament against the army that had won the first phase of the civil struggle induced a Second Civil War in 1647 and 1648 that brought the King

Attempted
arrest of the
five mem-
bers, 1642

The begin-
ning of civil
war



to the block. This internal strife was the first serious disturbance of its kind for two centuries, and the only civil war of any proportions in England in modern times.

Although war is in its essence brutal and cruel, the civil wars of the forties were not marked by the diabolical frenzy

that was too common on the continent whether in the storm-tossed Germanies or in a France torn by religious feeling. There are conditions that help to account for this exception. The English had been long accustomed to internal peace. Religious questions were at issue, but the parties were not so far apart in their religious convictions as to arouse intense fanaticism, even though the severity of action increased with the growth of religious differences. It must be remembered, too, that the population as a whole was never fully engaged in the strife. Minorities fought the conflict of principle which they felt more deeply than the great mass of the population. Because of this important neutral element King and Parliament were usually careful to fight so as not to embitter possible recruits for the other side. In the most important battle of the war, the combined forces of the two sides numbered less than fifty thousand men in a population of about five million.

Nor was fighting strictly on class lines. The nobles, as a rule, stood with the King, but there was an important remnant that fought for Parliament. The lower country classes were usually for Parliament when policy did not compel them to side with landlords. In the towns opinion was also divided, though the preponderance was decidedly on the side of Parliament.¹ The commercial classes gave numerical and financial strength to Parliament. In this connection London with its great population and wealth and trade was a decisive and overbalancing factor. So far as geographical lines can be drawn, it may be said — with many reservations — that east and south were for Parliament, and north and west for the King. Early in the war, the navy went over completely, save for one ship, to Parliament, and this meant that commercial coast towns on all shores were likely to serve as centers of royal opposition. The familiar names of cavalier and roundhead as ap-

¹ Many were the families broken by the divergence of loyalty. Milton and his brother were on opposite sides. Colonel Hutchinson was estranged from most of his nearest relatives by the wars.

plied to the two groups indicate the rough social distinction that can be drawn between the two sides.

The character of the fighting marked a decided improvement on the butcheries of earlier days when red rose and white rose dealt so bitterly with their civil enemies and the country. There was a good deal of plunder, especially on the royalist side, since Charles had no such source of supply as the uninterrupted trade of the towns. Atrocities did occur on both sides, as was inevitable. But England was relatively free from such things when we compare its lot with that of Scotland, Ireland or the Continent. Weapons and tactics were changing in this century. Bows and arrows were no longer a resource, although they had been used as late as the attack on the island of Ré. Nor was the musket rest longer used; the musketeer carried a slow-burning match. Artillery found little use where rapid movement and small armies were the rule. Cavalry played a large part in the numerous frays. England was still so free from hedgerows that horsemen could maneuver at ease. Infantry came into greater and greater play as the struggle went on. The evil of impressment was largely used on both sides. Even in the remodeled parliamentary armies after 1645 over half of the men were pressed men.

A word should be said of the leadership. Charles's most distinguished officer was Prince Rupert, his nephew; he was called over from German battlefields to add his experience to the cavalier forces. Rupert was a dashing cavalry leader, intrepid and quick of action, whose valor lacked the quality of judgment that would give uniform success to his work. On the parliamentary side Essex was the leader at the outset. This nobleman did much for that side by his great popularity, though he was lacking in power to carry the war through. Oliver Cromwell, who at the start was chiefly responsible for the military organization of the eastern counties, came to the fore in a few years as the greatest military genius of the struggle.

A detailed account of the military tactics would unnecessarily lengthen the story of these confusing years. What might be called campaigns were not common. Small armies and numerous garrisons fought and refought for the strategic points in the country. The royalists early saw that London was the center of support for the Roundhead forces. With the purpose of capturing London, Charles established himself at Oxford, and planned for converging army movements on London from the north, the west, and the southwest. Once Charles was actually in the outskirts of London, whence he was turned back by the trained bands of the City. During the year 1643 the Cavalier forces rapidly attained control of the districts whence the converging attacks were to be made. Their plans fell through, however, for a number of reasons. The coast towns, such as Hull and Plymouth and Gloucester, if the last-named can be so called, were staunchly Roundhead. It was not easy to capture them owing to the royalist lack of siege weapons and of patience, and also because of their support by the navy. The local royalist levies were unwilling to leave these centers of opposition in their rear as they made the long march south or east. Charles felt the need, in consequence, of capturing such strategic places. Gloucester was besieged in vain. Hull held out, and Cromwell's work in the eastern townships was so effective that an attack on London from the north became impossible. Indeed, Cromwell proved the great savior in days when the Roundhead cause looked dubious enough. He had organized and trained his cavalry to fight in line, to charge, to restrain themselves from useless pursuit. The soldiers of Cromwell, under discipline and paid regularly, became a fighting force to be feared. Not the least cause of their strength lay in the religious zeal with which they were endued.

The royal
plan of
campaign

In order to assure the success of the parliamentary forces, an alliance was made with the Scots in September of 1643. The Presbyterians of the north drove a hard bargain by the Solemn League and Covenant, for they imposed on the

southern country the obligation of reforming the "religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches." There were many of

Parliament-
ary alliance
with Scot-
land

Presbyterian belief in England but the "best reformed church" (of course that of Scotland) was to prove not altogether acceptable to many Englishmen of independent

mind. Yet the alliance was of tremendous value at the time. In 1644 the Scots came from the north into Yorkshire with ten regiments to assist the northern army of England and the forces of Cromwell in taking the royalist city of York. Prince Rupert hastened northward to de-

Battle of
Marston
Moor, 1644

fend the city only to be disastrously defeated in one of the decisive battles of the war. Marston Moor, eight miles west of York, was the scene of one of Cromwell's most conspicuous achievements. As a result of the victory in which Cromwell's enemies proved as "stubble to our swords," he was given the name of "Iron-sides" by his generous opponent, Prince Rupert. At Marston Moor, Charles lost the north.

Following this victory the parliamentary armies were shaped on the model of Cromwell's Ironsides. New leaders

Battle of
Naseby,
1645

were appointed in spite of much acrimonious feeling between the Presbyterians, both of England and Scotland, and the more liberal "sec-taries," or Independents, of the army. The royalist cause suffered irreparable loss in the next year (1645) at Naseby in Northamptonshire by the utter defeat and rout of the one remaining royalist force of any size.¹ Again Cromwell played an important part; as usual, he gave God credit for granting the victory to a cause that Cromwell felt to be divinely led. After Naseby the conquest of the country went on rapidly. Royalist garrisons were driven from many a hardly defended post. Even Cornwall was won

¹ The victory was doubly valuable because the King's private cabinet with his secret correspondence and papers was taken. The papers did much to reveal the King's duplicity.

to the cause of Parliament, and in 1646 Oxford fell into the hands of the Roundheads.

The parliamentary army was shot through with liberalism both religious and political. The same cannot be said of Parliament and its Scottish allies. The Presbyterian faction were not inclined to leniency. The prayer book was abolished, Anglican worship prohibited, and royalist estates were rudely confiscated. The army, upon which the success of the parliamentary cause had depended, was ungraciously treated, and ordered to disband even before the payment of arrears in wages. Measures to suppress Puritan independency were even mooted.

Charles, ever scheming on the divisions among his enemies, gave himself up to the Scots in the hope of restoring his power through them. They turned the fallen monarch over to Parliament. The army, entirely out of patience with the gross ingratitude and narrowness of Parliament, took possession of the King's person, and occupied London. Thereupon Cromwell and the generals carried on negotiations with the King in the hope of agreement. The Heads of the Proposals would have gone far toward reconciling Independent and Anglican and Presbyterian under a mild and reasonable régime. Charles's answer was flight to the Isle of Wight to arouse a civil war between his enemies. Then the army leaders hardened their hearts against a shifty monarch, and determined to bring him to account.

The Second Civil War was but brief; it was a conflict between the Presbyterian group that favored the King and an Independent army. An invading Scottish army marched into Lancashire. But the expected rising for the King did not take place. This, joined with Cromwell's vigor and military acumen, resulted in a crushing defeat for the Scots at Preston. Half measures were now antiquated. The army first purged the Commons of most of its members — all but some half a hundred — because they would have continued negotiations with the

Dissensions
in the par-
liamentary
forces

Presbyteri-
ans versus
the army

The Second
Civil War

King.¹ Then the House of Lords was abolished. The next and final step was to do away with the King. A commission was appointed to try the former monarch. It found him guilty of levying "unnatural, cruel, and bloody wars" against Parliament and the people. He was sentenced, as a result, to be put to death "by the severing of his head from his body." Charles went to his death on January 30, 1649, near his palace of Whitehall.

Death of
Charles I.
1649

There is no question of legality at issue in the upshot of the civil strife. To the army the act seemed a stern necessity. Cromwell had come to see but slowly the necessity for this extreme measure. It was a serious mistake, without doubt. Charles was thoroughly untrustworthy, and unfit to govern a country so out of sympathy with his stationary mind. But he acted the part of martyr so nobly that a revulsion of feeling, a wave of royalist sentimentalism, put off for generations the hope of the Puritans for a limited and tolerant state. At the time it set before the victors the insoluble problem of realizing their ideals in a country wrought up by the bitter hatreds of war. The interesting experiment of a kingless government followed.

Meaning of
the execu-
tion

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¹ The remnant became known as the Rump, because it was the "sitting part" of the Long Parliament. It was not so called, however, until after Cromwell's death.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE REPUBLICAN EXPERIMENT

THE beheading of Charles led to eleven years of government without a king. These years are of great interest and im-

Importance
of years
1649-60

portance for a number of reasons. For the first time England was the scene of an extensive attempt to break with the monarchical past. The sharp rupture entailed, too, the formation of a constitution that was new in England because written. In this decade, also, the British Isles came for the first time under an organically united government, quite different from the personal union of three states under one ruler. The period is of note as well because it furnished the Puritans with an opportunity to proscribe the Church that had persecuted them, and to experiment with a Bible Commonwealth.

Exceptional difficulties faced the innovators, difficulties partly of their own making, partly inherent in the problem they essayed. The execution of Charles I made

The Eu-
ropean situa-
tion

the conditions for the experiment very difficult. Domestic opposition was reënforced by the Continental attitude toward the regicide revolutionaries. The two nearest Continental states were by no means friendly. In France, Richelieu had just completed his work of making the country a strongly centralized and absolutist monarchy. Louis XIV began a long and brilliant reign as a mere boy in 1643. Cardinal Mazarin was to direct the state during the minority of Louis, and to add his influence and labors to those of Richelieu. As a consequence, the most brilliant days of the Bourbon absolutism were to parallel the time in England when the Stuart despotism was being overthrown. France was naturally a congenial refuge for the discountenanced followers of the defunct English King. The Dutch government was also sympathetic with the royalist cause. Charles's son — already recognized by the royalists as

Charles II — was a refugee there. He was a brother-in-law of the stadholder.¹

THE SUBMISSION OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

In the islands the outlook was grave. Both Scotland and Ireland took the King's death as a signal for revolt. Charles II had reason to believe that his intrigues within the British Isles would be fruitful. During the whole of the Commonwealth period the efforts at making a new government were constantly hindered by this combination of rebellion within and machinations from without.

Revolt of
Ireland and
Scotland.

Nevertheless, the men in power boldly set about their precarious task. An Act passed shortly after the King's death declared England to be a "Commonwealth and Free State." In place of the king as an executive there was a Council of State of forty-one members, mostly taken from the Parliament. The famous Long Parliament, which had been purged by Colonel Pride previous to the death of the King, was now enlarged and continued as "the representatives of the people in parliament." The House of Lords had been abolished as "useless and dangerous." These decided innovations were regarded by the Commonwealth men as initiating a new era; they spoke of the opening year as the "first year of freedom by God's blessing restored," and of themselves as the "Keepers of the Liberties of England." Behind the new machinery of administration was the veteran army of over forty thousand men; it was in a splendid state of discipline and generalled by highly efficient leaders.

Establish-
ment of a
Common-
wealth

The first obvious task was to stamp out the blaze of revolt that had spread in Ireland and Scotland, for it was the ideal of the leaders of the Commonwealth that the liberties of England should be enjoyed by neighboring Scotland and near-by Ireland. In their minds it was best that the three states be one. The Irish matter

The Irish
question

¹ See Genealogical Note, p. 422.

received first attention. Strafford, it will be recalled, had rendered English rule in Ireland even more hated than ever. About the time of the opening of the Long Parliament a serious rebellion had led in Ireland to a massacre of Protestants by Catholics. The English, who believed that 200,000 of their faith had fallen in the massacre, were in no mood to deal gently with the western isle. The issues within Ireland were complicated by varied hatreds and numerous parties. The King's party was at odds with the Catholic groups, one of whom even had a papal connection for a time. Matters had come to such a pass that the parliamentary forces retained little besides Dublin and Londonderry. If the menace of attack on England from the west were to be weakened, it seemed necessary to do something drastic.

The work was delegated to Cromwell and he did it "excellently well." The excessive cruelty of Cromwell's Irish tactics is the most serious blot on his escutcheon. In Drogheda, attacked shortly after his arrival in Dublin, the slaughter was indiscriminate and vengeful; over three thousand were killed. Even a church was burned over the heads of some refugees. The priests and officers were slaughtered, and the less important people were shipped off to the Barbados to work as slaves on the plantations. To Cromwell the bloody work was justified: it was no more than the "righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches. . . . It will tend to prevent the effusion of blood in the future. . . . It is good that God alone have the glory." Unfortunately neither argument was well founded; the Drogheda inhabitants very likely had no part in the Ulster massacre of 1641, and the treatment of that town did not prevent stubborn resistance elsewhere in Ireland. In spite of vigorous resistance nothing availed against the trained men of Cromwell. The country was completely overrun by the midsummer of 1650. The results for Ireland were truly deplorable. It was depleted of its inhabitants by slaughter, pestilence, and transportation. Throughout the Commonwealth period the forced emigra-

tion of the Irish was carried on; it was especially stimulated by the capture of Jamaica in 1655. Probably two-thirds of the land changed hands during these years. The Irish were further embittered by the way in which the victorious English rode roughshod over the racial, social, and religious differences they found in Ireland. Cromwell's name, in particular, became a curse.

The next work was in Scotland. The unanimous opposition of the northern kingdom to the Commonwealth was a fertile cause of discontent and of disrespect for the novel government in England. The republican revolution had succeeded beyond expectation in alienating Scots of all political and religious beliefs. The national feeling was violated by the execution of a Scottish King, who had also become King of England. That King, moreover, had led the Scottish Presbyterians to feel that some sort of agreement was possible by which the rightful ruler could be made to drink the "milk of the covenanted word." Scottish forces had opportunely intervened in English affairs in 1644 under the compact known as the Solemn League and Covenant. As the price of military aid the Scots had expected the reconstructed English church to be a Presbyterian communion after the Scottish model. The English were already at the work of reforming the religious conditions when the Scots came across the border, for the famous Westminster Assembly met for the first time in July of 1643. When the Scots made their alliance with the English Parliament, Scottish commissioners joined the Westminster Assembly, and proceeded to work out a Presbyterian system that would accord with the Solemn League and Covenant. By 1646 the work was pretty well done, and was accepted by the English Parliament. The most famous accomplishments of the Westminster Assembly were the Longer and Shorter Catechisms and the Confession of Faith. They were so thoroughly Presbyterian in spirit and statement that they have remained ever since the accepted standards of belief in Presbyterian churches throughout the English-speaking world.

The West-
minster
Assembly

The conditions in England, however, were not favorable for the acceptance of the work of the Westminster Assembly.

Question of
worship in
Scotland

The Independent army was unwilling to tolerate an intolerant Scottish theocracy. The victory of the army over Parliament brought, therefore, not a Presbyterian rule of England, but a religious situation in which the Presbyterians were free to worship along with Baptists and Congregationalists and numerous other sects. The army was willing that the northern religion should be practiced, though unwilling to have it exalted above its rivals. The toleration of the army did not include the Catholics and the Anglicans.

If Scotland was a unit in its opposition to the Commonwealth, the Scots were not united among themselves. The party of royalist Presbyterians, who suffered defeat at Preston¹ — the “Engagers” — were completely replaced in authority by the extreme group who would have nothing to do with a scheming King. The backbone of the fanatical Presbyterian party were the countrymen of the southwest; they were known as Whiggamores.² An army of Whiggamores marched on Edinburgh in 1648, took over the government, and began a harsh, narrow, and short-sighted oligarchical rule. And this was done in the face of royalist activities in the Highlands under Montrose, and the threatened invasion of Scotland by the English. Charles II was bending all his energy to establish a foothold on the island. In 1650 he came to Scotland to dicker with the extremist party that was then in power. They were so unrelenting in their demands that Charles finally signed the covenants, and became a covenanted king. The step was a repudiation of his family and its history, but he resolved, nevertheless, “to swallow the pill

¹ See p. 445.

² They were called Whiggamores, apparently, because the word “whiggam” was used by these west countrymen to urge on their horses. The name first became prominent when the Whiggamore army went to Edinburgh in 1648. This name, shortened to “Whigg” and then “Whig,” was later attached to the English party that held the same attitude toward the court; that is, were opposed to the royal group.

without further chewing it." He was crowned at Scone on January 1, 1651. By the turn of affairs one of the strangest events in British history had come to pass — a light-hearted, licentious, skeptical libertine was the accepted king of the "straitest sect" among the Presbyterians.

In the meantime, Cromwell had invaded Scotland. For a time the Fabian tactics of a veteran leader, David Leslie, prevented Cromwell from winning his customary suc-

Cromwell
and the
Scots.

cesses. Unfortunately, the Scottish Committee of Estates demanded action and results. Cromwell immediately took advantage of the opening offered to win one of his most decisive battles at Dunbar, on September 3, 1650. The Scots suffered terribly in a fight and a flight that cost them thirteen thousand in killed and wounded; of Cromwell's soldiers not thirty were lost. The English thereupon began to subjugate the eastern part of the country. Charles and his followers saw that their only hope lay in an attack on England, desperate though that hope. Accordingly, the Scots advanced rapidly down the western side of the island in the summer of 1651. Cromwell was soon in headlong pursuit, but did not come up with the Scottish forces before they reached Worcester on the Severn, but fifty miles northwest of Oxford. On Sep-

Battle of
Worcester,
1651

tember 3, exactly a year after the Battle of Dunbar, Cromwell inflicted another and final defeat on the Scots. Cromwell wrote to the speaker of Parliament: "The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy." Worcester closed the military career of Cromwell in a blaze of glory. While King Charles was wandering through southern England, seeking to effect his escape to the continent, Cromwell returned to London to play an even greater rôle in the government of the country.¹ The government of the Commonwealth included henceforth the whole of the British Isles.

¹ As part of his reward, Cromwell received Hampton Court as a country residence. Scott's *Woodstock* is a delightful picture of the royal plight after Worcester.

DIVERSITIES OF BELIEF

The formers of the Commonwealth had called the new government a "Free State." But if it were to be such the government must receive the acceptance of the people. Otherwise the victorious military rulers were but replacing a Stuart despotism with another type of autocracy, and one possibly open to graver objection. Cromwell saw the necessity for "consent," and earnestly sought it in his years of power. But he was of the "leading" type, and continued his military autocracy because he could not bring the country to agree with his ideals. The country lost a Stuart ruler only to gain an imperious Puritan master, armed with a sword and the Old Testament.

The condition was probably inevitable if we realize, in addition to the character of Cromwell's mind, that the very toleration bred a variety of political and religious parties. Some of them were radical, and all of them helped to make it impossible for a unified feeling to uphold the experiment of a "Free State." There was a strong though submerged royalist party throughout the years of the Commonwealth. To the royalists Cromwell and the army were but usurpers. Royalists kept up communications by secret codes and stealthy messengers with the absent Charles II. Though the Prayer Book was proscribed, pious Anglican clergymen and laymen continued their worship in semi-privacy. Only in the last years of the Protectorate was the prevention of Anglican worship harsh. The growing severity was the result of the increase of conspiracies and plots against the life of the leader and against the government. Men of such worth as Jeremy Taylor were even imprisoned, and severe prohibitions of preaching, teaching, and sacramental administration were imposed on the Anglican clergy.¹

The parish churches were given over during the Com-

¹ The Diary of John Evelyn mirrors excellently the life of a devout Anglican during these "mournful" years. Jeremy Taylor, the famous Anglican preacher and writer, is probably best known for his highly devout character: it is revealed in the *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*. Both were written shortly after the death of Charles I.

monwealth government to those preachers and groups who "had the root of the matter in them." These included three principal shades of belief, Presbyterian, The accepted Independent, and Baptist. This measured tol- religions-
eration was the reward at last for those sects that had sought a century before to make innovations in the established church. To Anglicans their devotions were profanations of the churches they had seized. The hostile pen of John Evelyn thus describes their services: "I had sometimes the curiosity to visit the several worships of these equivocal Christians and enthusiasts. . . . Form, they observe none. They pray and read without method, and, indeed, without reverence and devotion. I have beheld a whole congregation sit with their hats on at the reading of the Psalms, and yet bareheaded when they sing them. . . . They make an insipid, tedious, and unmethodical prayer, in phrases and tones so affected and mysterious, that they give it the name of canting. . . . After which there follows the sermon, consisting of speculative and abstract notions of things; . . . these they extend to an extraordinary length. . . . The minister uses no habit of distinction or gravity."

If the variations in the established Puritan churches were anathema to Anglicans, the numerous sectaries of more extreme tendencies aroused a similar feeling among the dominant Puritans. The radical groups were numerous. They often combined extreme be-
liefs in religious speculation with schemes for further democratizing the government. "Freeborn" John Lilburn was the mouthpiece of democratic radicals in 1649. He loudly and boldly demanded real political democracy. The conservatism of the parliaments and of the army leaders saw in these leveling tendencies a real danger; unless they were "broken" anarchy would result. There were also social Levelers. The group known as the "Diggers" would have the revolution bring in a redistribution of land. Something like the old peasant movements against enclosures found expression among radicals who regarded Jesus Christ as the head Leveler.

Growth of
religious
radicalism

Just about the time when the Commonwealth government was inaugurated, the well-known Quaker movement began to spread under the powerful leaven of George Fox's preaching and example. Fox was the son of a weaver, with a vigorous spirit and a fearless voice of criticism for the artificialities and un-Christian interpretations that seemed to encrust true Christianity. Fox and his followers suffered persecution on every hand because their beliefs and practices violated the ideas of so many different sorts of people. They were opposed to the militaristic element so common at the time. All ceremony seemed to them a hindrance of true worship. The construction of elaborate theologies, whether Catholic or Anglican or Puritan, and the excessive emphasis on the Bible as the "word of God" was contrary to the Quaker experience; God was revealed to them by an "inner light" and by a spiritual or mystic perception. The Bible was their guide but not their sole resource. The magistrates found them especially troublesome because of the Quaker lack of respect for the external forms of society, and because of their determination not to blaspheme by taking oaths. During the fifties the movement spread very extensively among the lower classes. It later attracted such men as William Penn.¹

Another belief that found acceptance particularly among the less educated was the prophetic type of millenarianism; the millenarians believed that Christ's reign was soon to begin upon earth. They were known as Fifth Monarchy men, because of their belief in Daniel's supposed prophecy regarding the four monarchies of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome. These fallen monarchies were to be succeeded by the fifth and last. The Fifth Monarchy men are to be distinguished from Quakers in their belief that the new condition was to come by force. For a time they were warlike followers of Cromwell, but they fomented discord in the later days of the Commonwealth,

¹ The popular name for the movement seems to have originated in the religious excitement created by the stirring appeals of Fox and his followers.

since the Cromwellian government did not seem to approach their ideal of the fifth monarchy.

It will be clear from the number and variety of the parties, religious and political, that the Commonwealth had a hard task as it tried to bring about a measured advance from the old monarchy to the new state. Cromwell's tolerance

In spite of the difficulties, Cromwell's belief in toleration seems to have been sincere. He even took steps to readmit the Jews, who had been excluded by law from England since the days of Edward I.¹ But the unsettled conditions of the country made the practice of toleration less liberal than the theory. An essentially conservative revolution tried expedient after expedient to compose the marked individualism of the time and to win a unity based on the general acceptance of a conciliatory policy.

FROM COMMONWEALTH TO PROTECTORATE

The evolution of the Commonwealth government, it will now be evident, went forward under peculiarly difficult conditions. Various interesting efforts were made by the upholders of the republican idea to work out an administrative and legislative arrangement that would solve a well-nigh impossible problem. After the death of the King, the Council of State and the remnants of the Long Parliament ruled the country. But they were backed by a very critical and watchful army. The parliamentary leaders were accused of inefficiency and of the selfish misuse of power, and there arose, in consequence, a widespread demand for a really representative body that should replace the Long Parliament, now nearly thirteen years old. The Rump—the segment of the original House of Commons of the Long Parliament—finally agreed to an end of its life but with such restrictions that it amounted to a continuance of the old parliamentary influence in the next body. Cromwell and the army leaders were at last aroused to such exasperation that they summarily ended the work of the Rump Parliament. Some

Dissolution
of Parlia-
ment, 1653

¹ See p. 177.

soldiers under Cromwell's lead went to the House on the morning of April 20, 1653 and drove the offending Parliament from the room after the angry General told them that "the Lord had done with them, and had chosen other instruments for the carrying on of his work that were more worthy." Thereupon he locked the doors. It was a fateful step, for the last legal link with the past was broken.

The army was now supreme, and Cromwell was its leader. To call a freely elected Parliament as the chosen instrument

The Little
Parliament,
1653

for carrying on the divine task of governing England seemed out of the question. Yet Cromwell was not selfishly bent on attaining personal ends. He sought what he thought was the best government for the country, although he felt that the country as a whole was not in a position to judge just what that "best" was. In consequence, the Parliament that he did call to replace the Rump proved one of the strangest assemblies in England's history. An assembly was summoned, not by election but by nomination. Cromwell and his officers selected men of approved life and religion from various parts of the country. In making the choices they were advised frequently by the ministers of the localities whence the representatives came. In July of 1653 the new Parliament of about one hundred and fifty men was convened in Westminster. The group included five members from Scotland and six from Ireland. It was the first time that a representative assembly for the British Isles as a whole was brought together. The Little Parliament, as it was called, soon became known as the Barebone's Parliament, because one of the members possessed the name of Praise-God Barebone. Its life was short and its labors largely unproductive in spite of much energy and good will among the members. In fact, they were too energetic; the "Saints" were too intent on creating immediately the Bible Commonwealth of which Puritans had dreamed for decades. Cromwell came to rue his plan of a nominated Parliament, and sent them home in December of 1653 after they had tried legislating for six months.

The next form of government emanated directly from the army. Four days after the Little Parliament had finished its short course Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector by the officers of the army. The constitutional basis for the new form of Commonwealth was a document that is known as the "Instrument of Government." It was an attempt at forming a sort of monarchy that veiled the military basis of the Protectorate. The Protector was selected for life, but the office was not hereditary. He was to be assisted by a council. Provision was also made for a parliament to share in the government, but its part was subordinate. There was to be but one house, with representatives from Scotland and Ireland as well as England; they were to be elected by those possessing a certain amount of property. The Instrument provided that the Parliament meet at least every three years for no less than five months at a time. No one could act as a member unless of "known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation." Such were the principal provisions of the only attempt of the British Isles to live under a wholly written constitution.

Cromwell acted with his customary vigor in the civil capacity he now assumed. He issued numerous ordinances to correct abuses and to order the life of the country; often the paternalism of the new leader was extreme. Dueling, cock-fighting, bear-baiting, and horse-racing were forbidden. Swearing and drunkenness became subject to punishment. The character of the clergy was more carefully ordered in the hope that popular "consent" might be obtained. The detailed supervision of life is well illustrated by the ordinance forbidding more than two hundred hackney coaches in London. Ambitious efforts were made to reform the law code during this fruitful time. Toleration did not include "Popery or Prelacy, nor such as hold forth and practice licentiousness."

Trouble began when the Protector's first Parliament met in September of 1654. Many of the members regarded themselves as representatives of the people called to

make over the Instrument — to them provisional — into the final form of government. Oliver did not consider that they had any constituent powers, and forced the members to sign an agreement not to touch the fundamentals but only to alter the “circumstantials.” But a quarter of them refused to sign such a promise, and were sent home for their stubbornness. Even the purged and berated assembly overstepped the limits in Oliver’s judgment, for they seemed too intent on limiting the broad toleration of the Instrument and in cramping the army. In truth, the Protector was more of a general than a “president.”¹ Decisive action, submission to the administrative authority, were not in the mind or the scope of the Parliament. Accordingly, the Protector took the first legal opportunity to dismiss them, after five months of existence, and he even counted the five months as of twenty-eight days each.

Cromwell carried on the government under the Instrument without the assistance of a legislature during 1655. But the task was growing harder. The educational program by which the people were to be won more and more to their own true interests had broken down under the growing dissatisfaction with a military paternalism. There were enough causes for ill feeling already without adding to them by a disregard of parliamentary institutions. Plots began, and conspiracies were formed by one group after another to relieve the country of a “usurper.” It was necessary to redouble secret service arrangements, at great expense, in order to protect the Protector. For the better policing of the country, more careful arrangements were made by the formation of districts. Over each district was placed a major-general, a trusted officer for preserving order, keeping down conspiracies, and more carefully supervising the life of the people. With this step the militaristic government seemed to have lost even its

¹ A comparison of Cromwell with George Washington is fruitful of conjecture, although the difference in the conditions under which Washington worked must not be forgotten.

thin veneer, and Cromwell became but an "agent of the barracks." It even seemed necessary in this year to forbid the printing of public news without governmental permission. Censorship naturally increased irritation.

In 1656 the second Parliament of the Protectorate met. The elections were sharply contested by the various groups that disagreed with the autocratic tendencies, Cromwell's men labored effectively enough, however, to return to Parliament a large majority faithful to the Government. Again the Protector arbitrarily excluded from the assembly nearly one hundred persons who were doubtfully loyal to the Instrument. Yet this purified legislature proved to have much the point of view of its dismissed predecessor. The system of the major-generals was discontinued. The Parliament also set itself to the task of revising a constitution that had been so strongly criticized. The result of the conviction that a new experiment was needed led to the proposal of a novel plan by a prominent London member. By the Humble Petition and Advice, the reconstructed government was to be made more like the old monarchical government that had been thrown aside in 1649. The suggested revision included a Parliament of two houses instead of one. Parliamentary powers were to be greater than under the Instrument; no taxation could be levied without its consent, and the elected members of the Commons could not be excluded save by consent of the House itself. The Protector was to take the title of king, a name that carried in the minds of the people the assumption that the holder could be neither an arbitrary Charles the First nor an unchecked Lord Protector.

Cromwell found the Humble Petition and Advice to his liking. It actually meant a lessening of his power, though his place was exalted by the proposed modification of the Protectorate. He was really desirous of winning the approval of the country for his well-intentioned but arbitrary rule. The only question in his mind was as to the title of king for himself.

The second
Protector-
ate Parlia-
ment, 1656

Oliver as
Lord Pro-
tector, 1657

He meditated long on the true path. Inclined for a time to accept the alluring title, he at last decided it to be the part of wisdom to remain Lord Protector in view of a decided opposition in the army to the regal title. Yet he became king in fact, as his installation in his new office in June of 1657 is sufficient evidence. The ceremony was regal in its magnificence. Cromwell was clad in a purple velvet mantle, lined with ermine. He received the sword and scepter of office and took his seat in the historic coronation chair.

The second chamber provided for by the Humble Petition and Advice was selected by the Protector, and was known by the rather uncomplimentary title of the "Other House." It met with the Commons early in 1658, the Commons having been enlarged by the members whom Cromwell had earlier excluded arbitrarily. But the relations of Parliament and Protector were not improved. Republicanism began to raise its head against the veiled monarchy, the two houses wrangled over their respective privileges, and there was little attempt to find a principle of coöperation with the executive. The Protector, deeming the parliamentarians guilty of disobeying their oath of allegiance to the new constitution, angrily put an end to their sitting a few weeks after their reassemblage. His parting word was, "And God be judge between you and me." Whatever the divine opinion may have been, of one thing we can be certain: Cromwell was through with the attempt to limit his rule for which he was sure there was divine sanction.

FOREIGN POLICY

If the Protector was not entirely successful in domestic matters, the foreign policy of the Government was a remarkable success. The respect won abroad is nothing short of amazing in the face of the general distrust of Europe for a regicide rule. It is not surprising, however, that Cromwell should have proved capable here, for the very qualities that made him a great

A successful
foreign
policy

general gave his foreign policy power and decision. His imperious temper was well fitted for reviving the strong international position that England had lost under James and Charles.

The successful policy was largely the result of effective work on the sea. Charles's ship-money fleet had gone over to the Parliament in the civil wars, and continued largely loyal after the death of the King.

The Commonwealth
Navy;
Blake

Prince Rupert sought to do harm on the sea with all the dash he had formerly shown on land. But the parliamentary ships soon disposed of him, chasing him from the north into the Mediterranean, and thence to the West Indies. The parliamentary navy was particularly fortunate in its chief commander. Robert Blake had been a successful military officer before he was made one of the admirals of the fleet in 1649. Blake, who received the inclusive title of "General of the Sea," rapidly won a great reputation by his almost uniform success on the water. He was a thoroughly devoted leader, no matter what the changes at home, declaring, "It is not our business to mind state affairs, but to hinder foreigners from fooling us." His name came to rank in foreign lands only next to those of Cromwell and John Milton. Blake's prowess was made possible by the great attention paid the navy, which, in the two years following the King's execution, was doubled in size and rendered much more than twice as effective. The traditions of Elizabeth's day were revived.

The use of the navy was not confined to protection. Cromwell embarked on an ambitious foreign policy that was calculated to make England the leading Protestant state. As in everything he touched, his aggressive attitude had the religious motive of advancing Protestantism, though commerce and "piracy" as well as prestige had a large place.

Aggressive
activity on
the sea

The first serious foreign difference came with the Dutch. The two Protestant republics were not on the best of terms because of the dynastic connection between the houses of Orange and Stuart. Added to this

Navigation
Act of 1651

was the commercial rivalry, if it can be called rivalry when the Dutch were so far in the lead as carriers of the world's goods. Dutch fleets were constantly moving up and down the Channel. Much of the commercial activity of the British and their colonies was even in Dutch hands. In addition, Anglo-Dutch rivalry in the East had been keen ever since the organization of the East India companies; there too the Dutch had thus far proved superior. In 1651 Parliament passed the well known Navigation Act by which trading with the Commonwealth and its colonies was to be in British ships or in ships of the country whence the goods came. This amounted to an attempted British monopoly of all trade with Britain save that directly from Holland itself. The British added further cause for ill feeling by searching Dutch ships and by demanding that all vessels salute the British flag in the "British seas." The Navigation Act has been overemphasized as a cause for the war that began between the two countries in 1652. The contest was the result of a general ambitious and aggressive foreign policy made possible by the imposing fleet.

The sea-war of 1652-54 with the Dutch was a brilliant succession of naval battles. Blake was opposed by the able Dutch War, Van Tromp. The Dutchman's task was the 1652-54 greater, however, for he had to convoy the Dutch fleets safely into their home ports. The conflicts were on a large scale. In the victory of Van Tromp by which he was able to sweep the British temporarily from the seas (with a broom at the masthead) the Dutch admiral had over eighty ships. Blake's great victory in 1653 was won with a fleet about as large. The war was a victory for the English, but as with so many "victories" the rewards were barren. Commerce was severely hampered, and the glory gained was in no sense equal to the enormous expense of supporting the navy.

A dull peace seemed hardly fitting after 1654 with a fleet that now numbered one hundred and sixty men-
 The attack on Spain of-war. After grave debate the Council and the Protector decided that Spain was a legitimate enemy

and a wealthy one, too. In a peculiarly cold-blooded fashion, the councilors concluded that such a navy was more profitable in action than laid up, and that it would pay for its use and add to the common wealth by capturing the treasure fleets and the colonies of Spain. In 1654 Blake was sent to the Mediterranean, and Penn and Venables to the West Indies. The West Indian fleet failed to capture San Domingo, and took Jamaica instead, that the expedition might not have a barren record. This was to prove an important addition to the colonial empire. Blake succeeded in the capture of several valuable treasure fleets and greatly elevated the respect for Britain overseas.

The Commonwealth even shared with France, in a land war, as an ally against Spain. The fruit of the alliance was the important continental port of Dunkirk Acquisition of Dunkirk not far above Calais. After one hundred years the British again secured a foothold on the continental side of the Channel.¹

JOHN MILTON

As a result of this aggressive use of an abnormally large fleet and of well-trained troops Cromwell won great prestige abroad. The Dutch and Spanish were humbled; France was an ally. Ambassadors sought the brilliant court of the Protector. But not the The Latin Secretary, John Milton least of the assets of the Commonwealth in its foreign influences was the remarkable work done by John Milton, the foreign secretary of the Government. Well known as one of the important figures in the history of English literature, Milton also has claims to fame for his work for the Commonwealth. The poet who composed such delightful lyrics as "Comus," "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" was a convinced, though broad-minded, Puritan when the struggle with Charles began. During the forties his pen was used much in the pamphlet-wars over church discipline and reformation in general. In 1644 he published his justly famous *Areopagitica*. Its plea for the "liberty of unlicensed

¹ See p. 342.

printing" was a notable step in the struggle for freedom of speech. It also showed that John Milton was as great a master of prose as of poetry. On the death of the King, Milton openly espoused the republican cause in a famous pamphlet on the *Tenure of Kings*. His valuable services were then obtained for the new Government when he became "secretary for foreign tongues" to the Council of State. Since Latin was the language used in official correspondence between nations, Milton was known commonly as the Latin Secretary.

His ability was of great value to the discredited republic in the crucial years. Charles I had won great respect by his worthy manner of leaving this world, and not long after his death a book purporting to be by the deceased King, and named *Eikon Basilike* (Royal Image), gave an account of the thoughts of the King prior to his execution. Milton effectively replied to the work in his *Eikonoklastes* (Image-Breaker), rightly questioning its royal authorship and portraying Charles as seen by his enemies. In that same year (1649) another telling attack was made on the Commonwealth by the greatest classical scholar of the time, Salmasius. To Milton's lot fell the reply, *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (A Defense of the People of England). Milton's counterblast appeared in 1651; it made him more famous than ever because of its able presentation of the country's position. It so raised the credit of the country and increased the fame of the writer that his books were felt to equal Cromwell's battles and Blake's sea-fights in winning respect for the Commonwealth. It was declared that people came over to England only to see Oliver Cromwell and John Milton. Milton became quite blind in 1652, largely the result, it is thought, of his unremitting work on the *Defensio*. Numerous other writings are to his credit during the period of the Commonwealth. The blind master of poetry and prose lived on after the fall of Cromwell's government to compose his great epics, *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.

Mil-tonic
de-fense of
the Com-
mon-wealth

AN END OF EXPERIMENT

The foreign policy, for which Milton was the distinguished correspondent, was one of the real causes for the growing weakness of the Government at home. Extraordinary financial demands were constantly made on the country to keep up a large standing army, an abnormal navy, and a state of continuous foreign war. "Piracy" did not balance the books, nor were confiscations and sales of ecclesiastical and royal lands sufficient to remove the growing financial burden. One of the chief reasons for calling Parliament in 1656 was the deficit. The constant war was especially injurious to commerce, so injurious that London merchants were bitterly opposed to the Spanish war. A navy and prestige were won at the expense of prosperity and satisfaction at home. Such were the menacing conditions when Cromwell broke down under the strain of public duty. His death came in the autumn of 1658 — on the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester.

Death of
Cromwell,
1658

The character and work of Oliver Cromwell have been variously interpreted. Of his military ability there is no question. As a civil governor he was not an unqualified success. He was not fitted to work with men under a constitutional system where the executive must occasionally bend to the legislature's will. He could not wait the leisurely course of discussion or brook opposition. He lived constantly "as in his great Taskmaster's eye"; this very sense of responsibility warped his feeling of regard for others. He was overbearing and harsh, and he aroused fear and respect more than love. There can be little question but that he saved the country from anarchy, civil and religious, by his masterful policy. Was he ambitious? Did the Napoleon in him overmaster the Washington? It is hard to say. He was conscious of his worth and accepted as his meed the dignities that came to him. Yet he declared as he dissolved his last Parliament: "I can say in the presence of God that I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertake such a government as this."

Cromwell's
place in
history

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Richard. Well would it have been if the original terms of the Instrument of Government had still made possible the selection of a new Protector by the Council of State. Richard was a country gentleman, not an army officer. He was easy-going and conciliatory, and not so "godly" as his father. It was not long before he voluntarily retired to the country to enjoy the life he loved. He left the land at the behest of the army.

The various army leaders now sought their own ends. Probably the most able and unscrupulous of them was General Monk, the commander of the army that was assigned to Scotland. He seems to have conceived that his own purposes could best be advanced by siding with those who sought a free Parliament. Late in 1659 he marched south to put himself at the head of the movement. The Rump Parliament was recalled, filled up with its old members, and finally dissolved, twenty years after its first meeting. But it did not give up power before establishing the Presbyterian system that existed before the King's death and decreeing the election of a new Parliament.

The new Parliament — more properly, a convention — was representative of England only. It proved to be strongly royalist, so much so that an invitation was sent to Charles II in Holland to return. Thus came about the restoration of the Stuarts. If the Puritan republic failed to last, it left ineffaceable influences on British life and on the institutions of the country. The Restoration was not to be a blind reestablishment of older divine-right monarchy. The ten years of exile and the broadening influences of "travel" had made Charles II a much wiser man than his father.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE TROUBLOUS RESTORATION

WHEN Charles II returned in May of 1660, it was with the consent of the people. The restoration of a Stuart was

The Declara-
tion of
Breda

entirely agreeable to that large body of conservative Cavaliers who were desirous of upholding "old repute" and custom. The essential conservatism of the average Englishman is excellently illustrated by this reaction to the revolutionary efforts of the fifties. Even those who had been behind the republican experiment were lulled into acquiescence by the promises which Charles had sent from Breda in response to General Monk's invitation. The statement or declaration that he sent back emphasized four points that were a matter of worry to the Cromwellians. A "free and general pardon . . . excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament" was offered "to all our subjects." The King also promised his consent to an act of Parliament for full indulgence to the "several opinions in religion." All grants and purchases of estates were to be settled by Parliament, and entire satisfaction for all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of General Monk would receive the full assent of the returning ruler.

Manifestly the restoration was not to be a complete re-establishment of the conditions existing before the Civil War. Not only was due deference paid to Parliament but some of the changes that had occurred in the last eighteen years were of necessity allowed to stand. Charles had learned something during his "travels."

A partial
restoration

THE SETTLEMENT, CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL

The Convention Parliament which issued the formal invitation to the royal exile acted on all the points raised in

the Declaration of Breda. Charles had expressed the hope that his return would be "with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible." Yet the Restoration was not to be bloodless; in fact, the Parliament hardly lived up to the spirit of Charles's statement. All the regicides were marked for punishment, and some others were excepted from the general amnesty. A dozen were barbarously slaughtered near the place where Charles had lost his head. The mean spirit of revenge was shown even more disgustingly by the disentombment of several bodies that lay in Westminster Abbey. Cromwell's remains and those of Ireton and Bradshaw were dragged to the common place of execution on the outskirts of London and there hanged, decapitated, and buried under the gallows. Even Admiral Blake's body was removed from the Abbey.¹

The spirit
of revenge

The Convention found the property settlement a difficult question. Much land had changed hands, lands that formerly belonged to individuals, to the Established Church, and to the Crown. All property that had been confiscated outright, especially the Crown and Church lands, was taken back without compensation. Where sale had been made of private lands, even though under forced conditions and at low prices, the ownership was held valid by an Act of Indemnity and Oblivion of the year 1660. The Cavalier sufferers under this measure declared that it was really indemnity for the King's enemies and oblivion for his friends.

Question of
property

The financial arrangements were by no means a restoration of those of Charles I. In the early years of the new reign the vexatious remnants of feudal tenure were abolished. Although they were long obsolescent, Charles I had revived some of them

Final out-
lawry of
feudalism

¹ Ireton was a distinguished military leader and Cromwell's son-in-law. Bradshaw had presided over the court that condemned Charles I. The heads of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were set on pinnacles of Westminster Hall as a postlude to this savage ceremonial. It was intended that the body of Charles I, at Windsor, should replace Cromwell's. The money was appropriated for the purpose, but this symbolic act was never performed. The body of Charles I was only rediscovered at Windsor in 1813.

to obtain needed funds.¹ By a famous Act of December, 1660, the relics of feudalism were at last outlawed. The Restoration saw the end of wardship, liveries, knight service, and fines that could be collected from its non-observance, various feudal tenures, the payment of aids, the rights of purveyance and preëmption. The advance was a decided one; landowners were aided by the simplification of property law and the country as a whole benefited by the ending of purveyance. In place of the numerous sources of revenue of which the Crown was deprived, the lawmakers shifted the burden to the community as a whole by creating an excise on beer, ale, and other "strong waters" and on "chocolate, coffee, sherbet, and tea." The King was granted a certain revenue for life in addition to the subsidy of tonnage and poundage. The financial reorganization meant that the Crown was more dependent than ever on Parliament.

There was as much jealousy of a standing army as ever. Accordingly, the soldiers were paid off and mustered out with the exception of two regiments, or about five thousand men. In case of war special grants were to be made.

Little was done by the Convention in the matter of religion. The predominant Presbyterians were in favor of some changes in the Established Church of England. Plans were even made for a discussion that reminds the student of the Hampton Court Conference which had inaugurated the reign of James I. Nothing came of the Savoy Conference, however, because the Convention Parliament ceased its work before settling religious questions. Shortly afterward, bitterness of feeling was aroused at a most inopportune time by a stupid rising of Fifth Monarchy men. The result of this military effort on the part of one of the extreme sects was a strong reaction in favor of the older Church. The new Parliament that replaced the stop-gap Convention in 1661 was elected in the midst of the reactionary fervor. As a

¹ See p. 428.

result, the church settlement was a bitter reversion to the older days. Charles's chief adviser, Clarendon, was at one with the new Parliament in the furthering of a narrow, bigoted program for the Church.

During the early years of the reign a number of important acts emphasized the narrow views in religion. The first dealt with the municipal corporations that ruled the towns. They were generally in Presbyterian hands, but the Corporation Act changed the control of the municipalities by requiring the town officers to receive communion according to the Anglican form. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity exacted from every clergyman and schoolmaster his "unfeigned consent" to the entire Prayer Book, on pain of losing his position. Some two thousand ministers gave up their work, as a result, and without compensation of any sort. Two years later a further measure was passed in order to limit the work of those who had been "disabled" by the Act. A Conventicle Act forbade any religious meetings "in any other manner than is allowed by the liturgy." A religious meeting containing five persons more than the one household meant severe punishment for those who dared to assemble for this unlawful purpose. In 1665 a further precaution against the activity of the ejected ministers was taken by the Five Mile Act. The stubborn clergymen who still persisted in attending conventicles and in preaching were forbidden to come within five miles of any parliamentary town or borough, and especially of any parish where the offenders may have preached before.

These exceedingly severe measures meant religious restoration with a vengeance. The Clarendon Code, as the laws were called, was enforced with all the strictness of bigotry. The pacific Quakers were harshly persecuted. Puritanism as a whole was driven underground for a time, and the strength of the Puritanic tradition was seriously weakened. The Presbyterians ceased to be important, and the Independents had little influence even out of Parliament. The deep re-

The Clarendon Code

Decline of the non-conformists

ligious feeling that had found such varied expression during the Commonwealth gave way to a reaction that carried many to an extreme moral and religious revolt. From this point of view the contrast between Commonwealth and Restoration is marked. Yet Puritanism was not altogether dead. The famous Bedford preacher, John Bunyan, was imprisoned for twelve years because he would not accept the limitations of the Clarendon Code. One result of his meditations was *Pilgrim's Progress*. John Milton, rather strangely, was not singled out for punishment in 1660, although his attacks on the dead Charles I might well have aroused the desire for revenge. The blind poet produced his greatest works in the light-hearted days of the Restoration. *Paradise Lost* appeared in 1667, and *Paradise Regained* in 1671; three years later he died.

THE RESTORATION IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND

The Restoration in Scotland was heartily welcomed. At first all classes joined in acclaiming the new King, largely because the country again became separate from its southern and dominating neighbor, England. The nobles, in particular, were glad to be freed once more from the rule of the Covenanters. Many soon came to regard the Restoration with regret. Charles showed no intention of being a "covenanting king," but interpreted his promise to protect the church as established by law to mean the episcopal and not the Presbyterian form. James Sharp, one of the ministers sent to London to ask for the indulgence of Presbyterianism, returned as Archbishop of Saint Andrews. The Scottish Parliament of 1661 proved to be so thoroughly Cavalier in make-up and temperament that it took the extraordinary step of annulling all legislation since the year 1633. It was dubbed the Drunken Parliament because of its lack of control.

The Presbyterians were persecuted as in England. A third of the clergy resigned their charges in 1663 rather than conform to the demands of the Episcopal Church. The result was similar to that south of the border. Conven-

Acceptance
of Charles
in Scotland

ticles were held and Covenanters met and listened to their ministers despite severe persecution. The resistance was especially fervid in the southwest, where the Whiggamore extremists had always been of great strength. The whole reign was one of repression and reprisal. The bitter if useless resistance of the Covenanters was answered by the harshest of treatment, especially for the people of the southwest. The latter part of the reign of Charles II found the heartless work at its height; it is known in Scottish annals as "the killing time." The chief Scot in Charles's councils was Lauderdale, one of the most unprincipled men of an unprincipled time. He governed the country so that it was subordinated more than ever to the court at Westminster. In the later years of Charles's reign the work of crushing out the Covenanter opposition became the congenial task of the Duke of York.

Persecution
of the Cove-
nanters

The lot of Ireland was possibly better after the Restoration than before. Charles, as we shall soon find, had much interest in Catholicism. The natives had suffered such severe losses under the harsh and vindictive rule of the Commonwealth that the

The Res-
toration in
Ireland

Restoration in Ireland centered chiefly about the disposition of the land. First an act of the Irish Parliament gave over to the Crown all lands forfeited since 1641, for the purpose of redistribution. After much confusion about one third of the plantations were returned to "innocent papists." This was a measure of relief even though the Cromwellian colonists kept some of their lands. The partial righting of an earlier wrong did not heal the open sore of Irish hatred. The dissatisfied frequently became freebooters. The name of Tory, by which the Irish robber was commonly known, was to be applied to the members of an English political party later in the reign of Charles. With all its limitations the treatment of Ireland during the Restoration was somewhat of an improvement over many an earlier policy.

INAUSPICIOUS BEGINNINGS

It is hard to find much unity in the reign of Charles II. The King himself was not inclined nor qualified to give Character of personality to the years from 1660 to 1685. Charles II He was thirty years of age in 1660 but much older in experience. His years of wandering had taught him to avoid crises that might lead to exile or to the scaffold. He had also developed into a supremely selfish, sensual, and pleasure-loving parasite. The words that Milton wrote during this reign, but of another and mightier creation, might well apply to Charles:

"To vice industrious, but to noble deeds
Timorous and slothful."

His foreign experiences had bred in him no real love of his country or of its people. He made no scruple of possessing numerous mistresses and of preferring wanton ways to statecraft. He was only too glad to vest powers in those who would allow him to lead a life of laziness. Charles had blood connections with both the French and the Dutch ruling families. His mother was a French princess; Louis XIV was his cousin. Charles's sister had married William II of Holland. A daughter of his brother James was to marry before the close of the reign William III, the son of William II.

In his political views, however, the English ruler was much more influenced by French than by Dutch standards. Dutch Holland was not at the time an encouraging affairs model to follow. In 1650, indeed, a change took place there not unlike that occurring at the time in England. Ever since independence was won in the previous century the country had been ruled by the descendants of William the Silent. The government of the stadtholders was not unlike that of a limited monarchy, save that a strong merchant oligarchy, centered in the province of Holland, wished the rule to be republican. This was actually brought about by the death of Charles's brother-in-law, William II, in 1650, shortly after he had failed in a plot to make Holland an autocratic monarchy.

In consequence of this failure, his posthumous son, later William III of both Holland and England, was set aside by the merchant oligarchy. The country became a republic under the very effective leadership of John de Witt, Grand Pensionary of the province of Holland. The commerce and wealth of the republic grew apace. It became next to France the principal state of Europe, the home of toleration and science. De Witt was a diplomat of the first order; his guidance of Holland continued long after the Commonwealth of England had fallen. Naturally, Charles and the Cavaliers found Holland a distressing illustration of dangers to be avoided.

France, on the other hand, seemed to be a brilliant example of an opposite kind. Louis XIV succeeded to the throne in 1643 as a mere child. During his immature years the state was guided by Car-
France
under
Louis XIV
dinal Mazarin. He safely weathered the insurrection of the Fronde in 1651, a rebellion that was somewhat similar to the contemporary revolutions in Holland and England. When Mazarin died in 1661 he bequeathed to Louis XIV a kingdom that held the first place in Europe. Though the Huguenots received privileges by the Edict of Nantes of the previous century, some of these concessions had already been recalled by 1660, and a complete revocation of their rights was to be made in 1685. The country was thoroughly Catholic so far as the governing personnel was concerned. Louis was a devout son of the Church, and his court was the politest in Europe. Absolutism found in him full expression; Charles saw no better example of what he would like to be than his cousin, the ruler of France. In 1661 Louis took the government into his own hands. He set out upon a policy of aggrandizement and national selfishness that was intended to add further effulgence to his exalted position. The greatest hindrance to his policy was Holland. Naturally, he hoped and worked for the co-operation of Charles. And Charles was not unwilling to intrigue for a position in England comparable to that of Louis XIV in France.

From the very beginning of the reign Charles was much under the spell of Louis. Indeed, the French King really arranged the marriage of the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, to Charles in 1662.

Charles's marriage, 1662
It was a union that presumably gave such strength to Portugal that it would not be absorbed a second time by its big neighbor, Spain. To Louis this was important since Spain was soon to be attacked by France. For England the marriage was not without value, because Bombay in India and Tangier in Africa came as parts of the dowry.¹ But the hope of legitimate offspring was disappointed. As a result, the air was full of the succession question during the later years of Charles's reign. Another evidence of the subservience of Charles to France was the sale of Dunkirk to Louis in the very year of the marriage.

It is not a surprise, in consequence, to learn that another war with the Dutch took place early in the reign of the restored Stuart. Although it played into the hands of Louis, the Second Dutch War (1665-67) was caused very largely by commercial difficulties. In addition, too, there was the hatred of Charles and his brother, James (Lord High Admiral of the Fleet), for the Dutch republican government. Since the colonial aspects of the war will be treated elsewhere,² it will be sufficient here to note the effect of the conflict on British continental relations. The war of fleets in the Channel was disastrous for the English. Mismanagement of the fleet and funds was evident; the Dutch even blockaded London for some time by triumphantly sailing up the Thames and demoralizing a trade that was already badly depressed by wartime conditions. The monies voted for the war were so largely misappropriated that Parliament, in making a second grant, insisted that the credits voted be applied to the purpose for which they were intended.

The growing discontent was magnified by two disasters for which Louis or the Dutch could hardly be held responsible. In the winter of 1665-66 a recurrence of the plague

¹ See below, p. 543.

² See Chapter XXVI.

visited London. Especially in the summer of 1665 it ravaged the great commercial center of the island so thoroughly that multitudes left for other parts of the country. Even so the contagion brought death to some seventy thousand Londoners.

A second calamity visited the City in 1666. In September a fire broke out not far from London Bridge (in Pudding Lane), crept down to the river front, where it found an abundance of combustible materials, and soon spread over the heart of the City. For three days it was fanned by a strong southeast wind. The citizens found it impossible to stay the fire in the mediæval jumble of ill-built houses and winding, narrow streets. Even Saint Paul's Cathedral, which stood within its own wall, was burned. The fire went beyond the walls of the old City into the western liberties, far beyond Pie Corner, its traditional stopping-place. When the wind abated on the third day over thirteen thousand buildings were in ruins, and an area of four hundred and thirty acres was a burning waste. During the fire the populace believed that the conflagration was started by foreigners; Portuguese, French, and Dutch were blamed, and it was unlucky for persons of any of these nationalities who might be found in the streets by the angry mob. The report also spread that French and Papists were coming to take advantage of the disaster. Provision was made for defense. Parliament was called in special session; it demanded the banishment of "Popish" priests and of Jesuits. But the Council was somewhat more balanced when it appraised the situation as caused by "the hand of God upon us, a great wind, and the season so very dry."¹

The accumulation of misfortunes brought peace in the next year and growing discontent with the government. Clarendon, who had been the King's chief minister, was made the scapegoat; in 1667 he was

¹ Among the fugitives from London during these distressing troubles was the poet Dryden; he retired to the region of Malmesbury to write the well-known *Annus Mirabilis*.

removed from office, impeached by the House of Commons, and banished the realm. This good servant of the King was in many ways a much better man than was generally thought. He was opposed to the royal extravagance and to the licentiousness of the court, was a careful and conscientious minister, and was sincerely interested, to the point of fanaticism, in guarding the Established Church from Roman Catholic danger on the one hand and Puritan attacks on the other. He had literary qualities that make his famous *History of the Great Rebellion* a work of value. It was written during the enforced leisure of the few years that remained to him after 1667.

THE GRAND DESIGN OF CHARLES

Criticism of the King and of his court was not by any means silenced by the sacrifice of Clarendon. Suspicion of the purposes and methods of the intriguing ruler were already making headway. And they Charles and Louis were not unfounded. This "King of idleness" was already in the pay of the French court, working definitely to make himself an English Louis. He was plotting a revolution that would have been much more dangerous than any designs which his father may have harbored. Even before the close of the Dutch war or the fall of Clarendon, secret negotiations were "on" between Charles and Louis in which the French King promised subsidies to his English cousin for aiding the cause of France. Charles was not averse. His financial resources always fell short of the extravagant demands of his favorites and mistresses, nor had he as yet an adequate standing army with which to establish the absolutism he desired, and both these aims must be attained if he would make Great Britain into a Roman Catholic island.

Charles's interest in the Church of his mother was much deeper than his frivolous life would seem to indicate. As early as 1662 he even negotiated Charles and the Roman Church with the Pope for the reorganization of the Church of England into a national Roman Catholic Church.

The King's interest in toleration was, of course, also intended to bring about a recognition of the Church of his interest, but the toleration was in time to be as nominal as that existing in France, and later it could be revoked as was that of France in 1685. The King's brother, James, was also ardently Catholic in his sympathies. If Charles were to form his land into a Roman Catholic militaristic despotism on the model of France, the utmost secrecy was necessary for the safe evolution of the royal designs.

The popular feeling, however, was far from any such change in domestic life and policy. Clarendon was succeeded by no single personage who held the The cabal of ministers dominant place in the Government. His enemies came into power, but no one of them to his exalted position. Indeed, a sort of "cabinet" came into being because five men in particular were most in the King's counsels, and together guided the state. The five were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. In such an account as this it would be unnecessary to make mention of more than three of them were it not for the discovery made at the time that the initials of their names formed the word "cabal." They were much more a cabal of ministers than a ministerial cabinet. The King did not consult with them exclusively. They were not subject to parliamentary control, like a modern British cabinet, nor did they have complete unity of interest. They had one common ground, hatred of Clarendon and of Clarendon's persecuting religious policy. The desire for toleration was growing and the cabal expressed that desire. Yet the motives back of the expression were diverse. The Scot, Lauderdale, was a Presbyterian turned episcopalian for convenience, and felt some discomfort as a result. Ashley, later Lord Shaftesbury, was a convinced tolerationist like his friend, John Locke. Buckingham held a somewhat similar position. Clifford and Arlington, being Roman Catholics, looked on toleration from the viewpoint of the King.

Early in the life of the Cabal the public feeling had

reacted toward Holland and away from France; it was but natural that the true interests of the country should be seen as more compatible with the Dutch republican and commercial state. The result was an actual alliance in 1668 with Holland and Sweden against France. But this reversal of attitude was not yet to become permanent, for Charles was at this very time undercutting his Protestant supporters by negotiating a treaty of alliance with Louis. Through his sister, Henrietta of Orléans, the great design of Charles took a definite form in the famous secret treaty of Dover of 1670. The Cabal as a whole knew only of a general treaty, while the two Catholic members were apprised of the secret parts of the design. England was to go to war with Holland and allow Louis to work his purposes against Spain in return for an annual subsidy of £200,000 and troops for the establishment of Roman Catholicism in England. Certain territorial gains were to come to the English as well. To cloak the religious and absolutist aims of the King a public treaty was made in which the non-Catholic members of the Cabal took a prominent part. Ashley was even made Earl of Shaftesbury by the King for the conspicuous way in which he had been fooled.¹

The secret
treaty of
Dover, 1670

A Third
Dutch War,
1672-74

The decade of the seventies was a complicated and feverish time in the reign of King Charles. The country was already beginning to have misgivings when the royal extravagance seemed far to outrun the known resources. Charles even felt it necessary to prorogue Parliament because it became unduly inquisitive and assertive in the spring of 1671. During the next year part of the French treaty came into effect by the entrance on a Third Dutch War. Holland, of course, was attacked at the same time by France. The Dutch rose magnificently to the defense of their land; even the dykes were

¹ Charles was extremely cautious in the whole affair. Although he had secretly declared himself a Catholic in 1669, he did not make his profession public through life. His brother James openly declared himself a Catholic. The treaty was not actually known to the public for a century, even though its existence was strongly suspected at the time it was made.

opened to stem the French onset. De Witt was replaced in the emergency by William III as stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral. William was twenty-two at the time, and was to prove in patriotism, in war, and in diplomacy a worthy descendant of William the Silent. The war between Holland and France did not end until 1678, though the unnatural conflict between Holland and England ceased two years (1674) after it began.

This rapid conclusion of a suicidal war was hastened by the efforts of Charles to carry forward his secret compact with France. Parliament, not being in session, could not hinder his efforts to bring in a calculating toleration. Early in 1672 Charles issued a Declaration of Indulgence; it was hoped thereby to bring dissenters to his side that they might unwittingly advance his deep-laid plot. A declaration was in the nature of an executive order suspending certain laws. The dispensing power of the King was supposed to be used only in cases of particular need. Basing his act on his "supreme power in ecclesiastical matters," the King suspended all manner of penal laws on the ground that the "unhappy differences in religion" had not been resolved by the forcible courses of the past twelve years. Right of public worship was granted to all Protestant non-conformists; Catholics were freed from the penal laws but could "worship in their private houses only." They and others were threatened "with all imaginable severity" if they should abuse this liberty.

The declaration was looked at askance. It seemed a dangerous exercise of power, and a favor to "popery" which might have fateful consequences. The Dissenters, whose tender consciences were so much indulged, opposed the act of double dealing. Even though the secret treaty was not a matter of certain knowledge, the declaration of indulgence in the light of the general feeling seemed but part of a dangerous program. The alliance with France, the known Catholicism of such men as Clifford, the Catholic leadership of the navy (under James), the relaxation of the penal laws, made suspicion seem well

The Declara-
tion of In-
dulgence,
1672

The Test
Act

founded. When Parliament at last met again — it was the same Cavalier Parliament that was first called in 1661 — the opposition and fear found fierce expression. The King had to withdraw his declaration, and Parliament passed a Test Act to make more certain the religion of those who held public office. Plainly aimed to prevent dangers that might happen from "Popish recusants," the measure required the reception of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church of England as a *sine qua non* for holding any public office. To make it surer a subscription was demanded expressly denying the Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

The results were noteworthy. Clifford and James retired from public office, and the Cabal itself was broken up. Shaftesbury was beginning to realize that he had been duped, and he turned against the King to ^{Break-up of the Cabal} become before long the leader of a violent opposition. Parliament, by threatening to withhold supplies, forced Charles to bring the Dutch War to a close. The King himself realized that his grand project was so doubtful of success that it had better be dropped. Though he still remained Catholic at heart, Charles worked with the Anglican party. He bequeathed to his brother, James — a perfect illustration of narrow principles and short views — the work of carrying out the great plot.

The remainder of the decade was exceedingly tempestuous; certainly the Test Act had not quieted the minds of His Majesty's good subjects. In 1673 Charles had once more placed the executive power ^{Lord Danby} largely in the hands of one man, Lord Danby. In many ways Danby was but another Clarendon, believing in absolutism and in the dominance of the Anglican Church. He depended for power on the generally accepted use of an open purse and on Cavalier feeling in a Parliament now fourteen years old. A vigorous opposition, however, was growing up within and without Parliament, led by such men as Shaftesbury and Buckingham. They vigorously demanded the dependence of the Crown on Parliament, the indulgence

of the Protestant non-conformists, and a war against France. Confident of the feeling in the country against the Anglican absolutism, the opposition sought for a dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament of 1661, and elections of a new and really representative body. The so-called Country Party was able for a time to do little more than protest. Danby even imprisoned Shaftesbury and Buckingham for a year because they demanded the dissolution of Parliament.

By 1678 tension was at the breaking point. Louis was still fighting Holland; twice between 1674 and 1678 he had won the prorogation of a warlike English Parliament by heavy bribes to Charles. In 1678 the French King even paid Charles £300,000 to obtain his promise of neutrality, according to a secret treaty that was written, though unwillingly, by Danby. The treaty was negotiated just at the time that a large vote of money was made for carrying on a war against France. When the secret promise of neutrality became known, Parliament was furious, and it turned on Danby. Although the principle of the responsibility of ministers to Parliament was not yet a part of British practice, the King's minister was immediately impeached. To save him, Parliament was at last dissolved at the end of 1678, after eighteen years of existence. It might well deserve the name of the Second Long Parliament.

Dissolution
of Charles's
first Parlia-
ment (1660-
78)

THE "POPISH PLOT" AND THE SUCCESSION

In the meantime, the growing anti-Catholic feeling was strengthened by a deepening distrust. Since Charles had no legitimate children, the throne seemed the sure inheritance of the King's brother, James. But James had openly avowed Catholicism. By his first wife — the daughter of Clarendon — he had two children, Mary and Anne. His second wife was a Catholic princess from Italy, Mary of Modena. And according to the law of succession, sons of a second marriage had precedence over daughters of the first wife.¹ In 1678 the fear of

The growing
dread of
"Popery"

¹ Compare the succession following Henry VIII's death.

Catholicism became a panic when a seemingly diabolical Popish Plot was revealed to the public.

An informer by the name of Titus Oates was chiefly responsible for the "plot." He was an unprincipled English clergyman who, having turned Catholic, had spent some time in a continental seminary, where he had learned enough to weave together a portentous tale. On his expulsion from the Seminary of Saint Omer he returned to London, where he spread the report of a Jesuit meeting at which it was planned to kill the lukewarm King and establish a Roman Catholic monarchy, with all the attendant results for the Protestants that a fertile imagination could picture. Though his story was made up of lies and inferences, it seemed to the people at the time to have the marks of reality; it found wide and startled acceptance. Its force was greatly increased by the mysterious death of a judge before whom witnesses were brought for examination, and by the discovery of damaging letters among the seized papers of Coleman, the secretary of James. One of Coleman's letters to Louis's confessor declared: "We have a mighty work upon our hands; . . . there was never such hopes of success since the death of Queen Mary as now in our days."¹ Next to God's Providence he expressed chief reliance on his Master James and on the "generous soul" of Louis XIV.

Every possible expression of anti-papal feeling resulted. Elaborate and soul-stirring rites took place over the body of the murdered judge. Torchlight processions and the burning in effigy of "Papists" occurred in London. Protestants went about armed, the women with daggers and the men with leaden flails that could be conveniently carried. Many wore defensive armor to ward off sudden attacks. Whitehall and the parliament buildings were rigorously guarded. The militia was called out. Catholics on every hand suffered mob violence and imprisonment; the trials that followed were frequently unjust. Feeling in Parliament was as highly keyed as that outside.

Effect of
Oates's ac-
cusations

¹ Quoted by Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 388.

The members were in no doubt that a "damnable and helish plot" had been revealed. The Catholic nobles were dismissed from the House of Lords and some of them impeached. In the Commons the plot produced a great effect. The opposition party of Shaftesbury gained surprising strength and boldness. As we have found, the attack on Danby became more bitter. The opposition even went to the point of attacking the Queen and James, the heir to the throne. The Queen was accused of a plot to murder her faithless husband. James's absence from the Council was asked. The dissolution of Parliament was the result.

The new Parliament, second of the reign, was predominantly of Shaftesbury's following. Accordingly, in the legislature of 1679 the attack on James became more bitter; it took the form of a bill calling for his exclusion from the throne on the ground that he had been "traitorously seduced" to enter into negotiations to the manifest hazard of Great Britain. Before the bill became law the Parliament was dissolved. But Parliament did not come to an end before the passage of the famous Habeas Corpus Act for the protection of individuals against arbitrary imprisonment. The Magna Carta had declared that all freemen had the privilege of trial. Its disregard in later centuries led to the increasing use of the writ of *habeas corpus*. The Act of 1679 was simply an effort to make sure that the fundamental principle of speedy trial should not be disregarded. The prisoner was to be brought up at least twenty days after the service of the writ. The measure did not guard against the demand for excessive bail, a defect that was remedied ten years later in the Bill of Rights.¹

When a third Parliament was chosen to meet in the fall

¹ Interestingly enough, the Habeas Corpus Act would not have passed the Lords had not the teller for the bill jokingly counted a fat lord as ten men. So fundamental did these precautions seem to the makers of the American Constitution that it was specifically declared that the "accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial," and that "excessive bail shall not be required."

of 1679 it was prorogued by the King in order to prevent the Country Party from attaining their ends. The crisis seemed so dangerous that James was sent to Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth, his chief opponent and Shaftesbury's choice for the succession, was exiled to the Continent. Monmouth was supposed to be an illegitimate son of Charles by one of his numerous mistresses. He was popular at court and well liked by the people. Shaftesbury's political use of Monmouth for the succession was, however, a dangerous boomerang. When Charles persistently refused to call together the elected Parliament, the party spirit became more bitter. Shaftesbury's supporters sent up numerous petitions to the King asking for the Parliament. This aroused a reaction in favor of the King, especially among the country gentry, who declared their abhorrence of the petitions and of the petitioners. As a result the court party and the country party were dubbed the "Abhorrrers" and the "Petitioners" respectively. These cumbersome and impersonal names soon gave way in 1680 to Tory and Whig. It seems that Titus Oates was accustomed to shout "Tory" at any one who opposed his libellous activities. But if the Cavaliers were known as Irish outlaws, the country, or opposition, party were called Whigs, from the assumed similarity to the covenanting bitter-enders of southwest Scotland. The cleavage between the two groups was fairly distinct. A majority of the great nobles, of the commercial classes, and of the yeomen made up the Whig strength. The Tories consisted largely of Charles's personal Cavalier following, of the clergy, and of the country gentry.

When Parliament at last met in October of 1680 the current had set in against the extremist Whigs. Yet the Commons passed an Exclusion Bill in spite of conciliatory action on the part of Charles. Shaftesbury overstepped the mark of wisdom by sticking for Monmouth's succession instead of recognizing the right of James's Protestant daughter, Mary. The Lords rejected the bill. The House of Commons then threatened to with-

The Exclusion Bill

hold supplies if the Crown would not accept exclusion. The fulminations against "popery" even included the specific declaration that the Great Fire in 1666 was "begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the papal faction," and these words were added to the inscription on the monument that had been set up near Pudding Lane. The King, however, was inflexible, partly because he saw that the Whigs had overstepped the limit of decent opposition. Parliament was dissolved in January of 1681.

THE ROYALIST VICTORY

In March of the same year a fourth Parliament was summoned. It was called to meet at Oxford instead of at London, where the mob had been too effective a Whig weapon. Yet the temper of the militant Whigs was as extreme as ever; it was to be exclusion, or no supplies for a needy King. But the King held a trump of which they knew not. Louis had again interfered in the course of English civil quarrels by promising Charles a substantial subsidy for three years. As a result, Charles suddenly dissolved his incendiary Parliament after it had met for seven days. The King countered Whig threats with a firmness for which they were quite unprepared. The outgeneralled exclusionists could only gnash their teeth and plan for revenge.

The crisis was in reality over. Vigorous measures were taken by the court against the Whigs even to the point of erecting a despotism in government. The King was able to do it because the Tories believed the incendiary opposition of the Whigs made it essential. Self-government was taken from the towns, liberty of the press was suppressed, and the Whig leaders were attacked. Shaftesbury, who was put on trial, fled to the Continent and died in exile before the death of Charles, whom he had so bitterly opposed. Shaftesbury's followers were without means of legal action so long as no Parliament met. They unwisely turned to insurrections and plots. It was evident that the heat engendered by the long controversy

Charles's
last Parlia-
ment

Personal
government
of Charles
II, 1681-85

was not suited for cool party action. Neither insurrection nor assassination succeeded. Charles remained true to his promise to Louis to call no more Parliaments.

As Charles's reign came to an end the Catholic conspiracy seemed in a fair way to be realized. Subordination to France and an established despotism only wanted the bringing in of Roman Catholicism to complete the dreams of a crafty King, un-
Death of
Charles II,
1685
hampered by nice and unnecessary scruples. Yet he dared not attempt the final step, even though he remained true to his Catholic faith. As he lay dying — with apparent nonchalance — in February of 1685, he secretly received the last Catholic rites from his favorite priest, who had been introduced into the death chamber by a secret passage.

If the Whigs had overshot the mark and made possible the despotism and tranquillity of Charles's last years, James, who could not be excluded from the succession, was soon to bring the Whig end to pass by insisting on regarding the dream of 1670 as a reality. With his short-lived efforts Stuart attempts to rule by divine right came to a conclusion.

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

IN 1685 the country seemed measurably reconciled to the absolute government of the declining years of Charles II. His long and troubled reign had seen many changes and had known much opposition to the persistent attempts to establish a royal despotism. The Stuart success, notwithstanding, is to be laid to the wisdom of the King and to the weakness of an opposition that sought its ends by violence. But all this was shortly to be changed. The Stuart security was to be challenged and the discredited Whigs were to emerge triumphant. James had to reign but three years to undo his brother's twenty-five-year effort to restore Stuart authority.

The chal-
lenge to the
Stuarts

JAMES II

James II has already found a place in our study as the Duke of York. He it was who married Clarendon's daughter, Anne Hyde, and became the father of two children, Mary and Anne. Widowed in 1671, he married again two years later; his second wife was a Catholic princess from Modena. The second marriage had been without issue when James became King at the age of fifty-two. As Duke of York he played a prominent part in his brother's reign. Though he did not distinguish himself as commander of the navy, he was courageous and a man of convictions. He at least made no attempt to conceal his Catholicism, and Charles found it convenient to send him from England when the exclusion movement was at its height. As regent in Scotland James proved a harsh persecutor. On his return to England the heir-apparent was largely instrumental in preventing the calling of Parliament after 1681.

James II,
born 1633,
reigned
1685-88,
died 1701

It may be a matter of surprise that James — an out-and-out Catholic — succeeded to the crown so quietly, for he was the first avowed Catholic to reign since Mary Tudor gave way to Elizabeth. But the alternative was Monmouth. The Tories, in addition, believed that James would respect the Anglican Church. Instead, he sought boldly to add to the achievements of his brother through the establishment of the Catholic faith, in order to complete the design that began as far back as 1670.¹

In one important way the policy of James differed from that of Charles. The new King was proud and independent in foreign relations, to the extent that the servile connection with France was distasteful to him. Even though Louis gave James several munificent gifts at the opening of the reign, James intended to depend on his own resources. He called Parliament out of necessity, yet fearful that it might be unruly. But on its assemblage the temper of Parliament proved auspicious, for its members believed James willing to support the Tory program. Adequate grants were made to the King, and no serious objection was expressed until he began to withdraw his protection from the Church so dear to the loyal gentry and the ecclesiastics. He even pleased his supporters by the barbarous way in which Titus Oates and his accomplice, Dangerfield, were punished. Oates was as severely handled as the conviction of a perjury would allow; he was flogged nearly to death and harshly treated in prison. Even if he richly deserved punishment for the evil he had sown by his perjured word, the action of James smacks too much of the "luxury of revenge." Later, it seemed but one other illustration of the effect of bigotry let loose.

In the meantime, forlorn revolts had risen in Scotland and England, the results of the work of refugees on the Continent. In the northern kingdom, the Presbyterian Earl of Argyle began a military effort that soon collapsed. The Earl had been too lukewarm to

¹ See p. 483.

the covenanting creed in earlier days to receive the needed support. The mistaken effort cost him his life.

The Duke of Monmouth made a great deal more stir in England. He was personally popular and had served as the Whig candidate for the throne of Charles II in ^{"King"} the days of Shaftesbury. On landing in the ^{Monmouth} west the daring adventurer received considerable support from the lower classes of Somerset and Dorset. His cause was not supported by the nobility as he had expected. The effort to capture Bristol failed, and he fell back to the region of Bridgwater. There the royal army came up with the rebels and defeated them utterly on Sedgmoor. Monmouth fled from the field before the battle was over, but was later found hidden in a ditch in the region of the New Forest, where he had hoped to find concealment until escape to the Continent was possible.

The reward of revolt was bitter. Since Monmouth had taken a sporting chance he could hardly expect clemency even though he crawled to the feet of James to ^{Kirke and} plead for his life. The lot of the two revolting ^{Jeffreys} western shires was terrible. The troopers of Colonel Kirke, known ironically as "Lambs," treated the countryside to a brutality learned in garrison duty at Tangier. The cruelty of the military was soon followed by the severest of judicial proceedings. A veritable human demon, Judge Jeffreys, headed the western circuit through the rebellious region and effectuated a sweeping jail delivery. Some six hundred were put to death, many of whom were hanged, drawn, and quartered; an even larger number suffered transportation to slavery in the West Indies. The orgy of Jeffreys has always been known as the "Bloody Assizes."

Monmouth's rising had important influences on the course of the reign. The Whigs could unite now on the Protestant Mary and her Dutch husband, William. ^{James} To James the rising came as a boon and a ^{emboldened} temptation. The army had an excuse for being, and was greatly increased. A large body of troops were stationed

near London, to the great discomfiture of the populace. But even more than that the royal success emboldened the King to carry forward blindly his plans to bring the country into the Catholic fold. This was done in spite of rising opposition. A protesting Parliament was prorogued in 1686 and dissolved shortly after. Finding that he could not, by hook or crook, obtain a favorable assembly no other was called during the reign.

The growing arbitrariness of James in State and Church was shown in many ways. He asserted and practiced the Royal arbitrariness privilege of dispensation in the cases of Roman Catholic office-holders. Members of his church gained more and more of the high places in the Government. Catholics were appointed as officers in the army. Every effort was made to convert the army to the royal religion. The Test Act was constantly disregarded.

As head of the Established Church — a most curious condition of affairs — James further angered hitherto loyal Tories by granting Anglican positions to Catholics. It was his blundering here that did more than anything else to reconcile Tories and Whigs to concerted action. A commission somewhat similar to the earlier Court of High Commission was created, with Jeffreys at its head, to carry out the King's wishes. Proselyting of every kind was carried on openly. Chapels were set up in the army. Catholic ceremonial was vaunted in the capital. The King even published two pro-Catholic tracts written by Charles and found in his strong-box.

It was not enough that he suspended the Bishop of London, and that he granted benefices to Roman Catholics.

James and the universities He even tampered with those revered seats of ecclesiastical learning, Oxford and Cambridge. When Cambridge refused to grant a degree to a Benedictine, the Court of High Commission took the case in hand. At Oxford a Catholic was made Dean of Christ Church, and when the President of Magdalen College died the King attempted to force a Catholic on the College. When the fellows firmly opposed him James turned them

out to make Magdalen a Catholic seminary. His attacks on the Church were resented not only because they affected the religious situation, but also because they flouted the rights of property.

The unmistakable trend was more clearly emphasized by two declarations of indulgence, one issued in 1687 and the second in 1688. The first declaration would occupy an important place in the history of toleration were not its purpose primarily that of a bigoted churchman. Recognizing that he had been preserved on the throne "by a more than ordinary providence," and asserting his hearty wish "that all the peoples of our dominions were members of the Catholic Church," he proceeded to suspend the penal laws, permit Catholic worship, and abolish tests. The second declaration differed from the first chiefly in the order to the bishops that it should be read publicly in the churches on two successive Sundays.

The declarations of indulgence

This was almost the last straw. The Archbishop of Canterbury and six bishops petitioned the King to remit the demand. They were met with an accusation of seditious libel because the petition had been printed and widely circulated. The bishops were tried in the summer of 1688. Excitement was intense and satisfaction unbounded when the churchmen were acquitted. We can realize more easily the high tension of the people if we recall that in 1685 Louis XIV revoked the famous Edict of Nantes, an edict that had given the Huguenots certain religious and political privileges for nearly a century. Thousands of these French Protestants fled to other countries from the persecution visited on them, and told and retold the tale of their losses and sufferings.

Trial of the bishops

The event that finally gave the impulse to revolution was the unexpected birth of a son and heir to the King. Indeed, James redoubled his insane efforts to condemn the bishops when this evidence of divine approbation came to his palace on June 10, 1688, in the person of a baby boy. The country was more doubtful; it was

Birth of an heir

even widely believed that the child was not the King's but had been introduced into the royal bedroom in a warming pan.

THE REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

The Whigs had already approached William of Orange and Mary to lead a movement against James. On the very day of the acquittal of the bishops, and three weeks after the birth of the Prince of Wales, a letter was sent by special messenger to William, inviting his interference. It was signed by seven very influential men: among them were the Bishop of London; Devonshire, the leader of the Whigs; and Danby, the old Tory minister. The invitation found William not averse to the adventure. The Dutch ruler realized, however, that its "miscarriage would be the ruin both of England and Holland," as the English historian, Burnet, informs us. Burnet was in an excellent position to realize the situation, for he was one of the refugees in Holland who returned with William.

Fortunately for William's design everything worked together for good to them that wished the change in England. Louis had alarmed the Dutch by his persecution of the Huguenots. The French trade discrimination against the Dutch was also galling. Louis himself was as aggressive as ever even to the unwise extent of interesting himself in the Rhine country just when he should have been watching Holland and patrolling the Channel. James also contributed his bit to aiding William by the refusal of French assistance and by the continuance of his foolhardy purposes.

For a time the elaborate preparations in Holland were slightly veiled by the declared intention of attacking Algerine pirates. The stadtholder came out into the open in October with a declaration that made clear his aim; William's expedition to England was to be the prelude to a free and legal Parliament which was to settle the question of government. He felt fairly certain

that its decision would be favorable to him since many promises of support had come in addition to the letter of invitation. One of James's most trusted advisers, Halifax, as well as the only important military genius in the army, John Churchill, had declared their willingness for a change.

The fleet of six hundred vessels made the crossing in November. The landing was not on the Yorkshire coast, as one might expect, largely because the prevailing east winds would make the landing difficult and hinder sea operations. The choice of a lower landing was also partly influenced by the possible need of the fleet to defend the expedition from French attack. An east wind — Dryden had called it a Belgian wind when it had fanned the Great Fire — served the double use of keeping the English in the Thames and bringing William to Tor Bay on the south coast.

James at last came to his senses. Concessions that should have been made earlier were now announced. The army was assembled. But nothing could be done in a country almost unanimously for political liberties and a dominant Protestantism.

Landing of
William

James's be-
lated con-
cessions

Insurrection started in the north, the officers and the army proved undependable, and even the King's daughter, Anne, went over to the cause of William. In spite of calling a Parliament in the hope of outbidding William, the doomed King fled for France after burning the writs not yet sent and throwing the Great Seal into the Thames. William and his supporters were delighted with the flight of James. Though caught and brought back by well-intentioned fishermen, he was detained in a house that was carelessly guarded of purpose. James succeeded on a second trial in doing what William wanted; he escaped to France.

The transition to a new government was happily bloodless, though at times tense. Looming anarchy was arrested by granting William the administration until a permanent settlement was arranged. In February of 1689 a Convention — a Parliament save that there was no convening King — recognized and legalized the new

A bloodless
revolution

Government. The Whigs and the Tories differed considerably in their views of the change. The former were of many shades of belief, from republicans to conservative upholders of the vested rights of property. They were ardently in favor of freedom of worship and belief for Protestant dissenters. A free Parliament meant much to them since it was the expression of the collective will, government being to a Whiggish mind in the nature of a contract. To them taxation without representation verged on tyranny, and justified the effort to change the government. In the very year of the settlement, the Whig, John Locke, published his famous and influential *Essay on Government*.

The Tories, on the other hand, were determined Anglicans with much reverence for monarchy and its hereditary continuance. Anything like a thoroughgoing revolution was to them abhorrent. Their adherence to the Williamite movement was based on their horror of Catholicism.

In the Convention the rival ideas of the two parties soon clashed, though the Whigs were in the majority. The most moderate Tories wanted Mary to succeed her father, and William to remain but her husband. The Whigs contended that James's endeavor to subvert the constitution had broken the original contract between king and people, and that his departure from the kingdom had left a vacant throne. The inference, of course, was that Parliament was to fill it and make a new contract. A deadlock seemed imminent. But William refused to be merely the consort of the Queen, and the Queen refused to reign without her husband as King. The result was a declaration of William and Mary as joint sovereigns with the government really in the King's hands. The willingness of the Tories to agree to an accomplished fact was matched by the willingness of the Whigs to forgo a vengeance such as besmirched the Restoration of 1660.

The settlement was enshrined and epitomized in several notable documents. Most famous of all was the Bill of Rights (1689) by which a full indictment of James was set

forth along with the record of the agreement made with William and Mary for the safe keeping of the people's "undoubted rights and privileges." The authority of the Parliament was assured by the care with which grants were to be made henceforth. The King and Queen received a civil list for ordinary expenses, pains being taken that the assignments for particular purposes were spent as intended. The revenue for the army and the war that was to occupy most of the reign was voted only year by year. This insured the frequent calling of Parliament and the check of the Commons on the conduct of the war. The annual meeting of the people's representatives was further assured by the passing of the Mutiny Act (1689) for seven months only. If it were not renewed annually there would be no legal right to court-martial military offenders. In 1694 the duration of any given Parliament was limited to three years. A similar Triennial Act had been passed in 1664. The Restoration measure, however, provided that "Parliament shall not be intermitted or discontinued above three years at the most." The Act of 1694 was more precise in limiting the life of a Parliament to "three years only at the farthest," that is, a new general election must be held to register the will of the electors. The Triennial Act guarded against the abuses which Charles's reign illustrates, the possibility of a Parliament existing for eighteen years, and the danger of government without Parliament, as was the case during the years 1681-1685.

The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 has always received much emphasis. It rightly should, for the bloodless change was one which can be praised even though the gains were not so great as might have been made by a more violent wrench with the past. It marks the end of such doctrines as divine-right monarchy and absolutism in English practice. The Bill of Rights once and for all brought about a parliamentary control of the Government. This famous document ranks with Magna Carta and the Petition of Right as one of the great "legal bases of the constitution."

The Bill of
Rights

Importance
of the step

To many the Revolution was also "glorious" because it was so conservative. The slight changes wrought were inevitable if the action of Whigs and Tories was to be unanimous. If royalty was put in its place and the Government was made primarily parliamentary and representative, it must not be thought that England became a democracy. Parliaments were to meet frequently, it is true, and the frequency of elections was assured. But no change toward a fairer representation occurred, for the Revolution was an aristocratic rather than a popular movement. Nor was there yet any clear understanding of the rôle of the Cabinet and the Prime Minister or of the working of an orderly government under the party system. Though little change in the form of government was to take place henceforth, remarkable modifications were to be made in the customs or conventions of the system. So great was to be the evolution after 1689 that the men of the seventeenth century would hardly recognize the meaning of the procedure in Parliament as carried on to-day. The Glorious Revolution was comparatively slight in its actual changes, but it laid the groundwork upon which further change could take place.

The consequences of the English revolution were felt keenly in both Ireland and Scotland. In neither of those sections of the British Isles was it as pacific as in England.

THE IRISH SETTLEMENT

Ireland under Charles II and James II recovered somewhat from the staggering blows inflicted by the zeal of Cromwell. James II carried on his pro-Catholic work with great effectiveness in Ireland, where his Catholic Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Tyrconnel, was building up an army. The forces collected to catholicize the country became immediately available against the Protestants when the news of the English revolution was received. The Englishry of the north (Ulster) were in panic, for they rightly feared that the change of government would lead to racial troubles. As a matter of

Conserva-
tism of the
revolution

Catholic
rising in
Ireland

fact, that seems to have been Tyrconnel's conception; the interests of James were less important to him than the opportunity to reëstablish Irish supremacy over the English interlopers.

The latter, in consequence, sought refuge until help could come. Enniskillen and Londonderry in western and northern Ulster, where the Protestants took refuge, ^{James in Ireland} were for a time in a state of siege. London-derry was blockaded for over three months, and in dire straits when relief finally arrived. A timely victory below Enniskillen also relieved that Protestant center from danger. In the meantime James with a body of troops had reached Ireland in the hope of retrieving his fortunes. He held a Parliament in Dublin which repealed the Act of Settlement of earlier years, and attainted several thousand Protestants.

At length William saw the necessity of settling the Irish matter himself in order that he might be free from an Irish-Jacobite menace as European matters grew ^{Battle of the Boyne, 1690} more enthralling. In the summer of 1690 he crossed to Belfast. He soon pushed southward against the French and Irish forces of James. The Jacobites determined to make a stand at Drogheda where the Boyne empties into the Irish Sea some twenty-five miles north of Dublin. There on the first of July — a day henceforth memorable to Orangemen — the Prince of Orange defeated the forces of James. As a result Dublin was occupied. Even more important was the flight of James to France, leaving a country that was still but half conquered as a prey to the English armies. For a second time he had proved unable to meet a crisis. Nevertheless, the resistance to William continued for some time. A stay to the English advance finally came at Limerick where brave defenders and heavy rains prevented the capture of the city. In 1691, however, operations were resumed with success. The Franco-Irish forces were broken west of Athlone, and Limerick was captured in the fall of that year. This completed the conquest of Ireland.

What of the "settlement" once again of the eternal problem of Ireland? On the surrender of Limerick a generous military arrangement made it possible for Irish soldiers to go to France under their own generals for a continuance of their profession. Even transports were furnished to expedite their departure. Nor was the part of the treaty referring to the civil status of the Irish ungenerous. The native Catholics were to have the religious privileges they had enjoyed during the days of Charles II.¹ If the Irish took the oath of allegiance, they were not to be molested. A Parliament was promised to provide additional security.

This reasonable arrangement was unfulfilled, however. Bitterness of feeling fanned anew the religious and racial differences so much that the actual settlement was really worse than anything the Irish had endured for some time. The open disregard of the treaty became evident when the English Parliament met at Westminster and decreed that all Irish officeholders should be Protestants. As a result the Irish Parliament of 1692 contained no Catholics. In this year and during the rest of the reign of William and Mary it passed law after law in the interests of a narrow and fanatic Protestantism. Catholic teachers were not allowed in Ireland, nor could children be sent overseas to receive the education forbidden at home. Even Catholic clergy were banished in 1697 and marriage between people of the two faiths was interdicted. Matters of inheritance were to be in favor of Protestant over Catholic heirs, nor had the latter the right to sue in order to establish their claims. The best illustration of the disgusting discrimination of this so-called settlement was a law forbidding a Catholic to own a horse worth more than five pounds; if a Protestant offered a Catholic more than that, say five guineas, the latter was compelled to sell the animal.

The Revolution arrangements frankly treated Ireland in the interests of Protestants and Englishmen. Even the

¹ See p. 475.

privileges of economic advance were denied the subject people. Forbidden to export cattle earlier in the century, they were now forbidden to ship wool or woollen goods to any country save England.

Plight of the Irish after the Revolution

This meant the end of that business since England protected its own cloth industry by duties that made export even to England impossible. The political and economic discrimination grew worse if anything during the eighteenth century. Ireland next comes to our notice when the success of the American Revolution brought about a measure of relief to the enslaved emerald isle.

SCOTLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION

Scotland fared much better. The victory of William came as a relief to the Scots, for they had been under Anglican domination for thirty years, and of late the Catholic menace had grown. The reaction led, in consequence, to fighting as in Ireland, though not on an extended scale. The supporters of James were not numerous because the Stuart rule was unbending in its pro-Catholicism. His party found its opportunity, nevertheless, in local troubles among the Highlands. Viscount Dundee (Graham of Claverhouse) turned to the Highlanders in order to use their forces for his Jacobite ends. The Campbell clan had been encroaching for some time on its neighbors, notably the MacDonalds. Dundee aroused the latter and others whom the Campbells had embittered, but the adventurous leader lost his life in the battle of Killiecrankie (July, 1689).¹

Scottish rising under Graham of Claverhouse

The settlement of the Highlands was necessarily slow, for the backward state of civilization and the difficulties of communication prevented an efficient treatment of the problem. At last in 1691 measures were taken to conclude the internal troubles of the Highlands and bring about the acceptance of the new Government. Money was to be paid to various Highland groups indebted to the Campbells in order to free them

The Glen Coe Massacre, 1692

¹ See the map on page 440.

from their dependence on this hated clan; in their turn, the chiefs were to acknowledge William not later than the last day of the year. A MacDonald, MacIan of Glen Coe (on the southern side of Ben Nevis), proudly determined to be last in offering obedience. To his dismay he found no officer on the thirty-first of December; it was not until a week later that he was able to turn in his legal submission. This opportunity of reading the Highlands a lesson was snatched at by the Williamite viceroy. The King himself signed a permission to "extirpate that set of thieves" for the vindication of public justice. Accordingly, in February a detachment of soldiers visited Glen Coe, where they were hospitably received and entertained. At the time set they turned on their hosts and murdered in cold blood all save those who, fortunately or no, escaped only to suffer from the bitterness of a Scottish midwinter.¹ As usual, the lesson prompted by revenge was poorly learned by the high-spirited Gaelic tribes. The Highlanders were left pretty much to themselves for another half century.

In the Lowlands the Revolution proved thoroughly effective. A convention like that in England met to accept William and Mary, and to state in a Claim of Religious tolerance in Lowland Scotland Right the constitutional significance of the change. The episcopal system was condemned. After some delay Presbyterianism was reinstated by the decision of the great majority, even though some few extreme Covenanters objected to the compromise between the "Lord and Baal." The Westminster Confession² became the official standard of the national Church. Happily for religious peace, the establishment of 1690 in Scotland was to be final, after a century and a half of vicissitude and change. There was considerable bitterness against the Anglican beliefs and preachers; it found expression in the "rabbling" that forced some episcopal clergymen to leave their parishes. Yet this Scottish Parliament allowed churchmen of the Anglican belief to continue in their parishes if

¹ See Macaulay's detailed account for a moving description.

² See p. 451a

they did not interfere with the government of the Church.

The conditions in Scotland at the close of the century need further attention, since the acceptance of William and Mary as well as the rejection of Anglicanism was not the only result of the Revolution settlement. In 1707 the northern kingdom joined with England in an organic union. The condition of Scotland is, as a result, of more than usual interest in the last years of its separate national development.

The Highlands can be dismissed with little further attention. The tribal groups were backward and a decided drag on the country as a whole. From this time on the Lowlanders were somewhat safer from the numerous cattle-raiding expeditions, for forts were established and armed forces systematically used to hold back the clans. The numerous Highland tribes were at almost perpetual war among themselves, often over petty matters. Northwest Scotland, in consequence, has not been inaptly thought of as a Europe in miniature.

The Lowlands were much farther along the road of civilization. But the general level was not so high as in England. The whole country was sparsely populated by a total of something less than a million people. A great proportion of the land was uncultivated. Moreover, that in use was still worked in a primitive manner, often by a peasantry who found the mediæval conditions discouraging and burdensome. The nobles, who held the land in their grip, wished much space for game and the hunt. The fertile valleys were often unused on account of ignorance or of unwillingness to drain off the surplus waters. Trade also languished under mediæval restrictions that severely limited the avenues of exportation and importation. Flax and hemp were cultivated to assist in the manufacture of linen yarn. Wool was also much used in making coarse woollen cloth. Plaiding, as this cloth was called, was the most important national product. But industry was backward in spite of the strides being made in neighboring countries. Scotland was not only

State of the
Highlands

Progress in
the Low-
lands

weak in resources but was yet bound by the hampering gild conditions inherited from the past.

In one particular, at least, Scotland was far ahead of many more important countries; education was highly regarded. Educational advance The upper classes were probably better educated than their peers in England, since continental travel and a classical education were commonly considered the lot of a Scottish gentleman. The country possessed four universities, the youngest over a century old. The keen Scottish mind had been trained for over a hundred and forty years in theological dialectic. A contentiousness, for which John Knox may be partly to blame, made Scotland a most difficult country to govern. The early educational advance was greatly furthered by the passage in 1696 of a measure establishing a school and a schoolmaster in every parish. And this in a day when scarcely any other country appreciated the value of a national educational system!

The marked mental development of Scotland's population made them more critical than ever of their relationship to England. Students of history can hardly Growing political initiative in Scotland blame the Scots for their attitude. Persecution had not uncommonly been their lot. The union of the two countries in the person of the one king served the southern member much better than the northern. The Scottish Parliament was made largely a rubber-stamp for sanctioning the demands of an absentee king who ruled Scotland autocratically, even though limitations were set on him in England. This was partially remedied by the Revolution, since the Scottish Parliament took advantage of the change to abolish the practice of appointing a Committee of the Articles to draw up the program of matters to be dealt with in Parliament.

If this step gave Scotland a larger measure of self-government than she had enjoyed, it also served to ventilate the grievances about which the people grumbled. William's desire for a union The country was ripe for a more independent line of action than it had ever been allowed since 1603. But just here lay the danger. William wanted his

British holdings harmonious in view of the troubles he faced on the continent. The Scots, however, believed it was to England's interest, and William's, to make Scotland as submissive as Ireland. English trade was augmenting remarkably during the late seventeenth century. Yet it was considered as something in which the Scots could no more share than the Irish. Scottish traders and shipping were as foreign to English privileges as those of Holland and France.

The Scots determined at this time to take some advantage of the general growth in trade, in spite of the untoward situation. In 1693 a law was passed by the Parliament in Edinburgh, exempting the Scottish trader from taxation for twenty-one years. Scottish efforts at foreign trade Two years later an effort was made to break into the lucrative trade of the East Indies. The attempt to form a Scottish company "trading to Africa and the Indies" was checked by the English in spite of success in obtaining in both countries the requisite capital for the enterprise. To the English Parliament it was an encroachment on privilege; to William, it meant competition for the Dutch.

The Scots next turned enthusiastically to the scheme of colonizing Darien (the eastern part of the Isthmus of Panama) in the hope of winning some of the wealth that was enriching England and Spain. The Darien scheme Darien seemed strategically placed to serve as an emporium of trade, for it was equally distant from Asia, Europe, and Africa. If settlements were made on both sides of the Isthmus and a road connected them, Darien would be inevitably, so it seemed, the transshipping point for Pacific trade. So enthusiastic were the Scots that the alluring scheme soon "sucked up all the money of the country." In 1698 New Caledonia, as it was renamed, was colonized by over a thousand eager settlers whose stock in trade consisted of "caps, stockings, Bibles, and four hundred periwigs."¹

Disease and a shortage of supplies soon made conditions

¹ Mackie, *Scotland*, p. 463.

unbearable. In 1699 two additional expeditions went out to New Caledonia, bringing the total of the colonists to nearly three thousand. Disaster dogged the ill-advised venture from the first; the collapse of the Scottish effort to establish a trading post cost a poor country £200,000 and the lives of two thousand colonists.

England and William were blamed bitterly for contributing to the calamitous outcome. Though they were not

directly at fault for the failure, they certainly opposed the project from the start. William was not desirous of a colony at Darien to com-

complicate his relations with Spain on the eve of a struggle over the Spanish succession.¹ The Scots reasoned that independence was their only recourse, since William had sacrificed one of his British kingdoms to the other. The Northerners were in a flame. When the Scottish Parliament met it persisted in regarding the Darien matter as the chief order of business. Nor was it placated by William's explanation that a "heavy war" would have been the inevitable result of his recognition of the Scottish colonization scheme.

The horizon looked black. Jacobite optimism grew as William lost more and more a hold on the Scottish people.

The only solution seemed a closer union, and William suggested it to the English Parliament as a "happy expedient" to do away with the constant strain and stress needed to keep his two British territories pulling together. Indeed, the Darien trouble is of importance in the political condition of post-revolutionary Britain chiefly for the impulse it gave to union. The untimely death of William in 1702 came before any satisfactory common ground could be found, even though William was eager for some solution.

THE UNION

During the early years of the next reign, that of Anne, feeling continued to run high in Scotland. Although com-

¹ See p. 548.

missioners were appointed from both kingdoms in 1702 to meet and clarify the issues, no immediate result followed. The Scots were still keenly conscious of the Darien fiasco. The Parliament that met at Edinburgh in 1703 enacted some very drastic measures for restricting the royal power in Scotland. It even passed an Act of Security declaring that Anne's successor on the Scottish throne was not to be the same person as her successor in England, unless proper security was guaranteed for religion and for trade. And the country prepared for war. The slogan "Liberty and no Subsidy" seemed more than a high-sounding phrase when the Parliament refused the usual vote of supply.

Imminence
of an Anglo-
Scottish
war

The Parliament at Westminster was not to be outdone. It took an equally defiant line in 1704 by passing an act that made Scots aliens in England. This was a definite repeal of the one step toward union that James I had gained at the beginning of the century.¹ Nor did the English lawmakers stop there. If the Scots by Christmas of 1705 had not accepted the same successor as the one chosen by the English, the three most important exports of Scotland, coal, linen, and cattle, were to be excluded, and English wool could not go to the refractory North. The military preparations of Scotland were answered by a threat to fortify the border towns as a prelude to war. Northern feeling was not allayed, of course. Unfortunately at this time an additional cause of trouble occurred. A Scottish trading vessel, the *Speedy Return*, was long overdue, when an English vessel put into Leith harbor shortly after the anti-Scottish measures had passed the English Parliament. Its captain was unjustly suspected of having sunk the *Speedy Return*; in the frenzy of feeling then raging the captain and two of his officers were executed.

Anti-Scottish
feeling in
England

If war were not to follow, immediate action had to be taken. As a result, commissioners were again appointed to "moderate the heats" of both countries. They met in

¹ See p. 415.

1706 and came to an agreement on a treaty to bind the two countries into one. Considerable concession was necessary on the part of both sets of commissioners. The Scots would have preferred a federal union and separate Parliaments. But the English were adamant. It was agreed, therefore, that there should be one Parliament for the kingdom of *Great Britain*, the same ruler, and a common flag made up of a combination of the crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew. The Scots, in their turn, won the recognition of complete equality in trade at home and abroad. A considerable sum was to be paid Scotland for the inevitable increase in taxation. The northerners were allowed somewhat fewer representatives than their numbers would warrant, but more than their comparative financial weakness would justify; there were to be forty-five Scottish members in the House of Commons and sixteen Scottish peers in the House of Lords. Subsequent additions to the nobility of the land were to be peers of Great Britain as a whole. Although there was to be a common coinage, the law courts and the systems of private law were not unified. The Scottish educational system, as well, remained untouched. And there were express guarantees in behalf of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland.

The treaty was presented to the Edinburgh Parliament first. Opposition was bitter both within and without the assembly. Petitions streamed in to the law-makers, violent and inflammatory sermons thundered against the treaty, the mob for a time was in control of Edinburgh. At the hazard of their lives the Scots in Parliament finally passed the measure, in January of 1707, by 110 votes to 69. The treaty was next submitted to the English Parliament. On its passage the royal assent was gladly given to the acts of the two Parliaments by which an "entire union" was formed of the two countries.

The importance of the step can hardly be overemphasized. Scotland won a place of equality with its stronger southern neighbor. Peace and coöperation were now to replace the long story of rancor and war. A step was taken toward a

broadening of the governmental system by which Great Britain was in time to be distinguished. "It consummated the Revolution settlement in two countries."¹ Had the relationship of Ireland to Great Britain been more beneficently arranged following the Revolution of 1689, the Revolution would have been even more "glorious."

A consum-
mation of
the revolu-
tion settle-
ment

A federal arrangement for the two countries might have been better. Yet it was too much to expect, for the pressure of world events had forced the issue to a head. A strong incorporation of the two countries into one kingdom seemed essential. This will be better realized when we study the external issues as well as the colonial developments that occupied so much of the attention of the British during the reigns of William and Mary, and of Anne.²

A union
versus
federalism

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Source material: Adams and Stephens, Robertson. The various works of John Locke.

¹ Robertson, *Select Statutes Cases and Documents*, p. 162.

² See Chapter XXVI.

CHAPTER XXV

SOCIAL EVOLUTION

THE everyday life of England was singularly unaffected by the Revolution of 1688. In fact, 1660 was much more clearly a line of cleavage socially and culturally than the year that William and Mary succeeded to James II. Since 1660 the life of England had taken on a new character, numerous innovations had occurred as the result of French standards, of the spreading influence of the English court, of the development of science. The last forty years of the century mark a distinct step in the evolution of English life.

We are well advised, therefore, to scan the country and town for remnants of old custom and signs of new change. Besides, such rapid alterations were to come in the next century in agriculture, industry, and thought that the "good old days" of the seventeenth century were soon to become a memory.

RURAL CONDITIONS

England was still very largely the home of a rural people. If we except London — it was out of all proportion to its neighboring cities and towns — England was overwhelmingly rural in character. The nation supported between five and six millions of people, of whom four out of every five were farmer people of one sort or another. The England of a hundred years earlier had a population of nearly five millions.¹ The slow increase of the population is to be explained by a number of factors — the rudimentary conceptions of healthful conditions in both town and country, the prevalence of "plagues," the toll of civil war and foreign strife, the poor methods of communication, and the actual inability of the land to support many

¹ See p. 386.

more under the prevailing system of subsistence agriculture.

Apart from the increase of London there was no great change in the distribution of the population. The southern and southeastern shires still remained the most densely peopled parts of the country. The counties of the north and the northwest, especially beyond the Trent, were yet comparatively backward. The Border country had improved but slightly from the earlier bellicose times. Yet the people were more evenly distributed over England than they were to be during the next century, when the Industrial Revolution was to remake the land. Scotland and Ireland each had an area about three fifths that of England. About one million inhabitants — one fifth of the population of England — were to be found in each of these divisions of the British Isles.

The people of England were not so sharply classified as in many of the continental countries. But the general class divisions were fairly precise. Among the eighty per cent living in rural England there were several distinct groups. The country gentry topped the rural population. They were of a conservative, substantial sort that was decidedly homogeneous. In the counties the gentleman was both the social leader and the master of local government. His interests were exceedingly narrow inasmuch as he cared little for travel, and found the pleasures of outdoor life and of the table much more attractive than reading. He was usually ignorant of even the affairs of his own nation; what little he knew of the carryings on at the Restoration court did not add to his desire to know more of London and of Westminster. If the country squire was ill informed and only too commonly had gross tastes, he was proud of his place and ancestry, and served as magistrate and military officer as if born to rule. Politically he was a man of importance — a consistent upholder of the Established Church and commonly a Tory. He was the little village king. Addison drew in 1711 a delightful, if somewhat idealized, picture of the country squire in his well known *Sir Roger de Coverley*. The limitations of

the type are excellently realized in Fielding's portrayal of Squire Western.

Closely linked with the gentry were the rural clergy. They formed another bulwark of the conservative spirit of the time. The country servants of the Church were bound to the gentry by ties of dependence, for their livings frequently differed but little from the position of a private chaplain to a lord. The clergyman was, consequently, an obsequious as well as a poorly paid laborer in his master's vineyard. He differed usually for the worse in education and standing from his more fortunate urban co-worker. There was almost as distinct a barrier between them as that separating the country and urban clergy of France at the opening of the French Revolution.

Below the gentry there was a numerous class of freeholders, or yeomen. This group has been consistently praised through the centuries as furnishing the backbone of the sturdy English stock. In the seventeenth century this was still more or less true. Indeed the early part of the century was perhaps the "golden age of the small working farmer." As time went on he became less important, and he was almost to disappear with the rapid revival of the enclosure system and the rise of gentlemen farmers in the eighteenth century. The yeomen differed from the gentry in having a small competence, in possessing no escutcheon, in not having judicial duties, and in actually working their land. If "forty shilling freeholders," they were liable to service on juries. But the size of the class made the yeomen very influential. Their lands were passed by inheritance from father to son, and could be bought and sold. Some would be hardly more than cottagers, although the freeholder might pay the lord a quit rent on as much as fifty or sixty acres of land. Copyholders held their land on a more precarious tenure, even though they were no longer bound to the land as their ancestors, the villeins, had been centuries before. The class of tenant-farmers was not so numerous as that of freeholders and copyholders. Below these classes there were men relatively

landless; yet even these would be likely to have some slight holding. The large laboring, or servant, class were to be pitied. The living conditions were poor, the work hard, the wages low, the laws binding them to service strict. Paupers were only too numerous in consequence of the conditions that primarily favored the upper classes.

The freeholders were by no means subservient to the gentry. Their interests frequently clashed in political as well as local matters. The Whig persuasion found most of its rural strength in the sturdy yeomen. They were but slightly educated, bountiful livers, openhanded, superstitious, as people close to the land are apt to be.

Politics of
the free-
holder

The system of agriculture among the rural classes, whom we have briefly noticed, was advancing but little in these years. The old system of strip farming had come down with but slight changes from early centuries.¹ We have found some tendency to enclosures at certain times. Yet the results were but slight. By 1700 three fifths of the cultivated land of England was still farmed by the open-field system, and probably one half of the country was yet unreclaimed waste. Agricultural arrangements were controlled by the lord's manorial court. They were of the crudest. Slight opportunity for advancement was given, nor did many desire or expect disturbing innovations. Agriculture was still solely for subsistence; "improving landlords" were not to serve as trouble makers until the next century. The tools were very primitive. Plows were of wood, save for the plowshare and the coulter, and were so bulky that they needed six to eight oxen and at least two men for their operation. They were so inefficient that beetles were used afterward to break up the clods. Drainage and the strengthening of the land by manure were little practiced. Since crops were sown broadcast they could not be effectively weeded. The old round of wheat, rye, barley, and oats still prevailed. Cattle were not only inadequately cared for, but few were kept over the winter. The

Agricultural
system

¹ See p. 64.

average weight of a bullock at Smithfield in 1710 was 370 pounds; other stock were proportionately puny.

The principal reason for the conservatism and stability of the village folk was the poor condition of methods of communication within the country. If but half of the Roads land was under cultivation, any system of safe and well-kept roads was certain of interruption. Only slowly was the land submitting to order. Moor, forest, and fen still harbored many wild animals. Deer still wandered by thousands. Wild boars became extinct only about the time of the Civil War. The last wolf on the island was killed a few years before the Revolution. The ill-kept roads prevented the unification of the country and the constant interchange of goods. It did more. The districts remained excessively local in interests and customs. Even as late as 1724 when Defoe published his *Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain*, he spoke of counties as almost separate countries, so distinct were their customs and dialects. Only pack horses could use the numerous byways. On the highways the conditions were bad enough to make traveling by wagon or coach a perpetual adventure.

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE TOWNS

Some real effort was made in the latter part of the seventeenth century to improve the main arteries of land travel, such as the great North Road to York and Scotland, the old Watling Street way to Chester, the road to Harwich and Yarmouth, or the ones to Salisbury and Exeter, to Canterbury and Dover, and other southern and western ports. In 1663 the first of many turnpike acts was passed. But we must not infer that there was much or general improvement until the eighteenth century. By these acts special trustees were given the care of a certain part of the main road. They set up turnpikes, or toll bars, and collected a toll of all travelers and vehicles to keep their section of the road in repair, to build bridges, construct ditches, etc. But even on the main ways good stretches of pike were sure to be separated by sections of "dirty, deep

roads" that were well-nigh impassable much of the time. The improvement in means of communication, slight though it was, led to the introduction of "flying coaches" about 1669 to connect the university towns with the capital. It was not long before they were reaching out on a somewhat regular schedule to the more distant urban centers. But they did not travel more than forty or fifty miles a day. The term "flying" was to become a misnomer with the improvement of the roads and coaches in the next century. And when coaches were run on rails, a little more than a century later, the moderns of the early nineteenth century were entitled to smile at the use of the word "flying" for the tardy conveyances of Charles II's reign.

The paucity of the population in the seventeenth-century towns amazes one accustomed to twentieth-century conditions. London had its half-million people. Population in the towns Apart from that, the important towns hardly numbered two score. Their size was even more surprising. The second and third towns in the kingdom were Bristol and Norwich with about thirty thousand people each. The towns next in size were Exeter and York, though neither could boast of more than ten thousand inhabitants. Manchester may have had six thousand people, and Leeds about the same number. Liverpool and Birmingham seem to us strangely out of place with but four thousand inhabitants each. Worcester, Nottingham, Gloucester, Derby, Shrewsbury, and Sheffield should also be mentioned. What importance these communities could boast was the result largely of commerce. Bristol did a large trading business with Ireland and the colonies. Liverpool, too, was beginning to share in this traffic, though its portion was as yet almost insignificant. Norwich was the first manufacturing town next to London, and through Yarmouth it did a considerable commercial business. Exeter in the southwest had likewise a double claim to distinction, being famous for its serge market as well as for commerce.

Industry was already becoming important, indeed more so than the size of the towns would indicate, since the in-

dustrial life of England was as yet decentralized. Many villages near the important market towns were hives of industry, whence the factors collected the woven cloth and saw to its distribution. In Yorkshire and Lancashire the cloth trade was rising. Leeds was famed for its cloth market, and Manchester had made a feeble beginning in the manufacture of cotton goods. Sheffield was already the seat of a cutlery manufacture, and Birmingham of a thriving hardware trade. But these aspects of English activity would hardly deserve mention did they not foreshadow the extraordinary revolution in industry but a century on.¹

LONDON LIFE

London was overwhelmingly the center of English life, in much the same way as Paris was the hub of French existence. It was in vain that Elizabeth had tried to curb its growth.² The teeming mass of life in the country's capital had long outgrown the limits of the Tudor City, to absorb neighboring villages and even the old royal and parliamentary community of Westminster. The movement of the more "polite" classes to the westward was already in evidence. Yet the old City still remained an important residential district for the powerful merchants. Older London was the throbbing center of English commercial life. The merchants and shopkeepers of London were more ambitious and more pretentious than their associates of the provincial towns. They were frequently fine fellows who aped the gentlemen. To a critic such as Defoe even their shops were too ambitious. He objected to the elaborate shop windows "with panes of glass no less than sixteen inches by twelve in measurement." The influence of London's wealth and its concentrated population has frequently been noted in the strife of the

¹ Such watering places as Bath and Tunbridge Wells should be mentioned among the towns, inasmuch as they were popular as resorts for the aristocratic invalid and dilettante. Englishmen had not yet learned to appreciate the seaside as a place for recreation.

² See p. 387.

Stuart epoch. Its trained bands were a formidable force in the wars and uprisings, and London mobs were potent in the hands of a Shaftesbury to influence the work of the government at Whitehall. Charles II, it will be remembered, moved his last Parliament to Oxford in order to avoid intimidation. Anti-papal exhibitions and riots were centered in Whiggish London in the hectic seventies. In politics, indeed, the City was a great center of anti-royal strength, for it balanced the force of the country gentry in the fiery politics of the time.

Very important changes were taking place in the physical appearance of the overgrown metropolis. The Great Plague of 1665 and the "deplorable" Fire of the next year worked many changes in the older London
after the
Fire City. The rapidity with which the burned portions of London were rebuilt was regarded with amazement. The new houses were more carefully constructed, but very little change was made in the layout of the renewed districts, despite interesting city planning by Wren, Evelyn, and numerous others; vested interests found the change too disturbing. Wren was able to put his mark on the City by his famous churches, replacing the numerous Gothic buildings that had come down from the Middle Ages. The style of architecture was changing as the result of the impression of Renaissance feeling in the field of art. Inigo Jones, who died in 1652, was the most important initiator of the fresh development in architecture.¹ To Wren, however, came the golden opportunity of constructing Renaissance churches to replace the ones burned by the Great Fire. No less than fifty churches in addition to Saint Paul's were the work of Wren. Whether characterized by steeples or towers or domes or simply spires, the churches of Wren illustrate the new tendency at its best. By the Revolution of 1688, the City was well-nigh rebuilt, though many years were to elapse before the completion of the new Saint Paul's Cathedral.

¹ His best known work is the Banqueting House of Whitehall. It was from one of the windows of this building that Charles I stepped on to the scaffold prepared for his execution.

Apart from the rebuilt City the most noteworthy fact was the rise of fashionable districts to the west, nearer the governmental center. Soho Square, now resigned to alien races, had just been built; it was known for a time as Monmouth Square because of the presence there of the house of that unfortunate son of Charles II. Covent Garden and Bow Street were important as we shall presently find. Saint James's Square was also laid out at this time. Near by is Saint James's Palace, where Charles I spent his last days and where the Duke of York lived after the Restoration. Buckingham Palace was built only about 1700 by the noble of that name. It was not to become a royal residence for more than a century. The older parts of the well-known Palace of Whitehall — chief residence of the Tudor and Stuart kings — were razed by a fire in 1698 and were not rebuilt. Thereupon Saint James's Palace became the official residence of the English sovereign, and his court became known as the Court of Saint James's. But little development had yet taken place north of Piccadilly and Saint James's Park. Oxford Road — a continuation of Holborn and Newgate — went through hedges where now the great department stores of London are found, and was notorious for its almost impassable character.

In our wanderings we have reached the royal and fashionable sections of the metropolis. One of the most distinctive features of the life of the time was carried on here by the fashionable great ones of England and by their hangers-on and admirers. The interests and actions of the political and social grandees were so different from that of the rest of their countrymen as to make the greater nobility almost a separate class. The phenomenon was similar to that in France; a court group had grown up, especially since the Restoration, that fawned upon and imitated the restored monarch, who in his turn tried to make London and Westminster a second Paris and Versailles. As recently as the time of James I, the residence of the nobles at the court was officially discouraged. The political vicis-

situdes of the century, however, as well as the growing importance of public business, so increased the value of life at the court that all was changed after the Restoration.

The moral laxity that is usually associated with Restoration life and literature was the monopoly, largely, of Londoners and especially of the courtier class. In this the country gentry are to be sharply distinguished from their aspiring contemporaries

Standards
in the
courtly class

who found the court instead of the country their chief interest. The reaction from a strict Puritanism partly accounts for the change in 1660. More intimate acquaintance with continental standards, especially those of France, was also an influence. The vicious life of the continental nobility quite inevitably made its mark on the English imitators, freed from the "rule of the censorious." The King in 1660 was lazy and sensual. The wife whom he presently took from Portugal was but a royal necessity, and in no sense the lady of the land. Such women as Barbara Villiers ruled both King and court. Debauchery and light-heartedness became almost tests of loyalty. Misgovernment was inevitable. Place and influence were purchased in one way or another. The rich rewards to be found in the misuse of national positions led to a notorious growth of bribery and corruption. Public men, even such as Shaftesbury, who at least fought partially for principle, were moved much by selfish ends. The days of Pym and Eliot, of Milton and Cromwell, were no more.

LITERATURE AND THE PRESS

One of the most accurate barometers of the public standards for the "polite" is found in the literature of the time. The former Puritan austerity was swamped by a deluge of comic operas, melodramatic tragedies, bitter and obscene satires. The plays of the time were such as later ages would hardly countenance, and yet, for the first time, the female parts were taken by women. Excellent work was done, however, notably by John Dryden, the

Polite
literature

great dramatist of the period as well as the first distinguished writer of modern English prose. His political satires of the eighties were powerful forces in public life. One of the best illustrations of the anti-Puritan feeling was Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* (1663). In this work the wit and vituperation, the logic and lightness of the time are well mirrored. On the whole, however, the poetic literature is not equal to the inspiration it received from such continental masters as Boileau, Corneille, Molière, and Racine.

One of the chief reasons for the comparatively low quality of the literary work of the period was the narrow appeal it made. The writings of Dryden and Shadwell, Changes in prose writing Cowley and Waller, serve as mirrors to the essentially shallow life of the municipality. The country as a whole was of no concern. Artificiality was at a premium in London. Yet we must not forget that Milton did some of his finest work in the first decade of the Restoration, and that Bunyan wrote *Pilgrim's Progress* during the reign of Charles II. A noteworthy change was taking place in English prose, a tendency toward a simpler and more usable style. In this regard Milton was living beyond his time, for his stately prose was giving place to a more precise and colloquial English under the influence of such writers as Dryden and Bunyan and Hobbes, and as a result of the popularity of the new science.

The Restoration era is of great importance as a time when the heritage of learning was spreading to a larger audience Educational attainments than ever before. The reading of English books was still restricted to a comparatively small percentage of the people. The country folk were conservative; to them book learning was apt to appear rather burdensome than profitable. The gentry left education to the clergy, who often knew little enough. The women of all classes were not distinguished by high literary attainments; indeed, they seem to have been below the standard of earlier times¹

¹ Macaulay instances the ill education of Queen Mary by quoting a statement she wrote in a Bible presented to her when she became Queen: "This book was given the King and I at our coronation."

Greek was an accomplishment of the learned, and Latin was well known. But both the ancient languages were beginning to feel the rivalry of the language and the literature of France.

In London, where interest in literature and politics was always keen, and at fever heat during certain years, there was as yet a dearth of newspapers. Compensation, however, was found in the coffee-house. ^{Coffee-houses}

The Tavern had long been the poor man's club. For the more fortunate the coffee-house became the favorite rendezvous in the reign of Charles II. Coffee was just becoming popular in Europe in the mid-seventeenth century, and in London its popularity was even greater than in many a Continental city. The first London coffee-house was opened in 1652 by a Greek who had come to London with a merchant of the Turkey Company, a Mr. Edwards. From the daily preparation of the pleasant beverage for Mr. Edwards and his visitors, it was but a step to the establishment of a public house where a pennyworth of coffee could be obtained at the bar.

The value of the coffee-house was soon evident. There friends could be seen; appointments, business and social, arranged; the news or gossip obtained in a day ^{Place of the coffee-house} when newspapers were lacking. Orators were even attached to the coffee-houses in order to regale the drinkers with the latest information. These clubs, in consequence, served an important political purpose, much to the disgust of the King. The royal proclamation of 1675 by which an attempt was made at their suppression averred that these places of refreshment "devised and spread abroad divers false, malicious, and scandalous reports . . . to the disturbance of the peace and quiet of the nation." So great was the outcry at the proposed closing of these "nourishers of sedition" that Danby did not dare carry out the wish of the King. Their number and popularity grew continually. Particular coffee-houses were for particular classes or interests. The most famous was Will's, near Covent Garden; it was devoted to literary interests and was frequented by

Dryden. There were more than three thousand coffee-houses in London by the end of the century.

Very slight beginnings had been made toward a periodical press in the early days of the Restoration. The London *Gazette* was semi-official. But its appearance only twice a week furnished little of what would be called news, and nothing that was not sanctioned by the Government. At times of great excitement other sheets would be issued and then would languish. The famous *Tatler* and *Spectator* of Addison and Steele appeared only after the next century began. The day of the monthly and quarterly reviews was even more remote. The post-office service was not sufficiently well advanced by the period which we are considering to keep the country well informed, although daily communication was arranged between London and such popular watering places as Tunbridge Wells and Bath. Elsewhere the postal service might be at best but twice or thrice a week. Provincial towns were kept in touch with the all important metropolis by the news-letter. This weekly summary often served as material for discussion in some coffee-house remote from Westminster or as the basis for forming opinions at a manor. The post office, the proceeds of which in Charles's time went to the Duke of York, was carefully subordinated to the interests of the Government. When the London Post Office was burned in the Great Fire the Government lost a valuable machine for secretly opening and resealing letters.

LIBERTY OF SPEECH

Freedom of speech and writing have been but slowly won. The last half of the seventeenth century proved on the whole most crucial in the struggle for toleration in England. Broad-mindedness could hardly be expected in the stress of religious fanaticism growing out of the Reformation. Presbyterian and Anglican have been found especially narrow. The British situation was complicated somewhat, too, by the suspicion that toleration would mean the growth of Catholic influence.

Early efforts
toward
toleration

Several illustrations have already been given of such a menace. Even John Milton could hardly go to the point of advocating complete toleration in his famous "plea for the liberty of unlicensed printing," the well known and classic *Areopagitica* of 1644. Toward the end of his life (1673) he published another pamphlet on toleration, but his toleration was not for Catholics.

The Restoration could not but be intolerant as a reaction from the broad-minded, if more religious, government of Cromwell. Among the harsh enactments of the Clarendon days was the Licensing Act of 1662. This infamous measure was aimed at all volumes

Censorship
during the
Restoration

that would tend "to the scandal of religion, or the government or governors of the church, state, or commonwealth."¹ A careful censorship was set over the "art or mystery of printing" by provision for licensing by the appropriate authorities: books of common law by the judges; books of history by the "principal Secretaries of State for the time being"; books of heraldry by the Earl-Marshal; books of "divinity, physick, philosophy, or whatsoever other science or art" by the bishops. This measure effectively muzzled freedom of writing for much of Charles's reign. The Act was for two years only, but was regularly renewed for some time. The attempts of Charles and of James to grant indulgence to all, that Catholics might be included, only added zest to the bigoted spirit of the time.

During this period, nevertheless, Continental influences were working on British views and aiding the growing movement toward a real liberty of speech and press. Holland was frequently the refuge of the persecuted in other countries, because it was the most central place in Europe and was not a country with narrow governmental views. At the beginning of the century (1614) Hugo Grotius had procured a decree of toleration for Holland. In the mid-century Spinoza powerfully advocated the liberty of prophesying; he cited Amsterdam

Freedom of
speech in
Holland

¹ It is to be found in Robertson's *Select Statutes, Cases, and Documents*, pp. 61 ff.

as "the most flourishing of all cities in the world, and at the head of all as regards toleration." To Holland came such famous Frenchmen as the philosopher Descartes and the skeptic Pierre Bayle. They were but two of the numerous refugees that left France because of Louis XIV's unintelligent narrowness. In the year after Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes (1685), Bayle published one of the famous landmarks in the fight for freedom of belief; it was an attack on the French methods of forced conversion.

To Holland, also, came many an English refugee. Shaftesbury had fled there in the early eighties. His friend, John Locke, also took refuge in Holland shortly afterward. Locke had composed an *Essay on Toleration* as early as 1667 but it was not published for over half a century. When he returned in 1689 in the fleet of the Dutch stadtholder, Locke's interest in the freedom of speech and press was lively. In 1689 he published anonymously his first *Letter Concerning Toleration*; it was strengthened by three additional letters, though the writer had not the courage to avow their authorship.

The reward of such men as Milton, Chillingworth, William Penn, and John Locke appeared in the famous Toleration Act of 1689, a part of the Revolution settlement. By this document the Anglican Church remained the State Church. Freedom of worship was granted to Protestant dissenters who believed in the Trinity; Catholics and Unitarians were excepted. Many a High Churchman begrudged even this short step toward religious liberty. But the Whig influence made this half-way measure even more valuable by a policy of practical non-interference with Catholic worship. All Catholics and dissenters were still excluded from office unless they would take the Anglican sacrament. Moreover, the Test and Corporation Acts still remained on the books. Dissenters would now and again conform that they might hold office. But the Tories strongly objected to "occasional conformity" and even legislated against it in the reign of Queen Anne.

An important step in the victorious progress to freedom

came with the lapse of the Licensing Act in 1695. When its reënactment was omitted in that year the way was paved for an outburst of literary activity and a rapid increase in the wealth of printed books, pamphlets, and periodicals. England soon became as renowned for its freedom as Holland had been in the mid-century. Several decades later the famous Frenchman, Voltaire, visited the island only to be amazed at finding a place where every one could go to heaven his own way, and where thirty religions were living together in peace and happiness.¹

Freedom of
speech

THE VICTORIES OF REASON

The rise of tolerance is closely connected with the growth of rationalism. The seventeenth-century man was finding in the world about him more and more evidence of order, and in the minds of his fellow men more and more to tolerate even though much of the thought did not square with his own ideas. The fiery fanaticism of the Reformation days was dying down as a result. People were taking their religion somewhat less "hard" than in former times. To some extent this can be explained by the reaction in England in 1660.

Weakening
of religious
fanaticism

A notable illustration of the general temper was the decline of witchcraft persecution during and after the Restoration. This horrible belief had caused thousands of innocent women to suffer the most excruciating of deaths on the ground of the Biblical counsel: "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." James I urged their persecution. Witch-finding but slightly abated in the reign of Charles I. During the Commonwealth the prevailing religious intensity made the belief even more baneful. Detractors, however, became more and more determined after 1660. They even attacked the delusion as a misinterpretation of natural phenomenon. Trials and convictions fell off increasingly in the seventies and eighties. Early in the next

Decline of
witchcraft

¹ Students of British thought will not forget that considerable religious liberty had long been won in Rhode Island and Maryland and had been established in Pennsylvania by the Quaker, William Penn, in 1682.

century the witchcraft statute was removed from the law books. The last trial on the island occurred in 1717. One more great conquest for civilization had been effected.

The era now taking our attention was notable for another amazing growth; it was the time when the new-born science of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was popularized. Theological science and controversy, witchcraft and astrology, shrank before the growth of interest in natural science. What might be termed the modern scientific spirit dates back in its conspicuous beginnings to the calculations of the mathematical astronomer Copernicus. His famous explanation of a sun-centered universe was published before the death of Henry VIII. Hardly less distinguished was the German astronomer, Kepler, for he formulated three famous laws, and announced them in 1609. In the very same year the Italian Galileo made the first of his telescopes; he it was who found that Jupiter had moons of its own. He even persisted in announcing his "celestial novelties" after papal condemnation. Galileo died just as the English Civil War was opening.

Such amazing achievements as these were in the mind of Francis Bacon as he pondered on *The Advancement of Learning* and dreamed of a *New Atlantis* where scientific activity had free play and much fruit. In the various countries official recognition and encouragement was already on foot before the Restoration began in England. The famous French Academy of Sciences was founded before the mid-century. But the English were not far behind, thanks to the influence of Francis Bacon and the untiring labor of a number of famous men. As early as 1645 a society of scientifically interested men met weekly to "improve natural knowledge." At the very opening of the Restoration it became the Royal Society. Active correspondence was maintained with scientists on the continent, a museum was founded, and the long series of *Philosophical Transactions* began to appear. Dryden enthusiastically foretold of amazing advances, and Cowley wrote a gran-

Rise of
natural
science

The Royal
Society

diloquent "Ode to the Royal Society"; he praised Bacon as the Moses who had discovered worlds which others were to conquer, for at last

Nature's great works no distance can obscure,
No smallness her near objects can secure.

The prophecy was to receive rapid fulfillment. In 1675 Charles established an observatory at Greenwich, in which Flamsteed became Astronomer-Royal. ^{Astronomical advance} His observations were of great value to his more famous successor, Edmund Halley. Besides making the first extensive map of the heavens, Halley perceived the proper motion of the fixed stars and affixed his name to a well known comet — that of 1682 — by calculating its orbit and prophesying with accuracy its return every ^{Sir Isaac Newton} seventy-six years.¹ Halley's friend, Sir Isaac Newton, is even better known. His work in optics led to the improvement of the telescope and to more accurate observations. They, in turn, became more useful because of Newton's mastery of the higher mathematics; he was the discoverer of differential calculus. It was his precise calculation of celestial activities that led to his famous "notion about motion," namely, that the principle of gravity was the great basic explanation of the variation in orbits. The idea of universal gravitation first came to him in the sixties, but he was very slow in working out the theory fully and in making it known to the world. The modesty of the great discoverer was overcome by his friend, Halley; the latter presented the first book of the famous *Principia* ("On Motion") to the Royal Society in 1685, and saw to the publication of the whole work two years later at his own expense. Henceforth Newton's name was of the first magnitude. He was elected President of the Royal Society in 1703 and was annually reelected to the same position for the twenty-four remaining years of his life.

Chemical and physical experiments were at least as attractive to the Restoration minds as the more difficult work of observing the heavens. There was a perfect craze for

¹ It last appeared on schedule time in 1910.

dabbling in chemicals and testing the properties of gases.

Chemistry In this branch of scientific interest Robert Boyle was the most famous worker. Boyle's influence was the greatest of his time in England in furthering the new "natural philosophy"; he took the place Bacon had occupied earlier. Not only by his voluminous writing but by his advancement of physics and chemistry he deserves a place beside Newton.

It is hard for us to appreciate the intoxication that came with the earnest endeavor to make the island of Great Britain the New Atlantis. Courtiers and even
A royal laboratory courtesans experimented. The diarists of the time, Pepys and Evelyn, made many entries in their famous journals that reveal the wide interest in science after 1660. Prince Rupert invented the mezzotinto, and gave his name to a curious bubble of glass. Charles became a member of the Royal Society. The King had a laboratory at Whitehall where his interests were apt to be more concentrated than they were in political matters. In 1684, when he became unable to exercise in the gardens, he used to spend his mornings in the laboratory testing the various properties and uses of mercury. The age of science had come.

Such were some of the aspects of a time that is too often thought to have been but a period of narrow party strife. Political and religious issues that were soon to grow less attractive to Englishmen were important in the years of the Restoration. But they were by no means the only subjects that interested the wide-awake and average Englishman. Scientific advancement and commercial activity were to take more and more attention. The age of the Restoration and the years immediately following the Revolution are full of attraction to the student of later times. Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that we come with the close of the Civil War into a world essentially modern, a world from which the "shadow of the Middle Ages has wholly disappeared."

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CHAPTER XXVI

COLONIES, TRADE, AND WAR

ENGLISHMEN of the seventeenth century were occupied not only with religious issues, constitutional problems, political speculation, and the rising sciences; as the years wore on more and more attention was given to the growing plantations in various parts of the new world and to the accumulating trading posts of the commercial companies. By the mid-century the monied and mercantile interests were realizing the importance of the English outposts beyond the seas and the value of governmental and naval strength and protection. Trade bulked more largely than ever in international relations.

But the English were not alone in this viewpoint. Holland was so evidently a competitor that several wars were waged with that great carrying nation. France, too, was expanding both in Europe and in the new fields of trade and settlement. By the fortunes of the Revolution in 1688 two of the great trading nations, Holland and England, were brought under a common direction. The inevitable result was a severe struggle with France in Europe, on the seas, and beyond the seas for dominance. Most of King William's reign was taken up with this war. Before his death in 1702 another long war was already in sight; it was to continue throughout the reign of Queen Anne to the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. The Peace of Utrecht marks the end of a significant period of growth and accomplishment in British colonial expansion, in the rise of lucrative trade, in the growing mastery of the sea, and in the long duel with France. To this set of interests we shall now give our attention. They will serve as an introduction to the characteristic preoccupations of eighteenth-century Britishers.

COLONIAL AND COMMERCIAL BEGINNINGS

Previous to the death of Elizabeth no successful colonies had been laid down by Englishmen in the new world, although a share in the trade of the new world, east and west, was enjoyed. At the close of Elizabeth's life, the East India Company and several others, only slightly less important, were in existence.

Beginning
of coloniza-
tion

In the reigns of James I and Charles I colonies were successfully established under conditions already explained.¹ The efforts were almost wholly the result of private enterprise and by no means entirely materialistic in aim. Massachusetts and its offshoots of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut formed a distinct group of northern colonies, as much at variance with the Stuart tyranny as were their co-religionists at home. Below the Dutch settlements at the mouth of the Hudson were the Virginian plantations and the Maryland grant made to Lord Baltimore in 1632. The Bermudas had been occupied. The West Indies were also the scene of considerable activity in this period of colonial interest. The most important island was Barbados, although a number of its neighbors, notably Saint Kitts and Nevis, were sites for English colonization.

Colonization
in early
Stuart times

The life of these early settlements was characterized by a rapid growth in self-government. The policy of the mother country in the first half of the century cannot be called systematic. The colonists were left much to themselves. Representative assemblies grew up that asserted and exercised a large measure of independent action, not only in the New England colonies where religious differences broadened the cleavage with the Stuart kings, but in Virginia and Barbados. The first period of colonization aimed to a considerable degree at profits, for the colonies were enterprises of private individuals or companies with ends often similar to those of the trading companies. Yet the rewards were compara-

Causes of
early emi-
gration

¹ See pp. 418 ff., 431 ff.

tively slight because of the overwhelming dominance of Dutch shipping and the lack of an English navy to secure the rewards of profitable and uninterrupted trade.

A slight advance was made in the days of the Commonwealth, for the government of Cromwell proved more aggressive than that of the first two Stuarts. An efficient navy was created in order to win the supremacy of the narrow seas. The value of commerce was also realized more than ever before. Some of the Puritanic statesmen were merchants called to the counsels of the Commonwealth. They were dismayed by the arrogant supremacy of the Dutch, who even monopolized much of England's trade with its own colonies in the West Indies. The vigorous measures of Cromwell are already known, the Navigation Act of 1651 and the Dutch War of 1652.¹ The attempt to make a breach in the Dutch monopoly of the world's carrying trade brought two States into conflict that should have worked in harmony so far as Continental affairs were concerned. If England did not greatly benefit by the endeavor to compel shipments to England in English ships or in ships of the country to which the goods belonged, the strong navy of Blake did much harm to the Dutch trade.

In 1655 a further notable addition was made to the colonial dominions by the capture of Jamaica. The Protector vigorously sought to colonize the island. Had his lease of power lasted longer the new colonial interest might have been more fruitful, for Englishmen were looking beyond the shore waters of their island with growing eagerness. It was in the very year of the capture of Jamaica that the Cromwellian Council of State directed its secretary "to buy a new atlas, and to keep the globe always standing in the Council Chamber."²

NORTH AMERICA

The Restoration, nevertheless, marked the real beginning of a new period in English colonization. Cromwell's labors

¹ See pp. 463 ff.

² Morley's *Cromwell*, p. 483.

were of great worth. The larger outlook, the efficient navy, the growing interest of the Government in favorable trade balances under the Commonwealth, helped the Restoration to its congenial task. Oversea
activity
after the
Restoration

The returned exiles saw more than ever the need of vying in some way with Holland, grown opulent because of the control of commerce, and with France, beginning to expand both in Europe and across the seas. Religious questions became quiescent as material interests became dominant. The struggle within the islands for a purified religion was gradually to be replaced by international rivalries. That with France was soon to assume the chief importance.

During the years of Clarendon's rule much was accomplished. In the very first year of the reign of Charles II a new act regarding navigation was passed to replace the less comprehensive Act of 1651. Restoration
navigation
laws

Goods taken to and from the English colonies could be carried only by ships built and owned in England or its possessions. There was a similar limitation on English trade with non-English possessions in Africa, Asia, and America. As to the European trade, it was to be in English ships or in the vessels of the country whence the goods came, and they were to come directly. Certain valuable tropical articles were enumerated in the Act, and carefully controlled. "Sugars, tobacco, cotton-wool, indigoes, ginger, fustic or other dyeing woods" could not be shipped from English colonies save to some other English possession. The Act, moreover, did not apply to Scotland, which was still regarded as a foreign country. This fundamental law established a colonial system that persisted for nearly two centuries.¹ The mercantile theory of the control and direction of trade was elaborated by additional acts intended to stop leakage and correct the non-observance of the system. In 1663, for example, an act required that all goods intended for the colonies, with a few exceptions, should go through

¹ For an account of the old colonial system in more detail, see Robinson, *The Development of the British Empire*, chap. VII.

England as the staple. From time to time further valuable articles were enumerated as of special importance and were added to the original list.

At the beginning of Charles's reign a Council of Trade and Plantations was appointed. It was later to be succeeded by sundry other committees. Not until after the Revolution was anything like a permanent arrangement reached. In 1696 a distinct Board of Trade and Plantations was set up; but it was not sufficiently powerful to serve as a colonial office. The trading aspect seems to have taken more time than the governing of the plantations. Whether we call it enlightenment or disinterest, the home Government did little during the Restoration to subordinate the colonies. In 1661 Jamaica was furnished a representative system. Shortly afterward Connecticut and Rhode Island were granted charters that allowed virtual self-government. In 1663 Carolina was founded to the south of Virginia under the distinguished patronage of Clarendon, Monk, and Shaftesbury. The philosopher, John Locke, drew up an elaborate and somewhat fantastic constitution for the new colony. Naturally, religious freedom was to be enjoyed.¹ It was probably as well that this famous plan of government never went into effect.

In 1664 England and Holland came to a second rupture in their relations. It was very largely the result of jealousy in trade and in colonies. The Duke of York, who was one of the most ardent advocates of New Amsterdam (New York) war, borrowed two vessels from the royal navy for the capture of New Amsterdam. This unprincipled act was successfully carried through even before a declaration of war (1665) had been made. Colonel Nichols, to whom the enterprise was committed, renamed the Dutch holding New York. Henceforth it was to remain in British possession, for in the peace arrangements that

¹ In the course of time the Carolinas were found especially suitable for raising rice. So valuable did this article seem to be that this was one of the later additions to the enumerated articles.

ended the war in 1667 England kept New York and the adjacent territory. To students of English colonial history the gain seems very important. At the time the Dutch were thought to have won the essential victory, since they retained the important commercial monopolies established elsewhere.

The possession of New York and New Jersey gave the English continuous control of the American mainland. The Dutch settlements up the Hudson were not seriously affected by the changed rule. Able governors, Nichols, Andros, and Dongan, managed the territory as a proprietary colony under the ducal control. Popular government did not come until James II was overthrown. In New Jersey, two friends of the Duke of York, Sir George Carteret and Sir John Berkeley, received the grant. There the proprietary form of government continued for the remainder of the century. Quaker settlements took place in west Jersey. But the peculiar home of this persecuted sect was to be Pennsylvania. The Quakers earnestly sought a refuge, for they were hounded from colony to colony and were sufferers under the Clarendon Code. William Penn, son of the Penn who shared the leadership of the expedition that captured Jamaica for Cromwell, obtained from Charles II in 1682 the privileges of a proprietor over vast lands west and south of New Jersey and New York and north of Maryland. Philadelphia became the chief center of the new colonial venture. From the first Pennsylvania harbored a heterogeneous population and much contention, despite the peace-loving proclivities of the founder. With the settlement of the new colony and the definition of its boundaries all the colonies later to form the thirteen, save Georgia, were marked out and well established. The foundation of the Carolinas, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania is no mean achievement in British colonial history; the credit belongs to the reign of Charles II.

There were other oversea interests which drew much attention as well, such as the search for furs in North

America, for negroes and gold in western Africa, for "spicy drugs" in the Far East. In America, the French were already deeply interested in the St. Lawrence valley when Restoration Englishmen took renewed interest in trade. Both Quebec and Montreal had been founded earlier in the century as bases for collecting furs. The French at the very time of the reign of Charles II were penetrating westward into the Great Lakes region as well as up and down the Mississippi and its tributaries. Prince Rupert, in particular, became enthusiastic as to the possibilities of an English traffic in the skins of the beaver, marten, sable, ermine, and other fur-bearing animals. Rupert and seventeen other gentlemen were granted a charter in 1670 for the "sole trade and commerce" of the vague region in the neighborhood of Hudson Bay. Rupert's Land, as it came to be known, was henceforth the scene of continuous activity and great profit. Trading posts were established to which the Indians and half-breed woodsmen brought furs in exchange for the goods of the Hudson's Bay Company. A rival concern, the North West Company, was established late in the century; it gave considerable trouble to the stronger Hudson's Bay Company for over a century.

THE TROPICS

English interest in West Africa dates from before the Restoration period. Long after the Portuguese obtained a knowledge of the West African coast and profited by their connections, Holland and England sought a share in the traffic. When a "Company of Adventurers of London Trading into Africa" was founded in 1618, it established a hold on the Gambia River region, a hold that Great Britain has not since relaxed. Renewed interest was taken in Gambia after the Restoration; in 1664 Fort James was erected several miles up the river.

But a region farther south, known as the Gold Coast, or Guinea, proved an even greater attraction. Here, too, the Portuguese antedated other nations. The Dutch broke into

the Portuguese monopoly about 1600 and obtained the exclusive control of the valuable region in their turn just at the time the English were enter-^{The Gold Coast}ing on the Civil War of 1642. After 1660 the English determined to share in the precious trade in gold and negroes and ivory that they enviously saw enriching their hated Dutch rivals. In 1661 Charles founded an African company; though it failed as a result of Dutch interference it at least imported enough gold into England to serve for the coining of the first guineas.¹ The Duke of York was especially concerned in this venture as well. He obtained ships from the royal navy for the purpose of occupying the Dutch stations and for protecting the English post known as Cape Coast Castle. As in the case of the attack on New York, this was done previous to the declaration of war in 1665. After the war Cape Coast Castle was confirmed to the English. In 1672 the African Company of the Duke of York was replaced by the Royal African Company, to which a monopoly of English trade for the whole region was granted.

Its most important and profitable work soon became the traffic in negro slaves. Each year thousands of blacks were transported in specially constructed ves-^{The slave trade}sels across the Atlantic to the English colonies in the West Indies and on the mainland. As many as six hundred might be packed into a slaver on the "middle passage." The negroes were found to be valuable to the sugar planters; they cost at times as high as one hundred dollars each. The Spanish colonies were not open to the English slave-ships, for the traffic was a royal monopoly in the Spanish dominions. Smuggling, however, was indulged in from the English colonies. The slavers returned to England on the third lap of their journey with a load of sugar and surplus coin. The triangle of trade often con-

¹ This gold coin has since ceased to be used, though the guinea of twenty-one shillings is still the common basis of reckoning values for certain commodities such as clothing and pictures, for professional fees, and for subscriptions. The sovereign, worth twenty shillings, took its place as a coin in 1817.

sumed a year. We shall find that the slave trade caused trouble between the nations during the next century.

In the Far East the Dutch and English also came into conflict. Both the English and Dutch East India Companies had been in existence since the beginning of the century. Many times difficulties arose over the rights of trade, especially in the Spice Islands. The "massacre" of Amboina in 1623 was but the most conspicuous of these tradesmen's clashes.¹ Hardly a better illustration of the effects of competition in trade on international relations can be found than the Dutch-Portuguese-English struggle in the Far East. By the mid-seventeenth century the Portuguese had become less powerful as the aggressive Dutch fought their way to supremacy. During the second quarter of a century, in particular — when the English had civil troubles galore — the Dutch trade and empire grew rapidly. They occupied Mauritius in 1638, captured Malacca two years later, and obtained the Gold Coast from Portugal in 1642. Saint Helena became one of their stations in 1645, Cape Town was established a few years later, and Ceylon was definitely wrested from Portugal about the same time. It is little wonder that they arrogantly and unscrupulously determined to oust interlopers in a region they were so rapidly making their own.

The English could show no such record of achievement. In the reign of James I a factory was established at Surat on the west coast of India, for Surat was then the principal port of the Mogul Empire.² It long remained the chief English trading post. With the repulse of the English in the Spice Islands, however, the East India Company took more interest in the Indian mainland. In 1632, by virtue of a "golden firman" from the Sultan of Golconda an English factory was recognized at Masulipatam on the east coast of the peninsula. A few years later some land was bought from the local rajah farther down the eastern coast at Madraspatam. Here, on the first territorial possession of the Company, Fort Saint

¹ See p. 418.

² See p. 418.

George was erected; it was the beginning of the city of Madras. In the forties factories were established in the Bengal region, later to be so momentous a center of British expansion. But the East India Company was slow to obtain territory in the delta of the Ganges; not until 1700 was Fort William built on lands purchased within the bounds of the modern Calcutta.

The accession of Charles II marked an important step in the gradually growing power of the East India Company. Charles granted the Company a new charter by which it acquired more extensive powers. Saint Helena, captured from the Dutch in 1651, was to be retained as a stopping place for the Company's ships. The King also permitted the Company to raise troops, appoint military officers, fortify its settlements, administer justice, make treaties, and fight non-Christian peoples. Even if these powers were not extensively used at the time, they contain the germs of a political as well as a commercial expansion, and are significant in consequence. The right to fight non-Christians would hardly seem necessary in a charter, since the Company was well trained in its numerous squabbles with its "Christian" competitors. A very important favor granted by Charles was made possible by his Portuguese marriage. Catherine of Braganza brought as part of her dowry the town of Tangier on the African coast near Gibraltar, and the island of Bombay on the Indian coast below Surat. Tangier was kept for about twenty years. Bombay was given to the East India Company for perpetual use at a rental of £10 a year. At the time the island seemed of little value; the Company accepted the royal gift reluctantly since it seemed more burdensome than useful. But it had the advantage of being an island. Surat was subject to pillage, and, therefore, unsafe as the center of the Company's activity on the west Indian coast. In the reign of James II the western presidency was transferred from Surat to Bombay.

The East India Company was in jeopardy not only from the competition of the well-organized Dutch Company.

The East India Company during the Restoration

It also suffered much from the trade of English interlopers, English private traders who ventured on their own.¹ interlopers in the Far Often they were little better than pirates, whose East English nationality complicated the relations of the Company with the native traders. The conception of monopoly trade so prevalent at the time became less popular because of the desire of the interlopers to share in the profits of the exclusive East India Company. As a result, a powerful second East India Company, known as the "English" Company, was granted in 1698 the right to trade in the East. For ten years the two fought for profits. In 1708 it seemed best to unite them in a single company with the old monopolistic powers.

These early years of conflict for the very lucrative trade of the East are extremely important. The contentiousness developed with other nations served to complicate international relations. Before 1688 the Large powers of the East India Company tension was between English and Dutch; after the Revolution the Anglo-French rivalry became bitter as the result of the French desire to share in the rewards of eastern commerce. The powers given the Companies "trading into the East" may have been necessary because of the dangerous character of the other "Christian" traders and the warlikeness of the natives. It at least bred an imperious attitude that was soon to carry the exploits of a trading company beyond the mere collection of pepper, indigo, tea, gold, and elephant's teeth. Empire was to be built by the Company and wealth garnered by the Company's servants.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR

The Revolution of 1688 marks an important point in the international rivalries that were so much based on trade. With the accession of William to the English throne the Anglo-Dutch bitterness naturally subsided. Holland was

¹ One of the most picturesque illustrations of the difficulties the East India Company experienced from interlopers is found in the career of the "haughty, huffing, and daring" Thomas Pitt, grandfather of the Earl of Chatham.

slipping behind in the race for trade as the century wore on, partly because of the wars with England but more on account of the severe struggle the Dutch were carrying on with Louis XIV. The long and exhausting war between Louis and Holland in the seventies, in which the English joined against their commercial enemy, did much to weaken the Dutch power on the sea. Many of the English felt that they were on the wrong side, but the underhanded relation of Charles and Louis prevented an alignment that was soon to become the normal one.

With William as King of England the rivalry shifts to one with France. The reasons for the continuous wars are various. William naturally used his position to place England on the side of Holland. He had no difficulty in doing this, however, since the overweening ambition of Louis on the Continent was arousing worry in England as well as elsewhere. In addition, France was becoming a serious trade-rival in the Far East and in the West. The commercial policy of Colbert was showing fruit. As a result of these hatreds and jealousies the years of William and Mary and the reign of Anne were almost wholly taken up by wars with France. We have examined the years from 1688 to 1714 for their importance in the internal life of the islands. They must now be briefly examined as years of international war in which much advance was made in colonial empire and a secure basis was laid for the extraordinary advance in trade during the next century.

The War of the League of Augsburg occupied much of William's energy and reign. From 1689 to 1697 the struggle on the Continent continued between an isolated France and a coalition that included most of the other important nations of Europe. William and his allies were not able to win many battles, even though they succeeded in exhausting many of the resources that Colbert had hoarded for Louis in the earlier years. The English part in the war was important. Troops served to some

England
and Holland
before 1689

Franco-
Dutch
rivalry

King Wil-
liam's War



extent on the Continent. But the navy was of more value. In 1692 the great naval battle of La Hogue put an end to an attempted French invasion of England. So decisive was the victory that no other important naval contest was fought during the war. Supremacy on the sea passed quickly and decisively to the English. The French commerce, which had been nursed so carefully, was almost completely stopped. The Dutch, too, found that their attention and resources were largely monopolized by the struggle on the mainland. Unconsciously but surely England reaped the reward of an increasing commerce as a result.

The war had its counterpart across the seas. King William's War in North America was fought between the French in Canada and the neighboring English colonists to the south. The scale of operations was not large nor

were the results decisive, for the French were unable to sever the New England colonies from the middle colonies, nor was the English expedition against Quebec successful. The colonists did capture Acadia. Yet it was returned by the Treaty of Ryswick which ended the war in 1697. The chief value of the war for England lay in the recognition by Louis of the kingly line accepted by the Revolution of 1688; "the ship of the Revolution had come safe to port, with the fortunes of William on board."¹

Peace of
Ryswick,
1697

Nor must we forget that one of the results of the war was the development of a new method of finance. Dependence on the receipts from duties made activity on a large scale difficult. In 1692, therefore, the Government obtained a large loan from a group of individuals; the interest was secured by additional duties. This method of obtaining money had been tried before, it is true, but not on such a scale as in the period of the wars we are now studying. It was in this simple way that the National Debt began. It served as a standard of credit, and gave the Government the resources with which to carry on the war uninterruptedly. Two years later (1694) another large loan was obtained in a similar way, save that the loaning group was incorporated into a regular company. William Paterson, who was to be the prime mover in the Darien scheme, was responsible for the plan that led to the formation of the famed Bank of England. Based as the Bank was on government credit, it was a solid institution from the first. The financial work of the corporation was used extensively in the development on an ever larger scale of the commercial ventures of Englishmen. Thus war and commerce both profited by this financial step.²

Formation
of the Bank
of England,
1694

¹ Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 460.

² It was at this time also that the damaged and clipped coinage of the country was called in and replaced by a carefully milled currency. The Master of the Mint at the time was Sir Isaac Newton. A tax on window-panes paid for the recoinage.

MARLBOROUGH'S WAR

Hardly had the Williamite war ended in 1697 before a new struggle was seen to be impending. Ryswick proved but a truce because the dying Spanish King was childless and almost witless. What was to be done with his extensive dominions? He had two sisters, one of whom had married Louis XIV and the other the Emperor Leopold. To make matters worse, the two aunts of the Spanish King were the mothers respectively of the two rulers who had married his sisters. Even before the death of the ailing King the interested parties proceeded to partition his territories, since either an Austrian or a French succession to the Spanish throne was reckoned as fatal to the balance of power. This did not suit the Spanish nor their ruler, for they wished the widespread Spanish territories to remain intact. When Charles died in 1700 he left, therefore, a will bequeathing all his lands to one of the younger grandsons of Louis XIV. The decision before Louis was a difficult one; should he abide by the arrangements for partitioning the Spanish territories or accept the will? He chose the latter alternative. But it inevitably meant war, since the other states were no more willing in 1700 to see Louis the lord of Europe than they had been in 1697.

The War of the Spanish Succession, as it is well called, lasted from 1702 to 1713 — practically the whole of Queen Anne's reign. William, who had foreseen and prepared for the struggle, had a fatal fall in 1702 when his horse stumbled on a molehill. Yet his death did not make much difference in England's attitude toward the war. Louis had unwisely acknowledged the son of James II as King of England when James died in 1701. The country, in consequence, rose the more enthusiastically to the conflict. Nor did William's death weaken its leadership. John Churchill, who had been made Earl of Marlborough by the grateful William for his assistance in the Revolution, proved during the long Williamite war a general worthy to succeed his King. Marl-

borough took a large part in the negotiations leading to a new Grand Alliance against France in 1701, and the dying King designated Marlborough as his successor at the head of the coalition. Fortunately for allied success, Marlborough's wife was the bosom companion of the new English Queen. Marlborough was to show himself the equal of William in diplomacy and his superior on the battlefield. The remarkable military gifts of this English general proved the superior of Louis's trained leaders and brought the Grand Monarque and his country to defeat and near ruin.

The war was a mighty one, for the contestants were more evenly matched than in the War of the League of Augsburg. France and Spain were joined by a few minor states. The alliance that hoped to checkmate Louis's final effort to dominate Europe included Austria, Holland, England, Brandenburg, and Portugal.¹ The war was a world war. In Europe campaigns were fought in the lower Rhine region, along the boundary that Holland hoped to keep as a barrier against France, in the upper Rhine country, on the plains of northern Italy, and in the Spanish peninsula. The navy coöperated in the Mediterranean and along the Atlantic seaboard. The colonial possessions naturally carried on the world war in their distant spheres of activity.

In 1702 Marlborough was created a duke because of his brilliant work in pushing back the French from the advanced line that threatened Holland along the river Meuse. In the next year he continued his effective work by driving the French from the lower Rhine. But in the meantime Austria was seriously

The Spanish
Succession
struggle a
world war

Marlborough
at Blenheim,
1704

¹ Brandenburg aided the Emperor with its well-organized army only on condition that the Elector of Brandenburg have the title of king. The Emperor acceded provided the Elector take his kingly title from without the Empire; hence he became King in Prussia.

Portugal joined the allies in 1703 on the realization of the potency of English sea-power. An important treaty was negotiated by Methuen and goes by his name. By it, English woollens were favored in Portuguese markets in return for English preferential treatment of Portuguese wines. Henceforth port became one of the popular English beverages.

threatened by the French and Bavarians along the Danube. The Austrian general, Prince Eugene, although he was second only to Marlborough in ability, was quite unable to resist the imminent attack. Marlborough, thereupon, planned to join Eugene in upper Germany and defeat the French before they could invade and isolate Austria. Marching across Germany secretly — for the Dutch would have opposed the daring plan — Marlborough joined Eugene and won in August of 1704 the decisive Battle of Blenheim near the city of Ulm. The French losses in men were very great, but the loss of prestige was even greater. Not during the reign of Louis had such a defeat come to French arms. Henceforth, the advantage was on the side of the allies.

Two years later, in 1706, Marlborough and Eugene repeated their successes, the former by the battle of Ramillies in the Netherlands, the latter by driving the French out of Italy. Louis even sought peace in that year, but the allies were unwilling to treat. The war dragged on for seven more years. In 1708 Marlborough added to his reputation by defeating the French again at Oudenarde, and directly threatening the city of Paris. In the next year another hammer-blow was inflicted by the British commander at Malplaquet. The only thing that prevented the Duke from dictating peace to Louis at Paris or Versailles was the growing distaste of England for continuing the war. A change of ministry in 1710 led to the recall of Marlborough and the beginning of negotiations for peace.¹

The war on the sea was not distinguished by many great naval encounters. The reason was much the same as in the previous war. English maritime supremacy was hardly to be challenged. The chief work of the English fleet was to prevent Toulon's being used as an effective center for French operations in the Mediterranean. In addition, Spain's commerce was to be

¹ One of the most telling of political pamphlets, *The Conduct of the Allies*, was written in the Tory interest in 1711 by Jonathan Swift.

crippled and Portugal used as a base of attack on Madrid. In 1702 the Spanish treasure fleet was destroyed in Vigo Bay along with the French squadron that was protecting it. This victory helped to make the reputation of Admiral Rooke. His standing was greatly augmented in 1704 by the capture of Gibraltar from Spain. The rock, since become so famous, was poorly garrisoned by less than five hundred men. It fell an easy prey to the English attack a week before Marlborough won the battle of Blenheim. At the time, Blenheim greatly overshadowed Gibraltar, and with justice, for the magnitude of the engagement in Germany made it the more significant event. The capture of the rock at the entrance to the Mediterranean, however, was to prove of value even in the war. The British Government believed that "no cost ought to be spared to maintain it." The French, too, saw its importance, and sent a fleet to recapture Gibraltar. But the effort was a failure. The English added to this success by capturing the valuable Port Mahon on the island of Minorca in 1708. That made even more certain the successful bottling of the French at Toulon.

On the American continent the conflict was known as Queen Anne's War. Raids were made overland. The best known was the French and Indian attack on Deerfield, Massachusetts, in 1704. In 1710 Acadia was again taken, this time permanently. Another attack on Quebec failed as a result of incompetent naval leadership.

The war in
America

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

The end of the wearying war came officially in 1713 by the Peace of Utrecht. That peace is one of the conspicuous landmarks in the growth of British power. France was weakened and humbled by the long effort. Though Louis's grandson was recognized as the King of Spain, the Spanish dominions were considerably diminished, nor were the two kingdoms ever to be united. French commerce and naval power were badly weakened. The treaties clearly emphasized the British victory. France

Peace of
Utrecht,
1713

ceded Acadia to Great Britain, and also Newfoundland, and the territories about Hudson Bay. The defeated nation retained certain fishing rights in the region of Newfoundland and kept two small islands near by as bases for the fishing fleet. Nor was the French hold on the Saint Lawrence waterway relinquished. In the West Indies the two nations had retained for some time a sort of condominium on the little island of Saint Kitts; by the treaty it became wholly British. France also resigned the English Channel to British control by agreeing to raze the fortifications and to fill up the harbor of Dunkirk. Although France was later to be a strong rival of Great Britain for colonial and commercial empire, the continental nation was so weakened by the exhausting war and the decisive peace as to leave the ultimate issue in little doubt.

The peace also brought advantages to Great Britain from Spain. Gibraltar and Minorca were retained because British of their value as naval bases. Valued gains commercial concessions were also obtained by the British. Spain let down her colonial monopoly by permitting the British to send one trading ship a year to the Spanish Main. And the Asiento, or right to carry negroes to the Spanish colonies from Africa, was leased to Great Britain for a period of thirty years.

Holland was one of the victors. But the price of victory was heavy. The commercial power that led the van in 1660 was sadly depleted. No colonial advance Holland and Portugal came with the treaty, so that the Dutch settled back in 1713 to take a less conspicuous place in world affairs. After Utrecht the doughty Dutch State cannot be regarded as one of the great powers. Portugal was in the doldrums. The French, it is true, acknowledged the sole Portuguese rights in Brazil and relinquished any claim to trade in that region. Since the trade was largely British, this provision of the treaty directly favored Britain. From this time on Portuguese policy is largely subordinated to British initiative.

So far as commerce, colonies, and naval power are con-

cerned, Britain emerged the real and only victor. Utrecht can be conveniently taken as the point when the united island took the lead in the three interests we have traced from 1660 to 1713. The rapid growth of resources, the great development of monied and commercial interests along with sea power, all brought Great Britain to a new maturity just as the constitutional step taken at the Revolution became an assured and safe one. The eighteenth century will furnish further and cumulative evidence of the new status and power of the expanding British commonwealth.

An epoch
in British
history

Louis XIV finally and definitely accepted in 1713 the succession to the British throne. Though Louis had recognized the son of James II in 1701, he officially accepted the Revolution settlement in the Peace of Utrecht by acknowledging the right and title of Queen Anne and her legitimate successors; Louis also promised to exclude the Pretender, as James's son was known, from France. Parliament had made provision for Anne's successor even before she came to the throne. Indeed, the Spanish succession question and Louis's bold espousal of the Jacobites made some arrangement imperative. William's wife, Mary, died in 1694 of smallpox. The childless William did not remarry. Anne, to whom the throne was to come next, had married George of Denmark back in 1683. Numerous children were the fruit of the union, seventeen in all, though none of them grew to maturity. In 1701 it seemed essential that provision be made for a successor to Anne.

The English
succession
question

The Act of Settlement of 1701 declared, therefore — "it being absolutely necessary for the safety, peace, and quiet of this realm to obviate all doubts" — that, "in default of issue of the said Princess Anne," the next in line be the descendants of James I by his daughter Elizabeth.¹ Elizabeth's daughter, Sophia, had married the Elector of Hanover. This rather remote line was *persona grata* because it was Protestant. The Act of Settlement

Act of Set-
tlement, 1701

¹ See pp. 417, 422.

was even more precise in requiring the ruler to be a Protestant of the Anglican persuasion.

The stage rapidly cleared with the coming of peace. Anne, who no more welcomed a Hanoverian than had Elizabeth a Stuart successor, died in 1714. The Electress Sophia passed away in the same year, so that her son inaugurated the Hanoverian line as George I. In the next year Louis XIV passed from scenes which his long reign had profoundly disturbed. New characters enter the foreground as a new era opened for a united Britain under an alien ruler.¹

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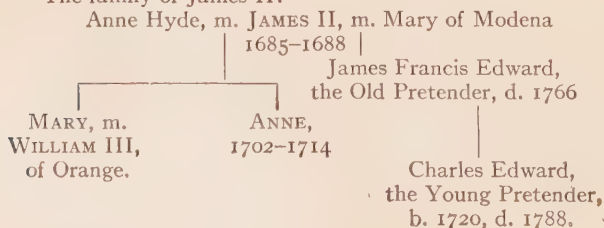
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¹ The family of James II:



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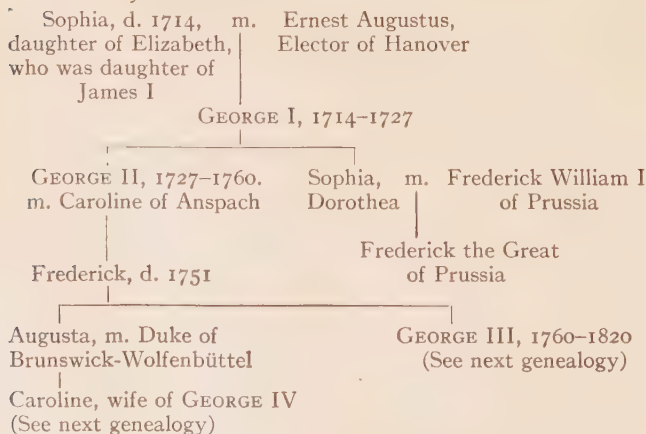
CHAPTER XXVII

THE REIGN OF SIR ROBERT

THE year 1714 marks more truly than most precise dates a point where one period ended and another began. War had been continuous for most of the preceding twenty-five years — ever since the Revolution of 1688. It was the first time in a century that England counted for much in continental affairs, and about the first time in the history of the country when its interference in mainland concerns was of paramount importance.

On looking forward from 1714 one finds a totally different situation. German Hanoverians succeeded the Stuarts, George I ruling from 1714 to 1727, George II The Decisive Year, 1714 to 1760.¹ The twenty-five years following George I's accession were as peaceful as the preceding century was warlike. It was to prove a welcome breathing spell to the British State. The gains of the Revolution were given further security, notable advances were made in parliamentary power and practice, wealth and strength were recovered after the long wars. These years were dom-

¹ The early Hanoverians:



inated very largely by one man, Sir Robert Walpole, and they have been happily called the "reign of Sir Robert."

A brief examination, in the first place, should be given to the evolution of party groups before 1714 if we are to understand the reasons for the extraordinary advance toward party government made in the first half of the eighteenth century.

PARTY GROWTH

The designations Tory and Whig go back to the reign of Charles II, even though orderly party workings cannot be found in the violent activities of the court and country factions of the Restoration. After the Revolution of 1688, which both groups accepted, the essential differences between them remained. The Tories were less hostile than the Whigs to James and the political and religious standards for which he stood. It was natural, therefore, that the Whigs remained, during the reigns of William and Anne, the war party. William found Whig advisers more useful since the executive and legislative elements of the Government had been drawn more closely together by the Revolution. Yet Parliament did not, by any means, control policy; nor was William guided wholly by the ministers to whom he gave important posts.

Neither group had a sure term of office, especially after the Triennial Act of 1694 made elections frequent. Though William and Anne desired to combine the strength of both groups, such was not to be. The wars were, in consequence, Whig wars, and the peace that brought the warlike quarter of a century to an end was, fittingly, a Tory peace. For in 1710 the Whigs lost the leadership through an unwise trial of a Tory preacher, Sacheverell, whose sentiments seemed to them unpatriotic. The passions of Tory churchmen were so aroused and the Queen was so alienated by the trial that the general election of 1710 returned a Tory majority. Not long afterward Marlborough was recalled, and the army was withdrawn from the front. The Tory leaders, Harley

and St. John — better known as the Earl of Oxford and Viscount Bolingbroke respectively — have to their credit the Peace of Utrecht.

The Tories showed a decided lack of interest in the toleration that came with the Revolution. They were responsible for an Occasional Conformity Bill in 1702 that would have prevented Dissenters from accepting Anglican sacraments intermittently in order to hold office. Happily the bill did not pass in the upper house, despite the influence of Anne, who was a "High Church Queen." This intolerant temper is further illustrated by the Schism Act of 1714, a measure that prevented anyone not having a license from the bishop from keeping a school. Religious liberty was in serious danger. "There can be little doubt that, had the Tory ascendancy been but a little prolonged, the Toleration Act would have been repealed, and it is more than doubtful whether the purely political conquests of the Revolution would have survived."¹

The sudden death of Queen Anne in 1714 brought back the Whigs and a reëmphasis on Revolution principles. Bolingbroke was in a quandary even before Anne's death. The Queen had a distaste for the Hanoverians, even to the extent of looking with favor on the succession of her half-brother James, if he would only turn Anglican. The Whigs, on the other hand, planned for their return to power by courting the Electoral Prince of Hanover and by arousing the nation to a horror of a Catholic succession. This was not a hard task since the memory of 1685 was still fresh.

So thoroughly Tory was Bolingbroke that he was intriguing with the Pretender's agents for nothing less than a legitimist restoration despite the Act of Succession. He was really driven to this course as the result of his factional policy and of selfish party aims. Bolingbroke himself declared that, had the death of the Queen held off for six weeks, he would have been secure in his purposes. Possibly the fortunate accident of

¹ Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 120.

a sudden royal demise saved the Revolution principles, for the Whigs came back on the crest of an anti-Catholic wave, and George I ascended the throne of Great Britain peacefully. The effects of this "miracle" were to prove far-reaching. The attempted *coup d'état* was a serious menace, as the political riots that followed the Queen's death showed. The famous Riot Act was even passed as a preventive.¹ The erstwhile leaders were also attacked. But Bolingbroke escaped to the Continent disguised as a valet, to take service with the Pretender.

JACOBITES AND HANOVERIANS

In 1715 the Jacobites appealed to arms. The movement began in Scotland under a great surge of feeling. The Darien matter and the legislative union were Jacobite yet fresh and distressing memories. The feeling ^{rising of 1715} against the Hanoverian succession was strengthened in the north partly by a natural antipathy to English action, and partly by a real enthusiasm for a Scottish king. Clan loyalty in the Highlands was, as might be expected, overflowing. The leader was the Earl of Mar, who had been Secretary for Scotland under Anne. But the military achievements of the insurrection were slight. An army penetrated western England only to capitulate at Preston in Lancashire, and another force was defeated in Scotland at Sheriffmuir near Sterling. The Pretender, who shortly returned to the Continent, was not a person who could arouse much enthusiasm for his cause, since his cold manner, his selfish and calculating purposes, and his sensuality were only too evident. When he took refuge at Rome on an allowance from the Pope, the Pretender's conduct was such that his wife, a Polish princess, left him to enter a nunnery. Yet his obstinate adherence to the Jacobite cause and his Catholic beliefs caused many a heart to warm for "Jamie the Rover."

The fiasco of 1715 did not end the danger. In 1718 and again in 1719 the Jacobites planned an expedition from

¹ See Robertson, *Statutes, Cases and Documents*.

Spain. But only two vessels reached Scotland. The High-landers who rallied to the Pretender's cause and the Spanish troops who succeeded in landing were easily defeated. In 1721 another plot materialized. It was largely stimulated by the birth of a son and heir to the Stuart claimant.¹ Again there was to be help from Spain in a plan to seize the King and the Prince of Wales as well as the public buildings of London. The most important of the conspirators, Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was attainted and banished. So serious did the danger seem that the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a year, the longest time on record. After 1721 the Jacobite hopes slumbered for the remainder of the years of peace, partly because of the lack of real leadership, partly on account of Walpole's care to keep public opinion in his favor. The forlorn cause of the Stuarts was to receive one more chance in 1745.²

If the Old Pretender was not one to enlist enthusiasm, neither was the German prince who secured the British throne through Whig support. In 1714 George of Hanover was more than fifty years of age. He was a despot in his German lands, avaricious to a high degree, sensual and low-minded. The good fortune of 1714 seemed to him chiefly of value because it brought opportunities for pelf. He had no interest in the Government of Great Britain, which fortunately he made no effort to administer. George knew no English and but one of his ministers (Carteret) could speak German. When he came to England he brought no royal consort, for his wife had been accused ten years before of wrong relations with a nobleman and was imprisoned — for the remaining thirty-two years of her luckless life. Instead of a wife George brought in his train two mistresses, alike in being greedy and ugly, unlike in that one was lean and the other fat. They were irreverently named the May-

¹ Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, was born at Rome in 1720. He was to prove a much more active Jacobite than his father.

² See below, p. 579.

pole and the Elephant. The way to George's favor was usually to be bought via these rapacious ladies.¹ The hungry Hanoverian courtiers plundered the milk and honey of the promised land to the best of their ability.

So corrupt a court was probably worth the price, inasmuch as the Hanoverian succession gave the Whigs an opportunity to consolidate the parliamentary government without royal interference. The accident

Cabinet and
Parliament
under
William and
Anne

of a foreign king in 1714 was even more fortunate than the coming of Dutch William in 1688, because George had no foreign war to demand his energy and no interest or power with which to influence British development. Both William and Anne were influential, despite the fact that the former was a foreigner and the latter a rather weak-willed personage. William met with his Cabinet Council, though he did not depend for advice on the Cabinet only; especially in foreign matters he frequently acted on his own initiative. Anne called cabinet meetings every Sunday, and was also assiduous in listening to debates in the House of Lords. With the coming of German George this practice was discontinued of necessity. His German advisers could not become Privy Councillors because of a clause in the Act of Settlement. He himself could converse with his British ministry only in Latin, an insurmountable inconvenience. The result was an implicit bargain that George should manage Hanover and the Whigs should govern England.

The Whig group to whom came power and responsibility contained several important men. The leading Whig in 1714 was Viscount Townshend. He was so high in favor with George I in that year that he was appointed one of the Secretaries of State with permission to choose his colleague.² Another outstanding Whig was Stanhope, to whom the direction of foreign policy in these early years of the new reign was due. A third

¹ For example, Bolingbroke is said to have secured his return from exile in 1723 by bribing the Maypole with £10,000. Thackeray, in his essay on *George the First*, delightfully satirizes the Hanoverian court.

² See below, p. 565.

notable figure was Sir Robert Walpole, the brother-in-law of Townshend. They were both from Norfolk, had been educated at the same school, and were long united in the prosecution of Whig policy.

SPECULATION AND POLITICS

During the first seven years of the reign, that is, until the failure of the Jacobite plot in 1722, the Whigs were not united. There was considerable bitterness over the keeping of the peace office, with frequent changes as the result. Of more importance than the struggle for places was the foreign policy pursued by the Whigs. Not only was there danger from Jacobite risings, but much careful direction was needed to avoid serious foreign entanglements. For a time Great Britain was on the verge of war with the Northern countries, Sweden and Russia, to satisfy the Hanoverian interests of its German King. Spain was also a cause of real worry, since a vigorous minister of that country, Alberoni, sought to destroy the Peace of Utrecht. The aim of the Whigs was to preserve the status of Europe as settled at Utrecht, since they felt that this would best serve the interests of their country. It happened that France under the Regent Orléans (after the death of Louis XIV) was also best served by a like policy. Instead, therefore, of advocating war as the Whigs had formerly done, the party aimed to conserve what the war had won. In 1717 Great Britain formed with France and Holland a Triple Alliance to insure the *status quo*. The three States were joined by the Emperor in 1718 to make the alliance a quadruple one. Spain, isolated by this policy, threatened again and again to bring on a war. The Whig leaders, to their credit, were able to avoid conflict for over a quarter of a century.

Above all, the pacific attitude of the country allowed for an uninterrupted internal development. The island, rich in itself, became richer by its commerce. Commercial schemes The monied interests found an opportunity such as never before was presented for the expansion of trade and industry. What Defoe called a "projecting

humour,"¹ what might be well named a speculative mania, engrossed the attention of the country. Nor was England alone in this. Scotland's sad experience will be remembered. Frenchmen, too, after Utrecht, founded New Orleans (1717) at the mouth of the Mississippi and made large plans for great trading projects. The inspirer of the French project was a Scot named John Law. He prevailed upon the Government to link his private bank with the national organization and with the exploitation of tropical trade. But the scheme proved a lamentable failure in a stupendous collapse in 1720.²

The "projecting humour" especially attacked England. By 1715 the country was reaping advantages in advance of others in consequence of the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694. In addition, the favorable trading provisions of the peace of Utrecht gave Englishmen a false hope of quick profits where they were not to be obtained. The people believed, as in France, that here was the solution of the national debt, which had grown in the reign of Anne from sixteen to fifty-two million pounds. The Government was paying high interest on its loans as well. The result of the exaggerated beliefs of the profits of trade led to a union of the national debt problem with a scheme for expansion in commerce; the debt would be diminished and the interest rate on the remainder would be lowered.

With this aim the belief in credit was strained to the utmost. A South Sea Company, formed back in 1711, took over the floating debt of £10,000 from the Government as capital, the interest for which was secured by customs. Later, Walpole, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1714 to 1717, established a sinking fund at a low rate of interest with which gradually to extinguish the large debt. But the method

The lure of
trading
profits

The South
Sea Com-
pany

¹ See Defoe's *Essay on Projects*.

² This mania for oversea profits also led to the creation by the Emperor of an Ostend Company for tropical commerce; it was for a time a worry to English traders.

seemed too dilatory. After he left office his successor, Aislable, was so eager to diminish the debt rapidly that he allowed the South Sea Company, which was glad of the credit of the Government for its work, to take over several times as much as was assumed in 1711. The Government creditors became shareholders in the Company, and the Company became the nation's only creditor.

The transaction was immensely profitable to the Government; too much so, in fact. Everything went well so long as the credit of the South Sea Company was good, and provided that the expected profits were reaped from trade. In imitation, other companies were formed and found plenty of capital for investment. A veritable craze for gambling in fabulous profits was developed. Companies were organized for the most absurd purposes, and were floated easily. One was for the importation of jackasses from Spain, another to develop perpetual motion, a third to make silver from mercury, a fourth for carrying on an "undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is." There could be but one result. Stocks went sky high, those of the South Sea Company to ten times their par value. Then the nation saw the insane development, and the stocks began to drop. The bubble of speculation burst with terrific effect in the autumn of 1720. Thousands of business houses and individuals were reduced to bankruptcy and beggary as a result. The situation was retrieved by Walpole, who had become Chancellor again in that year. He successfully reëstablished public credit by confiscating the property of the directors and by easing the load of the purchasers of South Sea stock through the more equitable distribution of the Company's capital. The advantageous terms with the Government were also made less favorable in order to ease the Company. It continued as a solvent but subdued concern. Henceforth trade developed, but more sober ideas prevailed of the profits to be won.

The political effects of the crash were immediate. Those Whigs who were back of the bargain of the Company were

completely discredited. Aislabie was expelled from the House of Commons. Even Stanhope, who was not guilty, was so bitterly attacked in the investigation that his death ensued. Walpole and his brother-in-law, Townshend, became indisputable masters of the Government. Sir Robert, who took the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the director of internal affairs. Indeed, he was from now on the real leader. In 1714 Townshend appeared the more important. In 1721 Walpole became preëminent. For twenty-one years he remained the master, holding without break the two offices that he received in 1721. Townshend worked with Walpole for a time, but irked under the situation in which he was the second man to his younger relative. As Walpole wittily put it, so long as the firm was Townshend and Walpole, all went well, but when it became Walpole and Townshend, trouble arose. Townshend retired to private life in 1730.¹

Political
effects

THE GOVERNMENT OF WALPOLE

What sort of man was Walpole, whose name is more rightfully attached to the period now under consideration than the name of either the first George or his son who succeeded in 1727? For the change of monarchs in 1727 caused hardly a ripple on the sea of British politics. The Norfolk squire was stout, of complacent appearance, with keen little eyes. He was the gayest of companions, so heavy an eater and drinker that he became "corpulent and unwieldy" in later days. Yet Walpole was not a drunkard as were so many of his rank. He was one of the hardest working of Britain's long line of public servants, yet found time for regular "week-ends" in the country. He is, indeed, credited with inventing the parliamentary "week-end" in order to satisfy his insa-

Robert
Walpole
(1676-1745)

¹ The immediate cause of retirement was his failure to obtain the second secretaryship for his friend, Lord Chesterfield, famed for his *Letters*, written to improve the manners of his natural son. Townshend, in retirement, gave himself to scientific agriculture, as we shall find. See below Chapter XXXII.

tiable desire for the hunt.¹ He was coarse in speech and lacking in the refined interests of a Bolingbroke. Walpole was not at home in the world of books or among the refinements of culture. Like Bolingbroke he was a skeptic in religion.

Nothing seems more anomalous than the dominance of a person so lacking in brilliant parts. The secret of his Policies of success lay in his keenness of judgment both Walpole of men and of measures, and his obstinacy in holding to wisely chosen courses. He had at heart a deep concern in the good of his country that made his selfish retention of power a real asset to Britain. He was a stubborn believer in the wisdom of a peaceful policy as against the blatant "patriotism" of war-mongers. He might well be regarded as living out the dictum of Bolingbroke: "We must remember we are not a part of the Continent, but we must never forget that we are neighbors of it." If he scoffed at religion, Walpole was thoroughly convinced that Britain's best course was as a Protestant State under the harmless Hanoverian rulers. His very indifference to religion forced the vexing and fanatic hatreds to subside to the advantage of the country. A shrewder and more useful governor of Great Britain does not appear in the history of the eighteenth century; he gave his country peace, prosperity, and freedom.

The secret of his long mastery lay in his manipulation of the government machinery. The ministry, or cabinet, which had been largely advisory to the Crown, became in 1714 a comparatively independent, governing body. The reasons have been indicated --- the necessary dependence of George I on the Whigs, the royal ignorance of the English language, George's consuming interest in Hanover. The King ceased to attend cabinet meetings, and at the same time he gave the government of the country in trust to the Cabinet. Almost at once, therefore, it became independent of

¹ He is said to have always read his gamekeeper's report first when opening his letters.

the King, and dependent for success on keeping its power in Parliament. If the King absented himself from the Cabinet, it was natural that the dominant member should serve as the spokesman and chairman for the governing committee. Since Walpole naturally assumed this post in the years of his "reign," he is often spoken of as the first Prime Minister. The position was certainly held by Walpole but the title only came into general use later. He was constantly accused of being a Strafford and a grand vizier. So indefinite was the understanding of the prime minister-ship that in the last attack on Walpole one of his opponents declared: "According to our constitution, we can have no sole and prime minister; we ought always to have several prime ministers or officers of state; . . . no officer ought to meddle in the affairs belonging to the department of another."¹

The Lords of the Cabinet Council — this was the common designation in Walpole's time — varied in number. At the opening of George I's reign they seem to have numbered eight. Walpole kept for ^{Make-up of the cabinet} twenty-one years the two titles, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The former is still the titular office held by the Prime Minister. Other members always included were the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the First Lord of the Admiralty. The two Secretaries of State were members as well, the one for the northern department being in charge of European foreign affairs, the one for the southern department having colonial matters in his jurisdiction. The titles, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and Secretary for Scotland usually carried cabinet rank. The Cabinet was mostly composed of peers, as the names of the offices would indicate. Yet Walpole, while Prime Minister, remained a commoner. When he appointed a commoner as First Lord of the Admiralty in 1733, it was considered something to which objection should be made. In the last years of his leadership fourteen out of the sixteen cabinet members were

¹ Morley, *Walpole*, p. 163.

peers. For long this remained the custom, though henceforth a commoner always held the chancellorship of the Exchequer.

The Parliament, with which the Cabinet Council had to be on terms, differed in many respects from its descendant of to-day. Of the two chambers, the House of Lords still seemed to all appearances of considerable importance. It consisted of the archbishops and bishops of the Established Church as well as the secular peers. The total number was something over two hundred in Walpole's time. Since the peers were not subject to election their political complexion changed but slightly. In Anne's time the peerage had been made pre-vaillingly Tory by the creation of twelve Tory peers at one time in order to vote the peace of 1713. But the peerage soon became Whig, both as a result of the change of faith of former Tories, and by the addition of Whigs. In order to keep the House of Lords as it was in 1719 the group of Whigs in power at the time proposed a Peerage Bill that would have greatly affected the development of Parliament had it become law. By this measure the number of peers could not be enlarged to more than six over the number then existing. The creation of a fixed nobility in the upper house would have given it a settled supremacy which could be broken only by violence. The Peerage Bill occasioned a warm debate in the Commons. The leading opponent was Walpole, for he saw the effect of such a measure on the house of which he was a member. The defeat of the measure kept the way open for the growing power of the House of Commons.

An analysis of the lower house of this time reveals a situation that was badly in need of reform, a reform that was not to come for another century. Though the House of Commons was so corruptly selected as to make it hardly a representative body, it had become, long before the eighteenth century, "the driving wheel of the British system of government," because of its control of the purse. So clear was this that two years after the

death of Anne the Whigs deliberately lengthened the life of Parliament from three to seven years as a precautionary measure for securing the Protestant succession. The Septennial Act seems to have been intended as a temporary expedient, though it remained unrepealed for nearly two hundred years (to 1911). At the time it served to bring the Commons more power, a fact which Walpole saw clearly, for he never quitted the Commons during his long mastery of the Government.

In the time of Walpole the Commons contained 550 members. They stood for several distinct kinds of constituencies. The counties sent up two members each, who were elected by the forty shilling free-holders.¹ Here was a chance for the expression of opinion, but the independence of these county members was limited by the corruption of the elections and by the influence of the landed aristocracy. Elections which dragged on for forty days made possible the purchase of votes in a contest that went to wealth. Yet in times of high feeling the public opinion of the counties would be more honestly registered. The majority of the members of the lower house came from the boroughs, where the elections were often farces. Some of the boroughs were entirely the property of the great nobles, either because the land was owned by a single personage, or because local conditions made the influence of the nobility decisive. Others had practically no voters and were easily controlled by the local lord. The property of such a modest family as the Walpoles carried with it two pocket boroughs, from one of which Sir Robert Walpole went to Parliament for the first time. The great nobles, by owning a number of seats in the House of Commons, were thus able to exercise much power in the lower house.

And then there were what Lord Chesterfield in 1743 called the court boroughs, constituencies that were wholly in the control of the Crown, because the votes of revenue officers and admiralty appointees

The political
power of the
purse

Court
boroughs

¹ This qualification was made in 1429.

made them certain creatures of the Government. Members representing these boroughs were known as placemen; possibly fifty such, on the average, were in the Parliaments of the early eighteenth century. Moreover, there was a large addition to the government seats by bribery. Crown patronage was a potent key to power.

It was such a body that Walpole shrewdly kept in hand for two decades by the very simple and effective means of attaching a majority to his interest. He used Walpole's methods corrupt means, but it was a system that he inherited. And he employed it more fairly than some of his successors, notably George III, in spite of the cynical statement credited to Walpole that "every man has his price." It was one thing to make use of the patronage which came into his control as prime minister, another to employ direct bribery. Of the former Walpole was as guilty as any of his contemporaries; of the latter, his bitterest enemies found almost no evidence after his fall.

Under such strange circumstances were real advances made in the constitutional development that was in time to establish Great Britain as a truly democratic state. The King gave over his power to a nebulous Cabinet Council. It became a homogeneous executive committee free from royal interference. Walpole the first Prime Minister The King, of course, did not exercise his power of veto, and it has remained in abeyance ever since. Within the Cabinet Council there developed a natural leadership, a prime ministership in fact. This leadership was linked with finance as the key to the power of the State. Of necessity, therefore, Walpole remained a commoner and spent his life in manipulating the lower house. Clerical members were no longer to be found within the Cabinet, and the peers were subordinated to a commoner who lived in Downing Street.¹

There are comparatively few distinct achievements to

¹ The house, since so famous as 10 Downing Street, and the official residence of the Prime Minister, was offered to Walpole by George II. Walpole did not accept the gift; he agreed, however, that it should be the residence of the one having the offices he then held.

Walpole's credit. He has called forth admiration, rather, for his skill as a political leader in managing the House of Commons and the court, for the sound-^{Walpole as a financier}ness of his foreign and domestic policy, and for the cumulative effect of his work on the constitution. Though he belonged by birth and tastes to the country gentry, Walpole saw the value of peace for a country that needed a rest from exhausting war, and he perceived the wisdom of aiding the development of the monied interests. His financial acumen first brought him to the leadership. He consciously aimed to keep taxes low and to reduce the cost of living by intelligent public measures. Walpole as early as 1721 made a distinct declaration that Britain's policy should be one of greater freedom of trade, or one, as he put it, "to make the exportation of our manufactures, and the importation of the commodities used in manufacturing them, as practicable and as easy as may be."¹ To this end, export duties were removed on over one hundred articles of British manufacture, and also duties on thirty-eight raw materials that were imported. To his credit it can be said that he was the first British statesman to see clearly the wisdom of tariff reform in the direction of freer trade.

Walpole also encouraged commerce even to the extent of allowing direct trade between the American rice colonies and Europe, provided the trade was in British ^{Commercial policy} bottoms. He saw the wisdom of encouraging colonial commerce since it ministered to Britain's prosperity. On the same ground he opposed the growth of colonial manufacturing. By a law of 1732, for example, felt hats could not be imported from one colony to another; in the same year colonial copper smelting was forbidden. One of the best known of his restrictive measures was the Molasses Act of 1733 by which the Government attempted to prohibit a colonial trade in foreign sugar products. Enumerated articles were also increased.² All this helped to minister to later colonial discontent; from Walpole's viewpoint it was an effort to encourage commerce and manufac-

¹ Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

² See p. 537.

turing in Great Britain in a day when the monied interest was coming into its own.

Walpole never tried to tax the American colonies, partly because he saw the unwisdom of hampering trade, partly because his reforms in taxation in Great Britain met with so much opposition. His most notable experience was when he endeavored to extend the excise in 1733. The word was of ill omen to British minds, since it connoted the right of revenue officers to enter private houses. As such it seemed a sign of bondage. The excise tax differed in this particular materially from the ordinary customs duty collected at the ports. Since the latter were systematically avoided by very extensive smuggling, Walpole decided to collect the duties on wine and tobacco within the country from the retailers. He hoped to lower the land tax as a result of higher returns from the excise. In spite of the fact that the proposed change was not an excise in the sense that it allowed revenue officers to enter private homes, the measure aroused tremendous opposition. Though harmless and useful it had to be withdrawn, since Walpole found opposition even within his own party. Walpole's submission is one of the best illustrations of his policy of bending before the popular will, and of his famous maxim, *quieta non movere*. Incidentally, a constitutional step of importance resulted, since Walpole drastically cleaned out his official household in the interests of unanimity.¹

THE FALL OF SIR ROBERT

During the concluding years of Walpole's régime, his guidance was more and more vigorously questioned. When Bolingbroke returned, Walpole refused to allow him to enter the House of Commons; naturally Bolingbroke became the center of a vigorous opposition. Others of Walpole's own group were grad-

¹ The malt tax in Scotland also aroused much opposition, though in this case the tax was not withdrawn. There the general sympathy with smugglers found expression in the Porteous riots of 1737 in Edinburgh. Scott has vividly pictured them in his *Heart of Midlothian*.

ually pushed into the opposition because they would not work with one who demanded unquestioned obedience. Townshend retired in 1730. Chesterfield was driven into the opposition by the housecleaning of 1733. The Prime Minister's enemies took the name of "Patriots." They declared that Walpole's use of crown patronage was a reversal of the true Whig position of opposition to the Crown. They did not realize that the alliance of this power with the Commons was creating a new situation, which could be made worthful by a purification of the lower house. His enemies accused him of having a Parliament like a packed jury, though most of the opposition were in no mood to correct such a condition but were simply hankering after the fleshpots. An important member of the opposition was the Prince of Wales, who was much at "outs" with his father and mother, George II and Queen Caroline. But Queen Caroline, a most remarkable woman, was Walpole's firm friend. Her death in 1737 was a distinct loss to the minister.

The virulence of the opposition was made even more effective by the brilliancy of the writers, in addition to Bolingbroke, who dipped their pens in gall. The opposition virulent Pope and Swift were the most notable members of the galaxy of inimical pamphleteers. The latter especially had a "grand gift for strife." *Gulliver's Travels*, published in 1726, is not so much a young people's story-book as a veiled though sardonic attack on the governmental system of the day. Swift felt justified in declaring the three principal ingredients of a "chief minister" to be insolence, lying, and bribery, and in asserting that a "senate" was but a flock of geese; a prime minister a buzzard; the treasury a bottomless pit; the administration a running sore.

The much-traduced minister had about run his course when the popular call in 1739 for war with Spain gave his enemies their chance. The country was tired of Fall of Sir Robert, 1742 a prudent peace policy, the younger members of the Patriots, in particular, believing that patriotism consisted

in war no matter how trivial the cause. Against the wave of bellicose feeling Walpole set himself in vain. Yet he remained in office after the war had been unwillingly accepted by him; for doing this he has been accused of wishing to keep office at all costs, though his loyalty to the King has been made an alternative explanation. At any rate, it was the beginning of the end. In 1742 he was defeated on an election petition and resigned, retiring to the House of Lords as the Earl of Orford.¹ His enemies failed to impeach him, for the days of political impeachment and attainder were over. And so was the "reign of Sir Robert."

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¹ The voting on election petitions was a flagrant abuse, for the petition was received or denied, not on the merits of the case, but on a party basis.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE RENEWAL OF CONFLICT

(1739-1763)

THE dogs of war, so long kept in leash by Walpole, broke loose in 1739, and remained at large for a quarter of a century. This stretch of British history forms a natural period, since it is dominated by the idea of aggressive expansion, colonial and commercial. Foreign affairs became once again, as in the days of William and of Anne, of leading importance. In Europe vast issues had arisen for acrimonious and warlike solution. From these Great Britain could not hold aloof, apparently, nor did the people of the island want to, since the wars that ensued seemed fought for a clearer national end than ever before.

A new era
of war

The war with Spain in 1739 soon merged into the War of the Austrian Succession. Though the latter ended in 1748, hostilities were never entirely given up between France and Great Britain. The Seven Years' War that began in 1756 simply renewed the bitter duel. From it Great Britain garnered largely in the world beyond the seas. The extraordinary success with which the ends desired were attained was the result of the leadership of William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham. If any one name personifies these twenty-five years when the British were in fighting mood, it is that of Pitt.

A TRADE WAR WITH SPAIN

The Walpolean peace policy broke down in 1739 because of the general demand for increased trading opportunities. The Treaty of Utrecht, it will be recalled,¹ permitted the English to send an annual trading ship to the Spanish Main. The Spanish also granted the Asiento for supplying negroes to its colonies.

Demand for
trading op-
portunities

¹ See p. 552.

It is already clear what extravagant expectations had developed as to the possibilities of this opening in the West Indies.¹

The restrictions seemed galling, nevertheless. Nor were they observed. The Spanish claimed with justice that the Violations of the Treaty of Utrecht one British vessel allowed was of larger size than it should have been, and that it was accompanied by a number of small vessels from whose holds goods were transferred as needed to the permitted ship. The Spanish colonies were not unwilling to see these transgressions, since Spain was quite unable to furnish the colonies with sufficient supplies. A large trade existed between the American colonies of Britain and Spain. One of the avowed advantages arising from the establishment of Georgia in 1732 was its value as a trading point near the Spanish colonies. The British were also interested in the valuable logwood of Honduras.²

The injured country found it hard to suppress the illicit trade in the West Indies since Spanish colonists abetted the hawkers of cheap goods. The right of search was exercised, to the great indignation of the British smugglers. One incident growing out of Spain's vigorous effort to control trade became the noisy basis of the popular demand for war. An ear of a certain Captain Jenkins had been cut off in a scuffle arising out of a Spanish attempt to search his ship. The deprivation occurred in 1731. From that time on he carefully preserved in a bottle what he claimed was the severed ear, exhibiting it and airing his grievances to all who would pay attention. When asked how he felt as he lost the ear, Jenkins replied: "I committed my soul to God and my cause to my country." The country became enthusiastic over the cause without inquiring as to whether Jenkins was smuggling at the time or ascertaining whether he had but one ear left under his protective wig. The whole mind of the nation was so

¹ See pp. 563-64.

² Logwood was the, very hard heartwood of a particular Central American tree, exported in *logs*. It furnished a valuable dye much used by the textile manufacturers.

centered on the ear that the war, declared in 1739 against Spain, rightly goes by the name of the War of Jenkins's Ear.¹

The popular clamor was insistent. The war spirit which ran so high was shown by the joy with which Walpole's reluctant announcement of war was received.

Frantic applause, processions, the ringing of church bells were expressions of the light-

Opening of
the war with
Spain, 1739

heartedness with which the people entered upon the grim game. But Walpole wisely observed: "They are ringing their bells now; they will be wringing their hands soon."

The results of the conflict were not up to expectations. Porto Bello was captured in 1739, but the attack on Cartagena in the next year was a dismal failure. An expedition under Anson was sent around Cape Horn to coöperate from the Pacific side of the Isthmus with the British fleet in the Caribbean. Though the loss of all his ships save one made effective work in the Pacific impossible, Anson in the *Centurion* succeeded in reaching England by the Cape of Good Hope.

The interruptions to commerce and the destruction of the trading vessels of the two countries naturally angered British commercial interests.

Walpole's political opponents, especially the Patriots, clamored more loudly than ever. The expected happened

Resignation
of Walpole,
1742

in 1742, when Walpole resigned in the face of the cry for his place. The strange twists which historic developments take are nowhere better shown than here. Walpole gave his country years of peace and prosperity, and fostered in every way the expansion of trade. If further expansion was fettered in 1739, the war that followed did not bring the expected emancipation, and the continuance of war under Walpole's successors was to prove an even drearier record.

The group who displaced Walpole were not distinguished. Indeed, there was no desire for a one-man rule. The dull Lord Wilmington was made nominal head of a coalition ministry, known in the language of the day as a "broad-bottom" administration. Yet it was not

Walpole's
successors

¹ Edmund Burke later declared the war to be nothing but one for plunder.

broad enough to include Chesterfield, or Pitt, the "warmest" of the Young Patriots, or the Tory element of Bolingbroke. On the death of Wilmington in 1743, the leadership went to an old Walpoleite, Henry Pelham; he remained the Prime Minister until his death in 1754. Pelham proved to be a master of the House of Commons and of the art of patronage. During his bland sway — he did not, like Walpole, "reign" — internal affairs went on harmoniously enough. He had no interest in party strife, and he was so thorough a believer in the broad-bottom idea that as necessity arose he included in his ministry such men as Chesterfield and Pitt.

ENTANGLING CONTINENTAL ALLIANCES

In the meantime the foreign relations of Great Britain were growing more and more delicate. The War of Jenkins's Ear became merged in a world war that called for British participation in many spheres.

The Austrian
Succession,
1740

A brief glance at the European situation is necessary if the graver issues are to be understood. Again on the Continent the succession to territories and a throne fostered jealousies. In 1740 the Habsburg Emperor of Germany, Charles VI, died, leaving as his heir a woman, Maria Theresa. For years before his death Charles sought to make safe the succession of his daughter to the extensive Austrian dominions. With this end in view he had obtained the written assent of most of the sovereigns of Europe to the Pragmatic Sanction. But Maria Theresa's path was not easy. Frederick II of Prussia boldly seized Silesia, even though Prussia had agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction. The Elector of Bavaria wanted the imperial crown, and the King of Spain also laid claim to it. These two rulers were in close alliance with France, to whom the Austrian Netherlands seemed inviting plunder. The result was a simultaneous attack on a young and weak Queen.

The War of the Austrian Succession affected Great Britain for several reasons. The natural suspicion of the Bourbons was aroused by the alliance of France and Spain with

Bavaria and Prussia against Austria. George II, in addition, was strongly anti-French and exceedingly solicitous for the safety of Hanover, for his deepest interests were there. The war-spirit was still high in Great Britain, and it was somewhat ennobled when the sympathy for a one-eared sea-captain was supplemented by a feeling of compassion for the hard-beset Maria Theresa. The Elector-King of Great Britain and Hanover enthusiastically labored in person on the Continent to foil the aims of France and Prussia. Hanoverian and Hessian troops were subsidized, and English soldiers were sent to the mainland in spite of the parliamentary opposition to such a step. Pitt declared that "this formidable kingdom is considered only as a province to a despicable electorate." The results of the continental war were not brilliant for Great Britain and Hanover. A victory was won at Dettingen (on the Main above Frankfort) in 1743, though its chief significance lay in the fact that George II was there in person — the last British ruler to lead his troops in actual battle. Two years later a hard-fought and indecisive battle was waged at Fontenoy on the Scheldt.

Its effect on
Great
Britain

As if the exhausting and useless participation in the continental war were not enough, the country was subjected to a serious internal rising in the very year of the battle of Fontenoy. Once more the Jacobites made a try for the throne. The Young Pretender, Charles Edward, stimulated by the French "victory" at Fontenoy and trusting in the response of the islanders to his presence, left France to land on the west coast of Scotland in July of 1745. It was a madcap adventure; the father did not even know of the son's departure before the embarkation. Bonnie Prince Charlie found little enthusiasm among the Highlanders, but his indomitable optimism soon proved infectious. Before long he had several thousand followers with which to start his conquest of the kingdom. The Government was taken off its guard. Charles was able to march into the Lowlands, occupy Edinburgh, and proclaim the Stuart kingship. The government force

The Young
Pretender in
Scotland,
1745

was defeated not long after at Prestonpans, a few miles east of Edinburgh.

In the meantime the Government had recalled troops from the Continent. Charles was in a quandary. His army of five thousand, mostly Highlanders, was greatly outnumbered, and inactivity seemed unwise. The adventurer, therefore, determined on an invasion of England along the course followed by his father thirty years before. It was marked by amazing success at first; Manchester was reached without resistance by the end of November. But the hoped-for rising did not occur, only a few hundreds joining Charles at Manchester. The invaders, however, pushed on to Derby within a hundred and thirty miles of London. The City was in a panic, for nothing but local trained bands were between it and the Highlanders of Charles. There was a serious run on the Bank of England on that Black Friday, December 6. The authorities prevented it from becoming disastrous only by paying the demands with sixpences.

It is useless to conjecture what might have happened had Charles pushed on. At best the victory would probably have been but temporary. Instead of advancing, however, the Highlanders determined on retreat to avoid the converging armies rushing to the aid of Hanoverian England. Before the close of the year the force was safely back in Scotland. There the end came in April. Charles, compelled to retreat northward by the army of the Duke of Cumberland, gave battle to his pursuers on Culloden Moor. The odds were decidedly against Bonnie Prince Charlie. His dispirited and half starved men faced an army twice the size of the Stuart force. Culloden Moor — the last pitched battle fought on British soil — proved the Waterloo of the Stuarts. Charles fled for his life to the fastnesses of the Highlands; for five months before he took ship for the Continent he successfully evaded capture by disguising himself and depending on the loyalty of his friends. “Butcher” Cumberland did the work of suppres-

Charles's
invasion of
England

The end of
the Jacobite
effort

Battle of
Culloden
Moor, 1746

sion thoroughly. The Highlanders paid much for assisting the Young Pretender in an effort that was hopeless from the start. They not only suffered the revenge of the reigning house but were subjected to drastic laws by which the clan system was at last broken.¹

The war-fever of 1739 had subsided to a marked degree by 1746 as a result of the constant drain of men and money for a continental struggle. Commerce, too, was suffering, although the Spanish and French were even harder hit. There had been some advances in colonial fields and a consistent series of successes on the sea, despite the rather poor condition of the navy. Admirals Hawke and Anson won naval victories that drove the French flag from the Atlantic. Yet full advantage was not taken of the maritime situation. The French in India actually made progress in the ambitious scheme of becoming the strong European power. In America, King George's War, as it is called, was largely indecisive, save for the capture of Louisburg by colonial forces.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle ended the war in 1748. The misconceived and poorly conducted conflict and the fruitless peace seemed to justify the foresight of Walpole. Every effort was made to establish conditions as they had been in 1739. Conquests in India and America were restored; Spain agreed to a continuation of the Asiento and the rights of trade.² But nothing was said of the right of search, which Captain Jenkins had so much objected to when he entrusted his cause to his country. The only real gainer was Frederick of Prussia; he retained Silesia, and solemnly affirmed his adherence to the Pragmatic Sanction. In fact, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was not definitive; too many problems were avoided.

¹ See the next chapter for the social changes. Scott's *Waverley* and *Redgauntlet* give romantic glimpses of the Young Pretender.

² The Asiento was surrendered by Great Britain — that is, by the South Sea Company — and the conflicting claims of the two countries were arranged by the Treaty of Madrid in 1750.

AN INTERIM

The years of supposed peace, from 1748 to 1756, served the combatants as a breathing spell and as a means for clar-
 Lessons of ifying the aims of the next conflict. For Great
 the war Britain the War of the Austrian Succession proved a costly lesson. It showed the futility of participating in a complicated continental struggle where the issues were largely non-British, if somewhat Hanoverian. It also revealed the weakness and inefficiency of the sea-forces upon which the country so much depended. The loss of over three thousand merchant vessels during the war brought home to the trading class the need for adequate preparation and for expert direction of the navy. The cessation of war made possible, as well, the consolidation of power by both France and Great Britain in America, where as yet no definite settlement of contradictory claims or hazy boundaries had been made. The British began to see more and more clearly that the future of their island depended on putting foremost the commercial, maritime, and colonial issues. With the renewal of war in 1756 the imperial viewpoint was to receive the fervid and unerring guidance of William Pitt. Before engaging in the next war, it will be well to give some attention to the domestic changes and to the preparations for the impending duel with France.

Henry Pelham, like Walpole before him, undertook to ease the country's debt charges by funding the claims of
 Pelham's its creditors and by reducing the interest. With
 financial the close of the war in 1748 the debt had arisen
 measures to £78,000,000, half again as large as it was at the end of the reign of Queen Anne. Pelham successfully reduced the interest, already at four per cent, to three per cent, and consolidated the various loans. In spite of this reduction of interest the Government securities were above par. It showed the wealth of the country and the confidence of the nation.¹

¹ This was the origin of the British government securities known as consols. In spite of their low interest, consols have always been a favorite form of investment; their value on the market has been commonly regarded as a test of the financial condition of the country

The death of Pelham in 1754 brought domestic affairs into tempestuous waters. The King declared: "Now I shall have no more peace." Pelham's brother, ^{Death of} the Duke of Newcastle, who had been for nearly ^{Pelham, 1754} thirty years a Secretary of State, and was an unrivaled manipulator of government patronage, became First Lord of the Treasury. But Newcastle was hampered by his absence from the House of Commons, where the substance of power was apt to reside. The two great baiters of his inefficient nominees in the Commons were Henry Fox and William Pitt; the one would insolently attack and the other with ironical loyalty defend Newcastle's minions — until Newcastle broke up the sport by admitting Fox to the ministry in 1755. With the opening of the Seven Years' War, however, Pitt could no longer be kept from the position he obviously deserved as the incarnation of the public feeling. Then, as Horace Walpole wittily put it, politics went for a time into winter quarters.

Larger issues than the control of patronage were looming on the horizon. The great Indian peninsula was becoming the scene of keen Franco-British rivalry. The ^{The French} East India Company, it will be remembered, had ^{in India} factories and even land on both coasts.¹ The French, too, were in possession of valuable trading stations. Near Calcutta, in Bengal, there was Chandernagore; south of Madras was the factory of Pondichéry; on the west coast south of Bombay was Mahé. The Indian posts of the French were administered with particular vigor at this time, and efforts were being made to further the trading possibilities and the actual security of the French holdings by building up influence at the native courts. In this work the French had a remarkable servant in François Dupleix, the agent at Chandernagore from 1730 to 1741 and at Pondichéry from 1741 to 1754. He was a master of diplomacy, lavishing telling presents on the native princes of adjacent kingdoms. Dupleix was successful beyond expectation, for before his recall in 1754 the French influence was

¹ See pp. 542 ff.

dominant in southern India. He was assisted, despite jealousy, by La Bourdonnais, the Governor of Mauritius. This strategically located island was the base for a powerful French fleet that became a serious menace to British Indian connections.

In the meantime the British had at last found a counterpoise to the vigorous Frenchman in Robert Clive. He had gone to Madras in a subordinate position in the forties, and the war that ensued during that decade made it clear that he was a daring military leader. Neither he nor Dupleix was inclined to discontinue the struggle for mastery with the conclusion of the nominal peace in 1748. Consequently guerrilla warfare was carried on in the country around Madras and Pondichéry — to the complete advantage of Clive. In 1751 he boldly attacked the capital of the Carnatic, Arcot, where French influences had been uppermost, and captured the place with a ridiculously small force. It marked the turn of the tide. British prestige was reestablished by further successes that gave Madras the dominance of the Carnatic. Elsewhere in the peninsula Franco-British rivalry was not as yet open strife. By the beginning of the Seven Years' War, nevertheless, the basis for further dispute was abundantly at hand.

And in America the seeds of strife were also sown broadcast during the interim of peace. There matters were in a serious plight viewed from the British angle. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle took no cognizance of the great question as to the antagonistic claims of the two countries in the immense region south of the Great Lakes and the Saint Lawrence, and east of the Mississippi. The British had made little advance toward actually settling the land beyond the Alleghanies.

The French asserted title to the territories at issue by virtue of discovery and occupation, for they were establishing posts to make their assertions good. Louisiana was a thriving settlement with ten thousand inhabitants. Trading posts existed on the various rivers and at the strategic points of the Great

Robert
Clive
(1725-74)

Franco-
British
tension in
America

Struggle for
the Ohio
Valley

Lakes region. In the next year after the peace treaty the Governor of Canada sent a mission to the west in order to take possession of the Ohio Valley, since all the important connecting waterways between Louisiana and Canada were then French, save the upper Ohio. The Virginian Governor, Dinwiddie, was so alive to the danger that he sent out a mission in his turn, under George Washington, to warn the French off land claimed by the English. Shortly after, the French ousted the English from their rude fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, and established Fort Duquesne there in 1754. Governor Dinwiddie thereupon appealed to the home Government for assistance. His request was answered by the despatch of two regiments under Braddock to defend the line of the Ohio. This overt act of war in time of nominal peace was a serious step. The outcome was still more serious, for Braddock's expedition was defeated and Braddock himself killed in 1755, and still the countries were "at peace."

Elsewhere in America there was friction. Futile expeditions were made against the French posts in northern New York. And especially in Acadia (Nova Scotia) the conditions were symptomatic of the approaching strife. Louisburg on its return to the French in 1748 was made stronger than ever. So menacing did it seem that the British founded Halifax in the next year to watch the territory they had been granted in 1713. The measure seemed especially necessary in view of the wholly French population of the region. This population had been infected with the rivalry of the two nations to the extent of endangering seriously the British claims to Acadia. As a result, in 1755 the authorities undertook the deportation of about eight thousand of the population to the British colonies on the south. The plea of military necessity has been held to condone an act that created much hardship and suffering. The step certainly forecast an avowed war for the near future.

During this time continental matters reached another crisis. Frederick of Prussia was greatly concerned over the

Deportation
of the
Acadians,
1755

security of the possessions he had forced from Maria Theresa. George II was again worrying over the safety of Hanover, especially fearing that France would attack it in view of the strained Franco-British relations elsewhere. As a result the British and Prussian Governments signed an agreement early in 1756 guaranteeing each other's possessions. For the British it was a means to avoid continental entanglements. Yet the alliance of Prussia and Britain naturally brought Austria and France to an understanding. The step was of doubtful value to France, since it embroiled the French on the Continent when they might better have concentrated their attention on the oversea difficulties. The result of the alliances was a realignment that is known as the Diplomatic Revolution. By the middle of the year 1756 the stage was set for the Titanic struggle known as the Seven Years' War.

Matters started badly enough for the British. Both the ministry and the people entered the war in an altogether different spirit from the ringing-of-the-bells enthusiasm of 1739. Hanoverian and Hessian troops were imported for defense, and the scattered ships of a poorly equipped navy were hurried from distant stations to strengthen the British sea-wall. In America the new French commander, Montcalm, carried on the war so vigorously that he took Oswego. The sorry state of affairs from the British point of view was brought keenly home to the nation when it learned to its amazement of a French success in the Mediterranean — the capture of Minorca. This island was for British interests in the Mediterranean in the eighteenth century what Malta has been in the nineteenth. The French seemed to be regaining control of the Mediterranean. To add to the mortification of the British, Admiral Byng's fleet fought an indecisive battle with the French off Minorca, and he retired to Gibraltar. The consequences were momentous. Byng was court-martialled and shot. Newcastle at last retired from office. The strong force of public opinion demanded the granting of supreme direction to William Pitt. Under

The Diplo-
matic
Revolution

Opening of
the Seven
Years' War,
1756

his efficient lead the dismaying defeats became more than offset by an intoxicating series of victories.

THE LEADERSHIP OF PITT

Pitt is a notable figure in the history of Britain; his ministry, though brief, was one of the most brilliant in the annals of the country. The particular problem that the country faced was one which Pitt alone of the public leaders appreciated to the full. He fitted the need so well that possibly his boast — “I know that I can save my country and that no one else can” — fairly well states the case. The explanation of his ability to “save his country” lay in a number of striking qualities. For one thing, he was possessed by an imperious courage, a profound conviction of his own ability. This excessive egotism made him a Walpole baiter while he was still but a youngster, and caused him to hold up his head and return a biting answer to those who accused him of being but a youth. His courage was supplemented by all the arts that make a man master of an assembly and of the crowd. He was a studied orator, highly rhetorical, tremendously effective; his enemies with much truth claimed that he was the embodiment of self-satisfaction and affectation. He even made the gout, with which he was afflicted through life, serve the purpose of heightening his influence; to come to Parliament wrapped in bandages and yet to utter a fiery speech was irresistible. Then, too, he was one of the first of British statesmen to make an appeal to the larger audience of public opinion. It was too common in his day for politicians to ignore the general feeling. Pitt made constant appeal to it by addressing Parliament as the “representatives of the people,” by appealing from an erring assembly and an unwise king to the popular judgment.

It is small wonder that he became the nation's ideal when he possessed in addition an intense belief in the future of his country, and in a future that centered on its growth commercially and colonially. The family history partly, at least, accounts

William
Pitt, the
Elder
(1708-78)

Pitt's com-
mercial and
colonial
convictions

for Pitt's

ability to see the empire from the tradesman's point of view. His grandfather, Thomas Pitt, had been a highly successful "merchant adventurer" in India, as well as a haughty, ruthless, and successful governor of Madras for some eleven years. While there he obtained an extraordinary diamond weighing over four hundred carats in the rough, which he later sold (in 1717) to the Prince Regent of France for an enormous profit. It became, in very truth, the foundation stone of the family fortunes. The grandfather fired the imagination of the boy William with his Indian experiences. It is not surprising that Pitt should have been strongly impressed from the first with the importance of trade to the country. In one of his early speeches, that against Walpole's convention with Spain, he uttered the telltale sentence: "When trade is at stake, it is your last entrenchment — you must defend it or perish." He had no more faithful followers than the rising merchant class to whom his policies were so congenial. When he was dismissed for a brief time in 1757, the stocks fell on the market, and every great municipality in the kingdom, with London in the lead, offered him its freedom. The Empire that became Pitt's master passion was a magnificent trading company that he believed was a necessity for his country.

The Great Commoner charmed the nation by his rather ostentatious disdain of material rewards in that "golden age of speculation." In 1746 he became Paymaster of the Forces, a position out of which fortunes were regularly made. Since it was customary to issue the Paymaster's money in lump sums, the Paymaster became a sort of independent treasurer, and he usually feathered his own nest. Pitt refused to misuse any of the money, or the interest on balances — to the great enhancement of his reputation. He was undoubtedly a conscientious and hard-working public servant. But he was more, for when the war came the Government found him to be a man who had studied military science from the days when he was a cornet of horse. Naval matters had also

Pitt a conscientious public servant

taken much of his attention before 1756, so that when a conflict that was predominantly a sea-war became Britain's chief concern, the "organizer of victory" was prepared.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Pitt's conception of the fighting fields included the Continent, the Channel and the Mediterranean, the African coast, India, the West Indies, and the disputed boundaries on the American continent. It may seem strange that one who had opposed, as late as 1755, the grant of a subsidy to European allies should have included the continental area in his military plans. He was not consistent in his attitude, simply because he now saw the value of a war that took some French attention in Europe and helped to drain the great enemy's resources. He saw that Prussia defeated and dismembered and Hanover lost would seriously endanger victories elsewhere. Consequently, he threw himself heart and soul into the continental struggle. The Hanoverian army was strengthened, a capable leader for it was borrowed from Frederick, and generous subsidies were paid the Prussian ruler who was in such sore straits.

Yet, the British dictator's attention was really centered on the sea-war and on America. Naturally, Pitt did everything possible to create an efficient navy. And there was need for work here. When William of Orange became King in 1689 the navy contained about one hundred and seventy-five sail. A great increase took place in the war years leading to Utrecht; the fighting ships numbered two hundred and forty-seven in 1713. During Walpole's era the efficiency of the force was not kept up, so that the renewal of the conflict in 1739 found the navy undermanned and poorly equipped. By the Peace of Aix it was again on the mend and increasing in size. So keenly was Pitt conscious of the importance of the navy that he declared Britain should "put herself on board her fleet."¹ The fleet which numbered three hundred and forty-five

¹ Williams, *Pitt*, I, 295.

at the opening of the Seven Years' War was well over four hundred in number by the end of the conflict. Pitt added to the value of the navy even more than the addition in numbers would indicate by requiring faster vessels, better paid men, and really efficient leaders. Anson was at the Admiralty, and such commanders as Boscawen (Old Dreadnought), Keppel, Hawke, and Rodney headed the fleets.

With such a force of sea fighters war on a large scale was possible. The coasts of the Channel and the Mediterranean were carefully watched. Diverting attacks were made on such places as Saint Malo, Le Havre, and Cherbourg; French trading vessels to the number of eight hundred were captured, and the French fleets were put out of commission by capture, destruction, or blockade. In 1759, within a month, the two greatest French fleets were practically annihilated, the Toulon fleet by Boscawen off Cape Saint Vincent, and the Brest fleet by Hawke in Quiberon Bay. Britannia certainly ruled the waves in the closing years of the war.

In India victory crowned British efforts from the outset. Clive returned from England to Madras in the first year of the war, only to learn that the British situation in Bengal was critical. There the local nawab, who declared that he could govern the British with a pair of slippers, captured the factory at Calcutta. And what was worse he imprisoned about one hundred and fifty of the British in a small and poorly ventilated room (the "Black Hole"), where three fourths of them perished in one stifling night. Clive hastened to Bengal, reoccupied Calcutta in January of 1757, captured the French factory of Chandernagore, and brought the nawab to terms. A few months later, after the famous rout at Plassey, the intriguing ruler was replaced by a puppet. The Company became dominant in Bengal and laid the basis for territorial empire on a larger scale in the Ganges Valley than had been attempted heretofore in any part of India. Bengal rapidly became the chief center of the British power in India. Equally successful work was done in the region

The victories
of the fleets

Clive's
Conquest of
Bengal, 1757

farther south. The decisive victory at Wandewash in 1760 was a preliminary to the capture of Pondichéry in the next year. Imperial victory could not have been more decisive than in the Indian "sector."

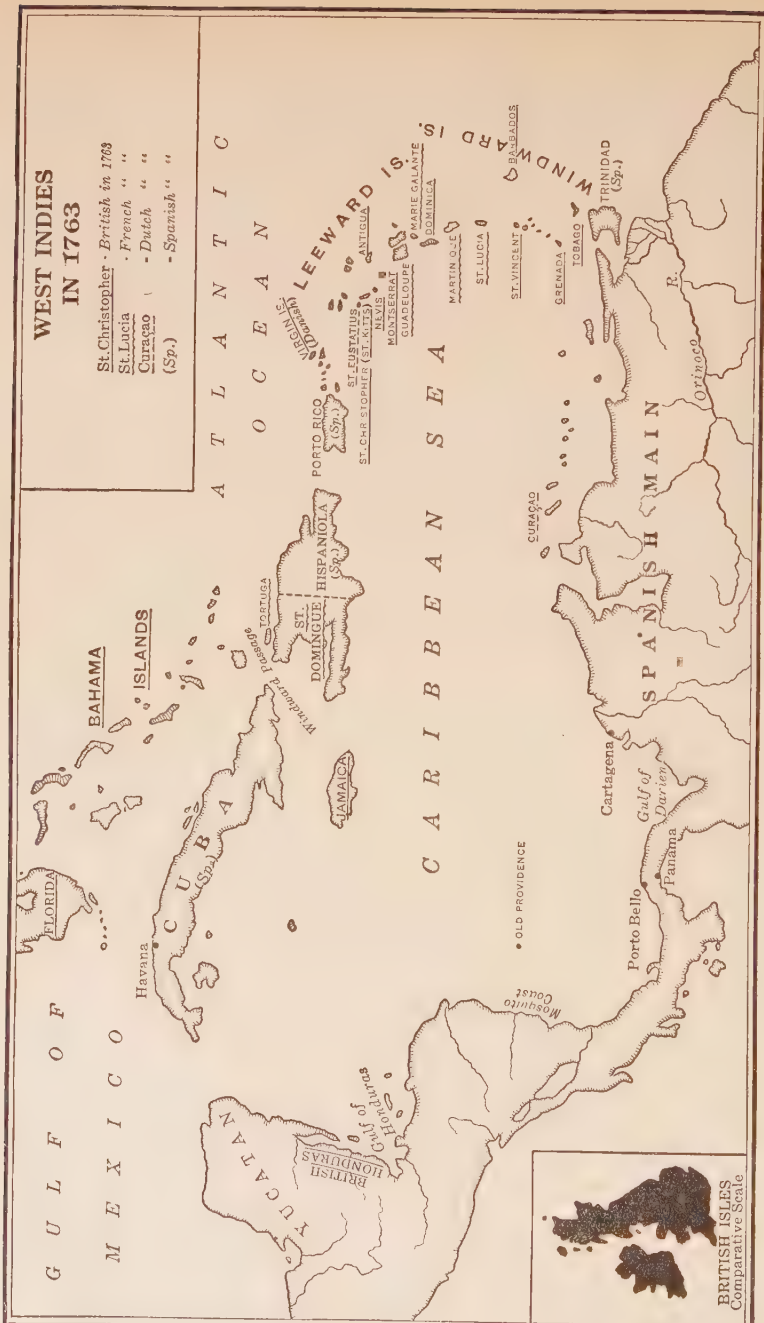
In the Atlantic the work was equally brilliant. Belle Isle off the French coast was seized as a base of attack and observation. The French West African settlements ceased to be; and in the West Indies all the French islands were ultimately captured.

The
Atlantic

But the main effort was spent on defeating France in America. A fourfold plan of campaign was executed in 1758, against Louisburg, in the region of Lake Champlain, against the French posts on the Great Lakes, and in the Ohio Valley. Louisburg was captured, Oswego regained, and Fort Frontenac (at the foot of Lake Ontario) became British. The site of Fort Duquesne was reoccupied, refortified, and renamed (Fort Pitt). By these victories the hold of the French on the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley was broken and the isolation of Canada was brought about. In the next year the obvious task was to press closer to the center of the French power on the Saint Lawrence. Fort Niagara was taken, French troops were driven from Lake Champlain, and the heart of Canada was seized with the capture of Quebec. The brilliant and oft-told story of its capture redounds, in particular, to the skill of the young commander, James Wolfe, though the supporting fleet of Admiral Saunders should not be forgotten. The impregnable fortress so majestically situated above the Saint Lawrence was captured only after Wolfe had successfully scaled the Heights of Abraham above the town. In the battle that followed, both Wolfe and Montcalm were killed, but Quebec also fell. A forlorn hope was turned into a brilliant, if costly, victory. In the next year, 1760, the death knell of French power was assured by the capture of Montreal. Horace Walpole's famous boast, "We subdue the world in three campaigns," mirrored the popular exaltation.

The collapse
of New
France in
America

Yet Pitt's power and the war were coming to a close.



WEST INDIES IN 1763

St. Christopher - British in 1763
St. Lucia - French "
Curaçao - Dutch "
(Sp.) - Spanish "

BRITISH ISLES
Comparative Scale

The youthful and opinionated George III succeeded his aged grandfather in 1760. The continued dictatorship of Pitt was inconsistent with the King's desire to hold the reins. A peace party had arisen that stressed the drain in men and money of Pitt's grandiose campaigns. In his first speech from the throne the King would have insisted that the war was "bloody and expensive" had not Pitt required that he say instead, "expensive, but just and necessary." Critics declared that Pitt was intoxicated with power, in love with war, and that his creation of an empire was a sport and a fancy. Pitt resigned in 1761 as a result of the attempt to limit his mastery of the country and its resources and to curb his unbridled desire for "honorable" war.¹

Peace did not come, however, before a short war with Spain was grafted, as it were, on to the end of the longer struggle. It added to the long list of British victories by the capture of Havana in the West Indies and of Manila in the Far East.

The terms of the peace were, as in 1713, negotiated by the pacific successors of those who had fought the war. But the terms arranged at Paris in 1762 and confirmed early in the next year retained most of the great advantages won by Pitt. France ceded Canada and Nova Scotia, returned Minorca, and promised once more to dismantle Dunkirk. Britain returned to France Belle Isle off the French coast, Gorée off Africa, two small islands south of Newfoundland as bases for fishing, the French trading posts in India, and four of the West Indian islands, of which Martinique and Guadeloupe were the most important. The posts in India were not to be fortified. Spain received back Havana and Manila in return for the recognition of British logging rights on the coast of Honduras and the cession of Florida to Britain. France practically retired from America by giving up claims

¹ Pitt's idea of "honorable" war included the complete destruction of the French colonial empire. "Some time ago," he once said, "I would have been content to bring France to her knees, now I will not rest until I have laid her on her back." Quoted in Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, 438.

to the land east of the Mississippi and by the grant to Spain of Louisiana and New Orleans.

The implications of the Treaty will become clearer as the reign of George III is studied. Britain was moderate in its demands, for fear of arousing a dangerous coalition against a settlement that was too one-sided. Even so, France and Spain were to take the first good opportunity for revenge. Yet with all its fancied moderation Great Britain added in 1763 to its definitive maritime supremacy a colonial and commercial leadership that seemed unassailable. Pitt consciously built a great commercial empire. The City Fathers of London saw this clearly when, after Pitt's death, they erected in the Guildhall a monument on which they inscribed a tribute to his success in raising the nation to a "high pitch of prosperity and glory . . . by commerce for the first time united with and made to flourish by war." The sufferings of the people on behalf of this "prosperity and glory" are difficult to estimate. We can at least realize the public cost; in seven years the national debt leaped from seventy to nearly one hundred and fifty million pounds. And the attempt to carry this increased burden was to cause a rift in the empire a decade after it had reached zenith point.

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE SOCIAL SCENE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BRITAIN

A PAUSE should be made before entering on the long and crowded stretch that is known as the reign of George III to look at the life of England and Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century. The political evolution has been traced through the peaceful and corrupt days of Walpole to the conclusion of the warlike and also corrupt years of Pitt's monopoly of power. The manners and customs of these decades are very important if we would understand the spirit of the century and appreciate the life of the people. In examining England and Scotland during the reigns of the first two Georges, it will be necessary to leave the agricultural and industrial conditions to a separate and fuller treatment. Nor shall we make a tour of Ireland.¹

Britain in
the first
half of the
century

The population of Great Britain was very slowly increasing from causes similar to those operating in earlier centuries. By 1760 the inhabitants of England numbered over six millions; those of Scotland, less than a million and a half. At least three fourths of the population still dwelt in the country. Although London remained overwhelmingly the leading municipality, several of the provincial towns were growing rapidly by 1760. Bristol and Manchester seem to have reached the fifty thousand mark. Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, and Liverpool were increasing, and might be considered as the next group in size. Glasgow's growth was very rapid, however, only after the Industrial Revolution made it the center of Scottish manufacture and shipping. At the opening of the century it had not even fifteen thousand inhabitants. Edinburgh possessed about thirty thousand people at the

Population

¹ For Ireland, see Chapter XXXI.

time of the Union (1707), and had hardly fifty thousand when George III became King.

In spite of poor sanitation and naïve ideas of medicine, London continued to enlarge beyond the bounds already described.¹ The "polite" end of town was reaching farther and farther west. Oxford Road yet remained essentially the northern boundary. Marylebone was still in fields, and in the district now known as Mayfair — east of Hyde Park — the May fair was celebrated until the middle of the century. Chesterfield, who lived in the neighborhood, complained of its thieves and murderers. The population was not expanding rapidly south of the Thames as London Bridge was the only thoroughfare crossing the river before 1736. In that year, however, the completion of Westminster Bridge replaced a horse-ferry and opened up the Lambeth district. In the region east and south of Mayfair, including, of course, the new Hanover Square, centered the life of the aristocracy, "a few thousand people who thought the world was made for them, and that all outside their own fraternity were unworthy of notice."²

PUBLIC VICES

The life of the country as a whole seems to an observer of the twentieth century to be on a decidedly different level from that of to-day. Vices that are now restricted or obsolete were practiced with an amazing shamelessness. There was a coarseness throughout the social structure, an amount of frivolity and impudent vice, that was to seem out of keeping as life developed on its finer side. Unblushing corruption of politics was by no means an exception.

In the early eighteenth century drunkenness was exceedingly prevalent. It had been gaining ground for some time, although the English were never noted as a people of great sobriety. The introduction of coffee seems to have diminished drunkenness somewhat in the latter part of the previous century. But

Prevalence
of gin
drinking

¹ See pp. 479, 521.

² Trevelyan, *Fox*, p. 67.

the lessened importation of French wines as a result of the wars tended greatly to increase the manufacture and consumption of gin by all classes. Its use became so alarming in the eighteenth century as to constitute a "national curse."¹ By 1750 the output reached the enormous total of 11,000,000 gallons annually. As Fielding well put it, "drinking became a trade," and few were the public men not under its deadening influence. Walpole, though a heavy drinker, kept control of himself, but the same cannot be said of Bolingbroke, of Carteret, or of Harley. By the end of the first quarter of the century, because of the growing cheapness of gin, the vice infected the mass of the population. "Retailers of gin were accustomed to hang out painted boards announcing that their customers could be made drunk for a penny, and dead drunk for two-pence, and should have straw for nothing."²

The country at last became alarmed over the consequences of the curse. It was commonly held that the lower classes spent half their earnings for drink. Its restriction
Immorality and crime were only too prevalent,
and the cause was declared to be "this new kind of drunkenness, unknown to our ancestors." The dangerously increasing death rate was also laid to this cause; in London, for example, in 1741 there were twice as many deaths as births. According to a report of the London physicians in 1750, the prevalence of diseases, especially the dropsy, was to be laid directly to gin. The Government took the matter in hand during the next year by passing severe legislation which restricted the sale of the drink, and which regulated public houses more carefully. Another cause for the diminution of gin drinking was the growing habit of tea drinking. The use of tea became common among the upper classes about the opening of the century; before the middle of the century it was generally used among the lower classes of both England and Scotland for both the morning meal and

¹ Gin should not be confused with the various beers. The former has a high alcoholic content, often as much as forty per cent.

² Lecky, *op. cit.*, II, p. 101.

the "afternoon's entertainment." Already by the mid-century there was a startling reduction in the returns from the duty on spirituous liquors.

A vice connected with drinking was gambling. The speculative mania was but one side of the pastime. In
 Gambling wealthy circles gambling was so general that society was almost one vast casino where those in charge of matters of State had every facility for neglecting their duties and ruining themselves without the least delay. The fashionable center of the enthralling business was White's Chocolate House. The stakes were often very high, even exceeding the yearly income of the Secretary of State. The standing rule at one of the clubs was a stock of fifty guineas. Bolingbroke won three thousand guineas from another lord at hazard. The Duke of Devonshire lost an estate at basset (faro). Nor were the women far behind the men in their love of gambling.

It is not surprising to learn that lotteries were exceedingly popular at the time. They were looked at askance when
 Lotteries introduced in the seventeenth century, but in the period which we are studying they were very prevalent. Public and private enterprises were easily financed by the gambler's hope to draw a prize instead of a blank. Westminster Bridge was built largely by this means, and the foundation collections of the British Museum were purchased in this way. Turnpikes and canals, colleges and churches were constructed by means of lotteries. The method was as common in the colonies as at home. The famous Harvard College lottery brought in thousands a year.¹ Feeling against the lottery did not lead to its general disuse in English-speaking communities until about 1825.

The insensitiveness of the time is to be found on every hand. The conditions in the prisons continued to be ex-
 Conditions in the jails ceedingly bad. No provision was yet made for segregating those guilty of the grosser crimes. Debtors were to be found in great numbers in detention

¹ See Channing, *History of the United States*, IV, 24-27.

houses that made the chance of life very small. The jailer regarded his wards as a means of acquiring wealth, and the care with which they were treated depended on the flow of funds to the keeper's pocket. Debtors, in consequence, suffered severely; Dr. Johnson declared about the mid-century that in the prisons one out of four died every year from mistreatment. Jail fever was very prevalent about 1750, and was so little a respecter of persons as to attack judges and mayors and aldermen as well as prisoners. To counteract the contagion it became the custom to put sweet-smelling herbs in the prisoners' dock.

The glimmer of a new day is seen in the efforts of a few to alleviate the conditions. James Oglethorpe was led to inquire into prison maintenance as the result of a friend's death while confined at the Fleet for debt.¹ The parliamentary inquiry of 1729 Beginnings of philanthropy which resulted led to a keen consciousness of the conditions. Publicists and parliamentarians expressed their indignation. Oglethorpe did more by establishing Georgia in 1732 as a place where debtors might find a home, once they were freed. The improvement of conditions was tardy, in spite of much disapproval, for the moral deadness of the time was but slowly aroused. With the growth of the philanthropic spirit and especially with the unrelenting work of John Howard in the latter half of the century, the prisons were to see some improvement.

The prevailing brutality of life is also found in the attitude toward executions for crime. Offenders were sent to the gallows almost with alacrity, for executions were Public executions still a favorite public spectacle. Distinguished criminals were exhibited by jailers for admission fees, and were followed on their road to Tyburn by thousands. At the execution in Edinburgh that led to the Porteous riots one schoolmaster engaged windows for his pupils. The novelist and magistrate, Henry Fielding, advocated private executions as a means to mitigate crime. Yet the public

¹ Fleet Prison was located in London near the stream of that name (see map on page 479). It became a place of confinement for debtors in 1641.

whipping of women was not abolished until early in the next century.

The people were somewhat less brutal in their sports than in earlier centuries; human beings were becoming more conscious of the sufferings of the lower animals. Changes in public amusements Bear-baiting had declined, especially among the upper classes; because of its expensiveness it was replaced among the lower classes by bull-baiting. Pope and Steele, Johnson and Gay, all inveighed against useless barbarities, especially against the practice of vivisection — one of the results of the new scientific interest, but only too easily open to abuse. Cock-fighting was not on the decrease, partly because it gave an easy opportunity for gambling. The fights took place often between thirty-two cocks, sixteen on a side — the Welsh main — and were terminated with the ringing of the church bells when but one animal remained alive.

The almost complete disregard of the cruelties of negro slavery will not be surprising. Great Britain was the great slave-trading nation of the century, and the country was much more concerned in 1739, for example, over the loss of Jenkins's ear than with the horrors of the middle passage. Oglethorpe was a pioneer here, as well, by forbidding slavery in Georgia. The colonists, however, found the prohibition so unsatisfactory that slaves were permitted after 1749, along with requirements for their religious instruction. Nor was the human life of Great Britain itself highly regarded. Kidnaping of boys, especially those resident in the more backward districts, was even a trade. Aberdeen, in close proximity to the Highlands, became notorious in 1742 for decoying young boys from the country for the use of the planters in Virginia. The return of one of the victims brought about the exposure of the practice and led to some betterment. The press gang was regularly used to furnish men for the army and navy. If Smollett's picture in *Roderick Random* was true of the conditions on board English vessels, it is little wonder that force was needed to keep up the quotas.

The violence of life is well illustrated by the great prevalence of robbery and crime. Parts of London were especially subject to bands of vicious merry-makers. ^{Crime} Certain districts, Whitefriars in particular, had ^{prevention} long been considered a refuge for debtors and a haven for the worst characters. This was ended by law in 1723. The improved lighting of the streets by numerous glass lamps after 1736 also aided the efforts of the law-abiding citizens. The novelist, Fielding, who also served in a disinterested manner as a Bow Street magistrate, did much to improve conditions by establishing a new and more efficient police — the Bow Street runners — to break up the gangs infesting London. By the mid-century conditions in the metropolis were much improved. Yet the country roads remained for some time relatively unsafe. The famous highwayman, Dick Turpin, was executed in 1739. A rapid decrease in highway robbery was to come only with the improved surface conditions of the roads and with the increase of travel.¹

A social reform, long overdue, was the famous Marriage Act of 1753. Before the reform of the law marriage could be effected by mere consent; the ceremony might ^{Marriage} be performed by any priest in orders, and regis- ^{Act of 1753} tration was unnecessary. Since divorce was not attainable, the practice of duping desirable and wealthy persons into an indissoluble bond became a serious cause of increased immorality and crime. In the region of the Fleet prison, parsons, often there for debt, were attached to every tavern. Clandestine marriages caused no end of trouble, even if the easy marriage law was a boon to the poorer classes. By Lord Hardwicke's Act of 1753, marital conditions were regularized to the lasting benefit of society. Marriage was valid in England henceforth only if performed by a priest in orders after banns had been published for three successive Sundays in the parish church, or unless a license had been obtained. The consent of the parents or guardians was necessary for the lawful marriage of minors. After

¹ The changes in transportation are treated in Chapter XXXII.

1753 oppressed lovers had to go to Guernsey, or the Isle of Man, or to Gretna Green in Scotland ¹ to avoid the inconveniences of ordered marriage.

The blind opposition of the lower classes to the Marriage Act was but one illustration of their conservatism. The long-overdue reform of the calendar in 1751 also aroused much objection. The old Julian calendar was so inexact in ordering the length of the solar year that by 1752 the calendar was eleven days behind the sun. This discrepancy had long been recognized on the Continent, where the corrected calendar of Pope Gregory of 1582 was in use in all countries save Russia and Sweden. The year in England still began on Lady Day, March 25th. The reform of the calendar provided, therefore, that the year 1752 should begin on January first, and that eleven days should be omitted in September. The determined opposition, which was expressed in the slogan, "Give us back our eleven days," did not prevent the enforcement of the needed measure.²

Bigotry was more successful against another measure, the naturalization of Jews. They were exempted from the Marriage Act, along with Quakers. Yet a bill to allow the Jews the rights of citizens was so much objected to that it had to be withdrawn. Another step of importance was the discontinuance of Latin as the language of written pleadings in the law courts. This reform came in 1730 in spite of the determined opposition of the Chief Justice. A well-known step was taken at this time, also, to cut down the prevalence of the deadly smallpox. Inoculation was introduced from Turkey by Mary Wortley Montagu (famous for her letters) about 1725. It encountered much hatred on all sides. Popular feeling

¹ This famous matrimonial mill of the eighteenth century lay at the head of Solway Firth just across the Border.

² Dates for English history between the acceptance of the new calendar on the continent and its recognition in Great Britain are often given in both New Style and Old Style (N.S. and O.S.). For example, George Washington was born on February 11, 1731 (O.S.), but after 1752 his birthday would be February 22, 1732 (N.S.).

was bolstered up by the opposition of physicians and the tirades of theologians, who declared that inoculation was but an imitation of the devil's work in covering Job with boils. Queen Caroline did much to make the innovation acceptable by having it tried successfully on five condemned criminals, who were pardoned in return for undergoing the test. Later on her two children were inoculated.¹

UPPER-CLASS TASTES

On turning to the amusements of polite society, we find much that helps to lighten the picture of eighteenth-century Britain. There was a growing appreciation of the world of nature, induced to a great extent Gardening by the popularity of science and experimentation. The new vogue was evidenced by the growing interest in gardening. The older gardens had been exceedingly formal after the accepted French style, with symmetrical — even geometrical — flower beds, and with animals and varied figures and mottoes made by carving trees and shrubbery. The wondrous art of improving nature had become almost a “form of sculpture” until the reversion to nature brought a refreshing simplicity. A certain William Kent is sometimes called the father of landscape gardening in England, although King William should have some credit for giving an impulse to the new taste. Addison and Pope were two ardent gardeners after the new style. Lord Cobham's garden at Stowe was a famous example, and Kensington Gardens in London were laid out by Kent. Public gardens for amusement, such as those of Vauxhall, were popular places of resort for the city dweller. The interest in botany was constantly growing, particularly as a result of the epoch-making discoveries of the Swedish Linnæus, the father of modern botany.

The love of nature did not yet result in much interest in wilder natural scenery. Inland watering places were very

¹ The safer practice of vaccination — inoculation with cowpox as a preventive of smallpox — was discovered by Edward Jenner sixty years later.

much frequented by the upper classes. Tunbridge Wells, Watering Epsom, and Buxton were popular centers. places Cheltenham in the Cotswolds was found at this time to contain wells that became prized for their medicinal value, and was a growing resort. Bath, however, was the fashionable place, especially during the "rule" of Beau Nash.¹ Sea bathing was reserved for later times along with mountain climbing. The popularity of Brighton and Scarborough and their numerous competitors began after the mid-century with the recommendation by the medical profession of sea bathing for certain diseases.

A marked interest was aroused during this time in painting and picture collecting. The fashion for gathering pictures, especially from Italy, was practiced by even so plain-minded a man as Walpole. In spite of the indifference of the first two Georges private galleries became common. Most of the notable work in this particular form of art actually done in England was the work of foreigners. Portraiture was most in vogue, and the German Kneller was the acknowledged leader. Yet despite the lack of instruction in painting to be found on the island, England did produce one original genius in Hogarth. His homely and truthful pictures of the society of his day were made with the purpose of pointing out the prevalent follies and vices.

Music was also much regarded. But here again the native talent was not conspicuous, despite the foundation of the Royal Academy of Music in 1720. The musical development of the time was marked by the introduction and enthusiastic acceptance of Italian opera. It appeared in England at the very beginning of the century, and Italians were imported along with their opera to sing the principal parts. As they could not sing English, the very odd arrangement arose of having the principal parts sung in Italian and the lesser ones in English. Soon

¹ He forbade men to carry swords within his "dominions," a prohibition that had considerable influence on the substitution of canes for swords by the "beau monde." Umbrellas were carried by women, but were regarded as a sign of effeminacy if used by men.

the deference to foreign taste made the operas wholly Italian. Bitter rivalries grew up between composers, and also between singers. For example, the Italian composer, Bononcini, was upheld by one faction and Handel, the famous German musician, by another. The Hanoverian kings warmly commended the interest in foreign music and naturally espoused the cause of Handel. Though he confined himself at first to opera, the unpopularity which factional strife brought led him to give his attention more and more to sacred music, a field in which he was without a peer. Strangely enough, it was the good fortune of Dublin to hear the first production of his *Messiah*. The composer, fearful of the reception that the *Messiah* might receive in London, presented it in Dublin early in 1742.¹ Shortly afterward he returned to England where his fame was henceforth secure. On his death in 1759 he was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Foreign opera with all its artificialities appealed to the social set of the time because it dealt with the heart experiences of lords and ladies. It was widely de- Opera
nounced as an absurd novelty and as the foreign innovation of Papists. One of the sharpest attacks made upon it was by the English composer, John Gay, who ridiculed the new fad in his *Beggars' Opera*. This burlesque, suggested by Swift, was extremely well done. For a time it did laugh Italian opera out of listeners, and it has proved a dramatic piece of permanent attraction.

LITERARY AND INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS

If Georgian England enjoyed opera it found even more satisfaction in the spoken drama. In spite of some improvements over the conditions of the Restora- Conditions
tion the stage was not marked in the early years of the century by much decorum, modesty, or morality. In 1711 the Church complained against its immorality, and even Swift accused it of being one of the chief causes of cor-

¹ The prospective attendance was so great that notices were sent about requesting the men to come without their swords and the ladies without their hoops.

ruption. The zealous William Law published a sharp attack on the stage, toward the end of George I's reign, in which he declared that "to suppose an innocent play, is like supposing innocent lust, sober rant, or harmless profaneness."

The result of a desire for a better stage, one at least as decorous as that of France, led to a change. Addison and Steele aided the tendency by their more moral Revival of Shakespeare plays. Probably the best criterion of the advance, however, was the revival of Shakespeare after long years of neglect. His plays were still acted, but in a rewritten form to meet the demand of the theater-going public. That this was seen to be a mistake shows a decided improvement. The first critical edition of Shakespeare's plays appeared in 1709, and a dozen more followed in the half century. By the forties the plays were revived on the stage with marked success. In 1741 the *Merchant of Venice* was produced in its original form for the first time in one hundred years. The success of the Shakespearean revival was in large part the work of David Garrick. His careful acting marked a revolution in stage work, for he came to his parts with an historical as well as an histrionic sense. He also returned to the natural manner instead of continuing the slow and pompous declamation then in style.

There was extraordinary literary activity in every form of expression. Realistic tales such as Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and satires like Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* The novel were supplanting the artificial French romances. And the novel, under the workmanship of Richardson, Smollett, and Fielding was taking a more natural turn as well as serving to preserve for later times the life of the period. The novelists sought — it is true even of Fielding's robust realism — to display "the beauty of virtue which may attract the admiration of mankind."¹ The essay was handled with expert skill by Addison and Steele, and again as a means of raising standards both social and literary. The peculiarity of the time was the appearance of the

¹ Preface to *Tom Jones*.

periodical essay. Addison, especially, became a literary master through the regular appearance of such journals as the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*. And they had many imitators. More elaborate magazines also appeared during these years; the first to make its bow was *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1731. Newspapers were also much in evidence. Indeed, so menacing did their prevalence seem that critics were already complaining of their baneful and undue influence.

The exuberant literary activity, to which we have been able to give but the briefest reference, was of great service in democratizing culture. The intellectual class was growing rapidly, especially by the addition of women. The restless fecundity of the period

Growth of
the intellectual
class

compared with earlier times grew to a considerable degree from a deep concern in political matters, in the rivalry of parties, and in the disputatiousness of theologians and philosophers. The writers and thinkers of the time seem to a modern spectator extraordinarily contentious, fond of biting satire, expert in pungent criticism. Seldom in the history of English literature have the outstanding writers been more concerned with politics. Attacks on prominent persons are to be found in abundance in all the literary forms, and even in the pictures of Hogarth. Nor are we surprised to learn that the pictorial caricature (cartoon) became naturalized in Britain during these years. A capital illustration of the political satire is Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull*, published in 1713 as an attack on the Whigs. The work popularized, if it did not create, John Bull as the typical Englishman. This exceedingly humorous work pictures the honest English clothier, John Bull, and the linen draper, Nic Frog, as the dupes of Lewis Baboon of France and Lord Strutt of Spain.

Mental vitality was seemingly abundant everywhere save in the old centers of learning, Oxford and Cambridge. They were almost completely sterile during this time. The attendance at the universities greatly declined from that of the previous century, and there was

Educational
facilities

little if any pretense of stimulating those who came. They had almost become monastic establishments for "clerical sinecures with a tinge of letters." Gentlemen commoners enjoyed the privilege of living as they pleased. Examinations were eluded by both pupil and teacher. Charles James Fox found Oxford agreeable because he there enjoyed an opportunity to read as he liked. But Pitt did not think enough of Eton or Oxford to send his favorite son to either of the two schools that he had attended. Gibbon, the historian, was for a time at Oxford, only to criticize it bitterly as an "English cloister" where the inmates were "steeped in port and prejudice." The so-called public schools, such as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Westminster, were not public in our sense, but essentially private academies for the fortunate. A favorite and indispensable part of education for the children of the upper class was the "Grand Tour" on the Continent. Since traveling was tedious and expensive, one experience was apt to suffice. The journey was a swing around the circle through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy, and France. Attention was given to the acquirement of the French language and Italian pictures, but Alpine climbing was still in the future.

THE CHURCH

The Church was deeply concerned with theological and philosophical controversy at this time. Traditional Christianity was much on the defense, on account of the insinuating influence of the rationalistic tendencies. John Locke had done much to produce a belief in a Christianity that should be reasonable. The scientific tendencies and experimentation also served to arouse an interest in a natural religion in contrast to one that was supernaturally revealed. The most prominent defender, apart from Locke, of a reasonable Christianity was John Toland, but his *Christianity Not Mysterious* was so radical a defense that it was ordered burned by the hangman. Others even went beyond the apologetic position of Toland and advocated a real religion of nature in which

Desire for a
"reasonable"
Christianity

nothing should be accepted that was not universal. The principal advocate of this form of belief, known as Deism, was Matthew Tindal; it was in 1730 that he raised such a tremendous stir by publishing his famous book, *Christianity As Old As The Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature*. This aroused a veritable tempest in which frantic efforts were made to defend the belief in the Trinity, in miracles, and in revelation. Bishop Butler's famous *Analogy of Religion* was the most noteworthy reply to Tindal.

That the religious life was at a low ebb is indicated by the general standard of the time and the heat aroused by theoretical questions. Skepticism, widespread and influential, was the logical outcome of the controversies. The philosopher and historian, David Hume, is typical. Nor were the English rationalistic influences confined to the island. The visits of Voltaire and Montesquieu to England in the twenties and thirties led to the spread of rationalism to the fruitful soil of France. And it could not help but affect America. The *Autobiography* of Franklin and the writings of Jefferson are two prominent illustrations of a deistic and rationalistic point of view.

Disgust with a rationalized Christianity was a natural result of the excessive controversies and of the moral laxity of the time. There were bound to be those who found a mystical and emotional interpretation the chief driving power of a good life in an age when religious enthusiasm was scorned. The great Evangelical movement was, in short, a reaction both to rationalism and to the "golden immorality" of Englishmen high and low. John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was the inspirer of the revival of what he liked to call "heart religion." He was born in 1703 at Epworth in Lincolnshire, the son of an Anglican clergyman. He went to Oxford only to find it falling so far short of his expectations that he organized the Holy Club for serious conversation, Bible study, and devotion. Out of it grew a great emotional revival. After

returning from a missionary experience in Oglethorpe's new colony, John Wesley suffered an emotional change (1738) which he regarded as his "conversion." His spiritual struggle produced a fiery prophet of a simple, plain religion which he and his followers carried to every part of the country. His best known fellow workers were his brother, Charles Wesley, and the great preacher, George Whitefield. They spoke in the fields to the assembled rustics and in the open mine-pits to thousands of eager listeners. John Wesley had so remarkable a constitution that his capacity for continuous work has hardly been equalled and is almost incredible. He also possessed organizing ability of a high order. The Wesleyan (Methodist) Church was his creation, and the Evangelical movement as a whole was to spread in time to most of the Protestant churches.

There were many crudities in the revival of emotional religion. The emphasis on a heart change caused much regrettable hyper-enthusiasm. There was bitter controversy within the ranks of the Evangelicals themselves, even Wesley and Whitefield parting company on the doctrine of the freedom of the will. The religion of Wesley was in some points very naïve, for he believed in opening the Bible at random to find God's will, and in casting lots to learn the divine wish. He was convinced that comets were ministers of warning, and that earthquakes were messengers of judgment. The emphasis on conversion and other emotional experiences, such as Christian perfection, were to produce perversions to which Wesley himself would never have consented. And the discovery of the Bible's worth just as rationalism and science were rising caused a deep rift to develop between science and religion. But the good that was effected by the Methodist movement far outweighed any such shortcomings. The revival of enthusiasm, the unflagging zeal for the moral and mental uplift of the lower classes, the harsh condemnation of the comfortable and fashionable vices of the time were to work like yeast in leavening the country. The

Effects of
the evangeli-
cal move-
ment

social service of the movement will become evident as we note the rise of humanitarianism, the anti-slavery crusade, and the growth of interest in democracy. The work of Methodism was but begun when George III came to the throne in 1760. Its founder did not end his indefatigable labors until 1791.

SCOTLAND

Special, if brief, attention should be directed to some of the peculiar developments in Scotland. For the northern part of Britain the first half of the eighteenth century is one of the most important periods in its history. During that half-century Scotland rapidly evolved from a backward feudalized state to take its place beside its stronger southern neighbor. There were as yet two Scotlands, the Lowlands and the Highlands. In general, the Lowlands were subject to the influences that have already been reviewed. Yet the country was poorly qualified to take full advantage of its opportunities. The Union in 1707 was bitterly regretted by a majority of the Lowland Scots. The country became even more backward politically because its representatives were largely ciphers in the Westminster Parliament. The small population and the lack of wealth made it difficult for immediate advance in oversea trade. Though the population was a sixth that of England, the revenue was not one thirty-sixth of the English revenue. The extension of the salt tax to Scotland in 1714 ruined the Scottish fishing business. The imposition of a malt tax eleven years later was also bitterly resented. Agriculturally the Lowlands were very backward.¹ Turnips and potatoes came into general use only after this period and long after their adoption in England. Even in the Lowlands agriculture was still under ancient feudal limitations. But by the middle of the century this period of stagnation can be regarded as at an end, for the

Material
backward-
ness of
Scotland

¹ The introduction of winnowing fans in 1710 was opposed on the ground that the raising of an artificial wind was contrary to that verse of Scripture that declared the "wind bloweth where it listeth."

agricultural revolution was about to work even greater relative change in Scotland than in England.

Industrially and commercially the Lowlands were very backward and the Highlands did not count. The Scottish woolen industry suffered at first by the Union, until northern Britain was able to compete with the English factories in the fineness of its goods. The change in industry was rapid even before the mid-century. A manufacture of fine linen grew up, centered at Paisley. Glasgow from being an unimportant village grew to be a great commercial hive, a real competitor of Liverpool and Bristol. In 1760 the great iron works of Carron were founded by Roebuck; and James Watt, the famed inventor, was then a young engineer in his twenties at the University of Glasgow.

The Highlands at the time of the Union were as a world apart. They were almost inaccessible to the traveler. Strangers were not welcomed, for the clan system was yet in full swing. The chief had an hereditary jurisdiction which included the right of life and death over his subjects. The Highlanders lived with arms in their hands, despised manual labor, delighted in constant petty clan warfare, and continuously harried their Lowland neighbors in order to "lift" cattle. They spoke a language that set them apart from the rest of the island, and to this wild region the law that existed elsewhere was largely unknown. This accounts for the picturesque career of so well known a personage as Rob Roy. Those of the old Highland stamp deemed it a shame to want anything that could be had for the taking.

The district was the more troublesome because the stubborn pugnacity of the Highlanders usually included loyalty to the Stuart cause. After the rising of 1715 an act was passed for disarming the Highlands, but it could not be enforced until some sort of order was effected. This became more possible after the work of General Wade, following the rebellion of 1715. He established posts for observation in the Highlands and for

the protection of the Lowlands; the hated "redcoats" instilled some respect for the Government at Westminster. His greatest achievement was the building of military roads that were sufficiently good to merit the praise:

Had you seen these roads before they were made,
You would lift up your hands and bless General Wade.

Yet even in 1740 it took Lord Lovat eleven days to travel from Inverness to Edinburgh.

The rebellion of 1745 in behalf of the "king over the water" led to a determination to bring, once and for all, the center of Stuart hopes into close union with the rest of the country. A new disarming act was passed, and this time it was enforced. The effectiveness of the measure was partly the result of the diversion of warlikeness into other channels. Pitt conceived the happy plan of forming Highland regiments for the war against France. The Black Watch and other groups were to prove very useful and picturesque additions to the nation's armies.

The legislation after 1745 included also the prohibition of Highland dress. Hitherto the plaid and the philabeg (kilt) had distinguished the Highlander from the Lowlander, and the diversely patterned tartans distinguished clan from clan. The rigid enforcement of the change of dress to the long-skirted Lowland coat in place of the romantic Gaelic garb led to hardship and bitterness. This law undoubtedly helped to merge the clansmen into the general population.¹

Still another measure was passed and so well enforced that it did much to break down Highland clannishness. The abolition of hereditary jurisdictions in 1746 was a direct blow at the clan system. The highland chief, as a result, lost his exalted position, and became simply a landlord like the Lowland laird. The chance for another Stuart rising was ended, and the Highlands became an intrinsic part of Great Britain. The change

¹ The wrench which these two measures brought to many a confirmed Highlander has been unforgettably portrayed by Sir Walter Scott in *The Highland Widow*. The Highland costume was permitted, of course, in the regiments recruited from the district, and after 1782 it was again allowed for civilian wear.

brought evils, for the new landlords often proved as rapacious as their Lowland fellows. The mountainous districts were poor at best, and the population could ill stand increased burdens. A rapid depopulation of many districts in the Highlands followed; some of the inhabitants were drawn into the army, many sought the Lowlands as industry required more workers, and thousands left for the colonies.

On the whole, the first half of the eighteenth century was a hopeful period. The improvement, intellectually and morally, was very marked toward the close of the reign of George II. The groundwork for real democracy was being laid throughout the island. In the coming of a morally upright King to the throne in the person of George III, in the ostentatious political purity of a Pitt, and in the fervid moral efforts of a Wesley, there were at work forces sufficiently potent to make Britain after 1760 very dissimilar from the sort of land it was in the first half of the eighteenth century.

General
character of
early
eighteenth-
century
Britain

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CHAPTER XXX

CIVIL AND IMPERIAL DISCONTENTS

GEORGE III was at the head of the British State for sixty years, the longest reign in the country's history, save for George III, that of his granddaughter, Victoria. These years comprehend a large number of very influential activities, much more than can be examined in a single chapter. There was the constitutional issue as to the place of King and Cabinet in directing the Government, and the kindred question of democratizing the Parliament. Linked with this problem was the difficulty of the relations between the maturing colonies in America and the mother country. In the third place, the epoch-making changes in industry and agriculture became abundantly influential before the end of George III's reign. And they were tested by the stupendous struggles against revolutionary France and Napoleon before the King died. For the present, our attention will be given to the efforts of the King to establish himself as the real ruler of the State, and to the disastrous war with the colonies that is so closely linked with this constitutional struggle.

THE REVIVAL OF STRONG MONARCHY

George III, twenty-two at his accession, was of different stuff from his two predecessors. Since he was born and reared in England, the new ruler made no effort to interlace British and Hanoverian interests. The wits even declared he could not find Hanover on the map. Nor was it necessary. The electorate was safe until Napoleon endangered everything on the Continent. George's education was attended to carefully, but it was restricted, since his narrow-minded mother allowed a naturally strong intellect to remain "uncultivated by study and overgrown with prejudices." He was enjoined "to be

a King " but at the same time was not adequately trained for the administrative duties that he insisted on assuming at one of the most critical times in British history. George III, in addition to holding obsolete ideas, was endowed with stubbornness, was willing to use almost any means to attain his end, and resented any sign of independence in his departmental heads. His influence was very great, nevertheless, for the King was a man of decorum, of rigid temperance, and of moral standards far higher than those of George I or George II, or of the generality of the nobility. No one ever went to his work with more conscientious determination, with a finer sense of duty, with a keener patriotism.

In 1760 the Government was in the possession of the Whig oligarchy, long accustomed to a ruler who knew his place as the decorative head of the State. The mag- Government in 1760 nates who governed England did so by the seemingly limitless use of Crown patronage. The young King determined to obtain his position as real head of the State by the control of this patronage, and by a personal manipulation of the House of Commons. He did not have in mind the purification of the constitutional situation, but only its subordination to himself. He would be the "Patriot King" of whom Bolingbroke wrote,¹ a monarch like William III—the real head of a State in which parties did not control. To attain this end the King had to "buck" the Whig aristocracy that had grown dominant in the past forty years. In their places he would select, irrespective of their party connections, the best men he could find for the administrative work of the country.

Even though the tangled political web of the sixties cannot be followed in detail, we must realize the general course of the development. At the very outset a Rise of a King's party favorite, Lord Bute, was forced into the Cabinet. In the general election of 1761 the King did not allow Newcastle the control of the patronage, though it had been his congenial task for decades. The result was the breakdown of the long-standing Whig majority by the creation of a

¹ *The Idea of a Patriot King.*

King's party, a new Toryism, as it were, to take the place of the old and discredited Jacobites. To make the outlook more dubious, Pitt resigned even before the departure of Newcastle. Pitt was without question the most efficient administrator that the country possessed, the sort of man the King might have used, since he tolerated the Whig oligarchs that he might dictate the country's policy. Yet his imperiousness made it impossible for him to work with the King. Never again, save for a brief time, was the "organizer of victory" to take the position of leadership for which he was fitted. Instead, Pitt's following became the nucleus of a reformed Whig opposition, a continuation of the old "Patriot" group, determined to reform the State as well as deprive the monarch of his power.

The King's Friends, as the new "Tories" were called, were not a distinguished lot. The years that follow 1760 have been well characterized as a "period of continuous ministerial failure, culminating in a supreme disaster, the disruption of the Empire."¹ Bute was compelled to resign on account of his unpopularity shortly after the treaty of peace ended the Seven Years' War. George Grenville took his place in 1763 and held office for two troubled years. In spite of a reputation as the first man of his time in dealing with national trade and resources, Grenville succeeded in making the royal task of government very difficult by the issues that he raised in the country, within Parliament, and in the American colonies. He, to a critic like Burke, did not have "large and liberal ideas in the management of great affairs."

Popular feeling was aroused by a bitter domestic controversy. John Wilkes was a member of Parliament, a virulent opposition pamphleteer, and a man of the most dissolute habits and mind. His attack on the peace in his paper, the *North Briton*, was bitter; he even went to the extent of writing the names of his opponents out in full. The King seems to have thought the matter a personal insult, and Grenville pro-

John Wilkes
and the
North Briton

¹ Robertson, *England under the Hanoverians*, p. 230.

ceeded to take measures against the writer and printers of the scurrilous sheet. The attack for seditious libel was made by a general warrant, that is, the persons were not specified; it led to the arrest of some fifty individuals along with Wilkes. A tremendous turmoil resulted. Though Wilkes was far from being of the stuff of which heroes should be made, he became a popular idol as a result of his expulsion from the House of Commons. The validity of a general warrant was raised by Wilkes as well as the question of the privilege of a member of the House; above all, the breach between Parliament and people was widened.

A more serious issue was raised over the question of taxing the colonies. The "bloody and expensive" Seven Years' War had doubled the national debt, making it ^{The war debt} nearly £140,000,000. The sum seemed appalling; Grenville even feared national bankruptcy. The war had been without question a "colony war," as Adam Smith later called it, for Pitt's great aim was the preservation and extension of trade and empire. Their preservation, it would appear, did not seem nearly so important to the colonials as to the mother country. In the late war colonials had shown a considerable lack of patriotism by taking a comparatively slight part in the French and Indian War, and by a widespread illicit trade with the enemies of Britain.

COLONIAL TAXATION

Resentment at the lukewarmness of colonial patriotism and the determination to make the colonists assume a larger share of colonial expense led to a "tightening" policy in the sixties. The wide-^{A tightening colonial policy}spread smuggling was checked by greater care on the part of the royal navy in enforcing the navigation laws. The Molasses Act of 1733¹ was revised and reimposed, and the Mutiny Act, by its extension to America, made possible the quartering of troops in the colonies as a means of transferring some of the financial burden. The

¹ See p. 571.

system of monopoly had taken form in no less than twenty-nine acts of Parliament. A tightening of the policy was naturally galling, because the system was essentially restrictive, with innumerable checks and counterchecks and an "infinite variety of paper chains" binding the complicated structure together.

The most conspicuous of the new measures was a Stamp Act of 1765 by which stamp duties of various kinds were extended to the colonies, "toward further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same." The measure was so comprehensive as to affect nearly every one, and it provided that the monies obtained be paid directly into the British exchequer. The act was novel, in that it led to "internal taxation" in addition to the imposition of customs duties. Internal taxation, though probably not illegal, was a decidedly new expedient. Grenville did take the pains to seek colonial opinion through the resident agents in England. There were objections returned, but since no usable alternative was suggested the measure became law in 1765. The uproar that followed in the colonies came as a complete surprise to Grenville. Again the Government was faced with a constitutional question, since the colonials chose to regard the right of taxation as resting with the representative body. They did not consider themselves as represented in England, but only in the colonial assemblies. "Taxation without representation" seemed tyranny to the colonists, long accustomed to a freedom from "internal" interference. The opposition to the measure was so well organized that the act proved ineffective. There were riots, and the stamped paper was destroyed. Opposition to the home Government led to a congress in New York where resolutions were drawn up expressing the lively fear that the Stamp Act was manifestly subverting the "rights and liberties of the colonists."

The Government soon found itself in a serious predicament. The measure could not be enforced. What was worse, the colonials were boycotting British goods. So

fearful were the British trading interests of the effect of the boycotts that soon there was a call for a repeal of the Stamp Act. In the Parliament that met early in 1766, a great debate raged over the matter. Burke made his maiden speech on American taxation. The veteran Pitt also expressed his objection to the Act in no uncertain manner. He attacked the measure on constitutional grounds, rejoicing that the colonists had resisted and prophesying that America, if compelled to submit, would pull down the constitution as it fell. Early in March the Act was repealed in spite of much opposition in the House of Lords. At the same time a Declaratory Act became law; it affirmed the full power of Parliament to make laws binding the "colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

The Declaratory Act, 1766

The importance of the Stamp Act controversy can hardly be overestimated. The accumulating grievances felt by the colonists because of the tightened commercial policy were bolstered by the constitutional question which arose when Parliament undertook taxation for defense. It showed to men like Burke and Pitt that the old colonial system was outgrown. The colonists found that their stand on constitutional grounds would win support from liberal thinkers in the British Parliament who cordially hated the system of arbitrary and corrupt government. The episode revealed the growing gulf between the self-reliant colonial governments, little Britains across the sea, and the more slowly moving mother country. The essential weakness of the executive in Westminster was uncovered, nor was the revelation any less true as a result of the Declaratory Act.

The issue at stake

The short-sighted Grenville Government did not long survive the unwise Stamp Act. In the summer of 1765 it gave way to the Rockingham administration. And the repeal of the measure was a step taken by the new ministry. The Marquis of Rockingham stood for the great Whig families; his short ministry --

Lord Rockingham as Prime Minister

a little over a year — is usually thought of as a Whig Government. The country, however, wanted a Government by Pitt, the Great Commoner, an eagerness that Pitt was only too willing to satisfy if he could return to power on his own terms.

In 1766, accordingly, the ministry was reorganized with Pitt included for the first time since his resignation five years before. His “cabinet” was a wondrous conglomerate, a “piece of diversified mosaic, a tessellated pavement without cement,” as Burke called it. The First Lord of the Treasury and nominal head was the Duke of Grafton. Charles Townshend was Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Great Commoner himself surprised the country by accepting a peerage, thereby retiring to the House of Lords. He took the unimportant office of Lord Privy Seal. Chatham, as we must now call him, was the real head of the administration; it is usually known as the Chatham-Grafton ministry. Their plans were ambitious. As one would expect, Chatham sought to strengthen Britain’s international position by alliances against his old enemy, France. It was his purpose as well to bring system into the chaotic government of India and to order on better lines the mother country’s relations with the colonies as a whole. He also wanted to correct the representation, the “rotten part of the constitution” as he called it in the Stamp Act debate of 1766.

Unfortunately the proud “Commoner” was doomed to disappointment. He lost his popularity by accepting the “bribe” of a peerage. His ill health became more menacing to his miscalculated strength in the ministry; he had little party influence, less knowledge of the handling of patronage, and but slight ability in co-operating with his colleagues. In 1767 the crippling gout — not “political gout” as the King maliciously insinuated — became worse; it affected his temper and finally so disordered his mind that he was totally unable to share in the direction of affairs. As a result, the forced retirement of Chatham in the moment of opportunity gave the country

Chatham's
return to
office

Retirement
of Chatham

over to the old-time weak leadership of a king-controlled group.

The question of colonial taxation was again unwisely raised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Townshend. He was a firm believer in the repealed Stamp Act. In its spirit he led in the imposition of ^{The Townshend Acts, 1767} taxes on glass, lead, paper, tea, and paint imported into the colonies from Great Britain. This was not internal taxation, but it was worse than foolish to raise the money question so soon, especially since the purpose of the Townshend Acts of 1767 looked similar to the Grenville measure two years before. The ill feeling was increased by the appointment of customs commissioners to be resident in America so that smuggling might be further checked. The actual reduction of the tax on tea did little to lay the ghost of colonial discontent. The Massachusetts General Court (the legislature) adopted a circular letter prepared by Samuel Adams to be sent to the various sister colonies to further harmonious action. A noteworthy protest appeared in the widely read *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer*.¹ They expressed the spirit of opposition in full fashion, and helped to further the growing unionist feeling along the Atlantic seaboard. In 1770 the Townshend duties were taken off on the ground that they were "contrary to the true principles of commerce." Only the tax on tea was left standing; it was retained because "there must always be one tax to keep up the right," as the King himself put it.

At home the Grafton ministry managed to increase the general disgust with government by an unbounded misuse of patronage. The general election of 1768 was ^{Election of 1768} one of the worst in the country's history. Seats were advertised in the newspapers and freely sold to the highest bidder. The boroughs went at the rate of from three to five thousand pounds a seat. Charles James Fox appeared in Parliament for the first time in 1768 for a

¹ The author, John Dickinson, remained loyal to Great Britain when the Revolution opened.

constituency that had been bought up by a single proprietor.¹

In the same election, the hated Wilkes was returned for Middlesex. The House proceeded to expel him. On a second election he was again chosen without op-
John Wilkes
again
position, and again the Commons repudiated the election. A third election resulting similarly, the House acted as before. A fourth election, in which the Government put up a candidate, Colonel Luttrell, ended in an overwhelming victory for Wilkes. The House thereupon took the astounding step of declaring Colonel Luttrell the member for Middlesex on the ground that he "ought to have been returned," even though he received but a quarter of Wilkes's vote. The public disgust with such an autocratic assumption, which "overleaped the fences of the law," was widespread. Franklin, who was in London at the time, declared that Wilkes would have been preferred to the King had the agitator possessed moral qualities.

The deep discontent found numerous expressions. Towns and counties held meetings of protest. A famous series of
The "Pre-
sent Dis-
contents"
letters, written by "Junius," bitterly and ably attacked the King, the Duke of Grafton, and the Government.² In the next year, 1770, another famous criticism of the state of the country appeared from the pen of the brilliant Whig, Edmund Burke. His lengthy *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* has long remained a classic statement of the Whig conception of the British constitution. Nowhere can be found a better exposé of the fertile causes of dissatisfaction than in this extended review of conditions as they were in the sixties.

Yet matters did not mend. The unpopularity of Parlia-

¹ No one lived on the holdings in which rested the right of sending this particular member to Parliament; they were "distinguished among the pastures and stubbles that surrounded them by a large stone set up on end in the middle of each portion." Trevelyan, *Fox*, p. 136.

² The authorship of the *Letters of Junius* is still a mystery, though Sir Philip Francis is the most likely of the numerous persons to whom the credit has been given.

ment as a result of the Wilkite controversy brought the resignation of Grafton in 1770. Out of the confusion victory came not for reform but for royal power. The King selected Lord North, already Chancellor, to become Prime Minister. He was well qualified for the position, possessing considerable capacity for administrative and parliamentary duties as well as being an unswerving King's man. With this change the unsettlement of the sixties was ended in a royal victory. The King's grip tightened on the governmental machinery at the same time that the opposition weakened.

Lord North
as Prime
Minister

The power of the Crown grew with renewed strength and with little general odium because the ways of exercising its influence were not the old ways of Tudor and Stuart tyranny. If the "cabal of the closet and backstairs was substituted in the place of a national administration," the result was the weakening of the State. The Whig group remained the nucleus of an opposition and the center of a growing liberalism. The King's system was forced to take the defensive. For twelve years it was proof against assault, since the charming and good-humored Prime Minister efficiently and faithfully served his King. In the end discredit came largely as the result of the American Revolution. To that we must now turn.

Victory for
the King

THE COLONIAL REVOLT

The repeal of all but one of the Townshend duties did not allay American feeling. The tea-tax was unimportant; it was the weight of the preamble¹ and not the weight of the duty, as Burke put it, that the Americans were unwilling to bear. With two millions of colonists in growing unison against the policy chosen by a weak executive, the only result could be but a thickening of difficulties. The tension in Boston led to a riot in 1770 in which a few of the citizens were killed by

The Boston
"massacre,"
1770

¹ "For making more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of the civil government, . . . and toward further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions." Macdonald, *Select Charters*, p. 323.

the British soldiery. The "massacre," as it was called by the colonials, came on the very day that the bulk of the Townshend duties were repealed. But already the menacing concert of discontent was finding form in non-importation agreements in the various colonies.

The next three years were comparatively quiet ones, save that resistance to British efforts to collect revenue became

Increasing
colonial
difficulties

more and more flagrant. Matters again came to a dangerous head in the eventful year of 1773.

In June a British naval vessel, the *Gaspee*, was burned after running aground near Providence, Rhode Island, as it sought to curb the smuggling trade. Later in the year another Tea Act gave cause for rebellion. By Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 the administration of the East India Company was reorganized.¹ As a measure of relief for the burdened Company, it was allowed to ship a part of its large surplus of tea to America free of duty save for the threepence tax payable in America. The consignment sent to Boston was pitched into the harbor in December by a band of men thinly disguised as Indians. At Philadelphia and New York the tea was not allowed off the vessels, and the consignment sent to Charleston rotted in damp cellars.

The Government at length determined to add severity to its variety of expedients for handling the American ques-

Opening of
the Ameri-
can Revolu-
tion

tion. Four statutes were passed in 1774. The

Boston port was closed, the Massachusetts charter was remodeled, and a more complete quartering act was made law. Provision was made for removing to Great Britain trials of persons indicted for acts done while the laws were being executed or riots and tumults suppressed. At the same time the Quebec Act, extending the bounds of Canada to the Ohio River, seemed but another evidence of intolerable treatment. The colonists replied by calling a Continental Congress at Philadelphia in September. Its reëmphasis of non-importation agreements and

¹ This will be considered more at length in Chapter XXXI, below, where Indian matters will be treated consecutively.

its assertion that "America cannot submit to these grievous acts and measures" made the approaching revolt only more certain and widespread. In England it seemed difficult to read with accuracy the threatening colonial sky. The general election of that year entrenched the King's friends more firmly in power and showed the general resentment at the colonial attitude. Early in 1775 Chatham and Burke sought for a repeal of the obnoxious measures. Even Lord North obtained the passage of a conciliatory resolution, promising there would be no taxation of any colony contributing its proportion to the common defense, the support of the civil government, and the administration of justice in the colony. But this attempt to uphold the Townshend preamble came too late. A second Continental Congress met in 1775 in the midst of definite preparations for war. Even before it convened British troops clashed with colonial minute men at Lexington and Concord. With the "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms" and the appointment of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, there was no turning back.

The conflict that occupied the years from 1775 to 1783 can be divided into two well-marked divisions. In the first three years the war was one within the Empire. After the entry of France in 1778 it partook of the nature of the previous struggles for world-

Military
character of
the war

power. Through the entire course of the war the ministry of Lord North continued to keep in hand the reins of the administration, in spite of vigorous criticism at home. The situation was a peculiarly difficult one to face. To many Britishers the colonials seemed fighting for constitutional principles, and the type of government then prevailing in England seemed anything but one true to British traditions. The sympathy of such men as Rockingham, Chatham, Burke, and Fox was invaluable to the colonists, for it hampered the efforts of the ministry to prosecute the war vigorously. Chatham's son was but one of many who refused to serve in the war. Yet this attitude of disloyalty to the ministry implied the recognition of a disrupted em-

pire. Before the entry of France the struggle was an imperial civil war.

The British Government seemed to have a decided advantage. Though the colonies were far away, the central Government had command of the sea as well as an attacking base in loyal Canada and Nova Scotia. Moreover, the population of the revolting colonies was liberally sprinkled with loyalists. Never had the colonists been organically united. They had to create an army and a central organization. The colonial population of two millions was not a third of that of Great Britain, and the wealth of the combatants was very much more disproportionate.

With such advantages there was every need of a vigorous prosecution of the war. The danger of foreign intervention was not unlikely, and any lengthened delay in deciding the conflict but strengthened colonial military experience. Yet the struggle went on indecisively from the first. The corruption and self-seeking of an exceedingly corrupt time paralyzed the executive. The power and experience of a Chatham were not to be found in the person of the King, or of Lord North. And Lord George Germain, who had been court-martialed and dubbed unfit for military duties during the Seven Years' War, was in special charge of the American policy. The army had lost much of the effectiveness taught by the last war, and it was so weak in numbers that there seemed need once again to hire continental mercenaries to fight men of British stock.

The surprising ineffectiveness of the armies lay to a considerable degree in irresolute and inexpert leadership, and partly in the long prevalent idea that the menace of military force might enable the military leaders to win their ends by the olive branch rather than by the sword. General Gage, in charge of the troops in Boston at the outbreak, was a conscientious officer but over-cautious. He was soon replaced by General Howe, who evacuated Boston and made New York the

The colonies
versus the
mother
country

Weakness of
British
leadership

The deci-
sive battle
of Saratoga,
1777

center of operations. During 1776 the course of affairs went badly for Washington; he had to fall back into Pennsylvania, nor was he able to prevent Howe from occupying Philadelphia in September of 1777. In the meantime, the plan to attack the rebellious colonies from Canada took definite shape in an expedition under General Burgoyne. He had been put in place of Carleton, Governor of Canada, the one commander to whom success might have come. Burgoyne's expedition was so hampered above Albany that it capitulated at Saratoga a month after the occupation of Philadelphia by Howe.

A WORLD WAR

This disaster to British arms was to have far-reaching consequences. Burgoyne returned to play a more efficient part in the drawing-rooms of London, General Clinton succeeded Howe in the conduct of the British forces, and Philadelphia was abandoned. French revenge for the Seven Years' War During all this time, for nearly three years, conciliation was still thought a possible solution of the colonial rebellion. General Howe was even a commissioner under an act of 1776 to negotiate a reconciliation. The other commissioner was his elder brother, Lord Howe, who was in command of the British fleet. Lord Howe was a friend of Franklin and had sincerely sought a solution of the trouble before the war began. But by 1776 the opportunity had passed. In July of that year a formal Declaration of Independence had made known to a "candid world" that the political bands between Great Britain and the colonists were severed. It was not an unwelcome announcement to a Europe jealous of British power. Chatham warned the country in 1777 that the French menace must be watched, and even moved that the Americans be given everything but absolute independence in order that Britain might be prepared for the approaching world war. But to the King such a step was highly "unseasonable." Yet after Saratoga the foresight of Chatham was only too clearly realized. The French, who had waited for just such a sign of probable colonial success,

began to listen to Franklin's overtures more seriously. In the fall of the year Chatham redoubled his efforts in Parliament. He would have withdrawn all troops from America on the ground that the cause was ignoble, that the methods used were unworthy, and that victory was impossible. Chatham would have concentrated Britain's efforts on the traditional enemy and trusted colonial feeling to respond in time.

Lord North wished to resign but held his post on the King's insistence that he should not force his King to the
 Death of Chatham "ignominy of possessing the Crown under the shackles of Chatham and his crew." Early in the year another conciliation bill was passed, offering the Americans all but independence. Again opportunity had slipped by, for the colonies and France were in a defensive alliance after February 6, 1778. Disaster followed disaster. In May Chatham's efforts to rouse the country to its crisis were ended by his death.

The changed situation became but too evident. War was now to be waged on all the seas. The home island
 British confronted by Europe needed defense. Minorca, Gibraltar, India, the West Indies, must be protected. Above all, the command of the sea must be retained. And it was just here that the danger lay. Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, was no more efficient in naval matters than Germain in military strategy. The French navies were allowed to leave the home bases and to make junction with the Americans, to whom military assistance was brought. France was stronger than in the Seven Years' War, since it had no continental diversion to weaken its efforts. Spain joined France in 1779, largely in the hope of securing Gibraltar. In 1780 Holland became so much inflamed over the rigorous British treatment of neutral vessels that it joined Britain's enemies. In the same year the Governments of the north, Russia, Denmark, Prussia, Sweden, and the Empire, combined in an Armed Neutrality to enforce neutral rights which were not yet generally accepted. All the maritime power of Europe as well as the

American colonies, now grown apt in war, united to make the outcome one of little question.

In America the war shifted to the southern colonies, where Georgia was conquered and Charleston made the base of operations for Lord Cornwallis in the Carolinas.

But the British naval efforts were being pretty generally hit between wind and water. Gibraltar

End of the
war in
America

was besieged for three years. In 1780 the East and West Indian merchant fleets were captured and the West Indian islands seriously endangered. In 1781 the Dutch successfully contested the control of the Channel, the French attacked Jersey, and the fleet of De Grasse successfully won the command of the American seaboard. In the meantime the earlier successes of Cornwallis in the south had been counterbalanced by the efficient work of Washington's most able assistant, General Greene. The British commander at length took up a position at Yorktown on the Virginian coast in 1781, only to be besieged by Washington. The coöperation of the French fleet compelled the surrender of Cornwallis in October. The Americans had won their independence, thanks to the momentary French command of the sea.

If Washington was doubtful as to the decisiveness of Yorktown, there was soon little question of ultimate American independence, with the growing discom-

Further
disaster for
the British

fiture of Britain elsewhere. Early in 1782 the immensely valuable Minorca was lost. In the West Indies the British islands were picked off one by one. A great colonial empire seemed to be disappearing.

At home the ministry was faced with equally serious embarrassments. Ireland was in revolt. The Whig opposition was growing stronger and stronger as the weakness of the King's ministers became more patent. The attempt of the Government to re-

Resignation
of Lord
North, 1782

move disabilities from Catholics led to serious riots in 1780, under the guidance of Lord George Gordon, in which London was for a time under mob control. Demands for "economical" reform and an end of government by "influence"

became more insistent. When motions to that effect were rejected in 1779 committees of correspondence similar to the American ones of earlier years were established in the English counties. A great Yorkshire petition was but one of many sent up from over twenty counties and many towns. The heavy pressure found parliamentary expression in 1780 in the famous resolution of Dunning that the "influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." And the resolution was carried against the Government. Lord North held on doggedly. Nevertheless, public opinion could not be flouted much longer, with the growing determination for parliamentary reform bolstered up by failure upon failure in the conduct of the war. In March, 1782, Lord North at last resigned, despite George III's continued appeals for his support.

The humiliated King was compelled to accept a Whig ministry under Lord Rockingham. As Fox put it, the Whigs were able "to give a good stout blow to the influence of the Crown." Ireland, as we shall find in the next chapter, was granted the most liberal terms it had ever received. Measures for parliamentary reform were passed; secret-service money was diminished, placemen such as contractors and revenue officers were henceforth unable to be members of Parliament, some sinecures were abandoned, and the pension list was diminished. Burke, who became Paymaster General, cleansed that office of its unsavory practices.

But the great work of the Whigs was to conclude as best they could the uncomfortable war. The slow negotiations were not finally ended until September of 1783, long after the Rockingham ministry had given way to the ministry of Shelburne, and it, in turn, to a coalition of Fox and North. The very delay helped Britain, because of Admiral Rodney's great victory over De Grasse in the West Indies, the successful defense of Gibraltar, and the recovery of command of the sea.

Yet the terms were significant enough. The thirteen American colonies obtained their independence with the

northern boundary at the Great Lakes and the western boundary at the Mississippi River. The navigation of that stream was to be open to both ^{Its terms} countries, and the Americans were granted fishing rights off Newfoundland. France obtained less than might have been expected. The French received Tobago in the West Indies and some additional posts near the island of Gorée on the west African coast. The British also gave up the long-standing agreement for the destruction of the fortifications of Dunkirk. The Spanish were more fortunate than the French. Though not granted Gibraltar, that nation received back Minorca and was ceded East Florida. The situation in India reverted to its status previous to the war.

The end of war and of Lord North's long ministry marks a definite point in the reign of George III. It was as a parting of the ways in the course of empire. Had ^{Effect on the British Empire} the Government followed Franklin's ironical "Rules for Reducing a Great Empire to a Small One," they could hardly have succeeded better. The loss of the American colonies marked the low point in the development of the Empire, when the old colonial system was discredited, and the new one had not yet come. It settled into conviction in the minds of most political thinkers the belief that colonies would inevitably leave when the appropriate stage of growth was reached.

Yet the nucleus of a second empire remained. Strange would it have seemed to the thinkers of that day could they have foreseen the imperial development of ^{The remnant of empire} the future. Before we return, therefore, to the renewal of warlike relations between Britain and France in 1793, it will be well to appraise the fragments of Empire that remained, and to see how the nation fared in the ten years' peaceful interim between two engrossing wars.

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CHAPTER XXXI

THE REMNANT OF EMPIRE

THE fall of Yorktown in 1781, with its accompaniment of British disaster elsewhere, brought independence to thirteen American colonies. By their departure the British Empire lost the major portion of its territory. What Franklin in a letter to Lord Howe called "that fine and noble China vase, the British Empire," had broken. Under Lord Chatham the Empire had reached its highest point as a result of the Seven Years' War. At the end of a second seven years of war William Pitt the younger declared that "the sun of England's glory is set." If this was the belief in Britain, it was still more generally held on the Continent; the island kingdom seemed to have become a State of the second rank.

Yet the decline that was looked for did not come. The damaged international prestige of Britain was soon repaired. Despite the discouragement prevalent among Britishers as to the worth of colonial possessions, an uncommonly large amount of attention was given to problems of oversea empire in order that the remains of the imperial structure might be strengthened.

The period of peace that began in the early eighties lasted no more than a decade. The French Revolution that opened in 1789 soon affected the European world. By 1792 the revolutionists were at war with Austria, and a year later with Great Britain. The severe strain on Britain of the struggle with the Revolution and with Napoleon was to continue almost without let for a quarter of a century. The ten years of peace from 1783 to 1793 are, in consequence, sharply set off both from the years that preceded and from the decades that followed.

Apparent
result of the
American
Revolution

The years
between two
wars, 1783-
93

THE RISE OF PITT

Lord North, as we have found, was compelled to resign in 1782 in face of the succession of defeats abroad and the growing discontent at home. Power went into the hands of the opposition Whigs under the lead of the veteran Lord Rockingham. The younger and more liberal Whigs, who had belonged to Chatham's group as long as he lived, now followed the Earl of Shelburne. The life of the ministry was short, for the leader died in July 1782. But before his taking off, much had been done; legislative independence was granted to Ireland, a large measure of economical reform was effected, and the peace treaty was practically arranged. Shelburne next became Prime Minister, but this ministry did not long survive in the troubled post-war years. Criticism of the peace terms, which Shelburne's Government completed, proved too severe, especially since the party of Lord North and the Foxite Whigs joined in the assault. Shelburne, too, was soon driven from office.

Thereupon the King, to his bitter regret, was compelled to accept a coalition ministry, usually known as the Fox-North Government. The "dull, dumb" Duke of Portland was the nominal head, and Fox and North were the two Secretaries of State. Fox had committed a great error. Though he was a convinced Liberal and was growing more radical with the lapse of time, he largely lost his position as the champion of the people against the overgrown power of the Crown. In their eagerness for office the Whigs united with Lord North and lost the good will of the public. The coalition fell primarily because it attempted a radical reorganization of the Indian Government through a bill fathered by Fox. For reasons which will soon be noted the measure was bitterly opposed by the King, even to the extent of his influencing members of the House of Lords against the bill. Because of the defeat of Fox's India Bill in the upper house, a defeat for which the King himself was responsible, George III promptly dismissed his ministers without even seeing them, and in spite

The Fox-
North
Coalition

of the fact that they still retained a strong majority in the House of Commons. Such were the workings of the constitution in the year 1783.

But the strangest turn was yet to come. Fox and North felt sure that the King could form no stable ministry against them. There was only the weak Chathamite party, whose chief strength lay in the promising young William Pitt, then but twenty-four years of age. The King now appealed to Pitt to form a ministry, and Pitt accepted the opportunity, certain of defeat at every division. All the rest of the ministry had to be selected from the upper house. Pitt's "boyish prank" was greeted with derision. But he trusted to winning the popular support in the approaching general election. Fox, who should have been more circumspect, attempted to prevent the election and lost still more of the good will that might have gone to the Whigs. The election that followed the dissolution of Parliament in March of 1784 resulted as Pitt hoped. Fox's friends to the number of one hundred and sixty lost their seats; they were appropriately dubbed "Fox's Martyrs." Henceforth for seventeen years Pitt's ministry was unbroken.

William Pitt
the younger,
(1759-1806)

This remarkable prodigy had conspicuous qualities. Like his father, he was an excellent orator, with a cool and audacious judgment. No one was better versed in the technique of party leadership or in the mastery of parliamentary procedure. His patriotism was as keen as his father's and his disdain for material rewards as great. Yet he was an adept in the use of patronage and the bestowal of peerages. During his long rule the foundation was laid for the revived Tory party by the creation of a new set of Tory families to offset the older Whig aristocracy. Like his father he possessed supreme self-confidence and a boundless ambition to win and keep the reins of power. This explains his retention of office when a favorite measure was occasionally defeated, and also his willingness to drop plans that proved unpopular. Yet on the whole he was fairly, if not insistently, liberal during the

Character
of Pitt

decade of peace, even if a King's man. He gave the country a sound, peace-loving administration. His weakness and strength will become evident as the issues of India and Ireland and Canada, of parliamentary reform and the slave-trade, of financial restoration and commercial expansion are considered. In many ways Pitt was more a Walpole than a Chatham.

The part of his achievement for which he has been most fulsomely praised was his reorganization of the chaotic finances of the State. National finance certainly demanded thorough and sagacious attention. The debt, which had doubled in the last war, stood at nearly £250,000,000. There were alarming annual deficits which a complicated system of taxation was quite unable to meet. Some articles of import were subject to as many as fourteen different duties. It is said that nine separate duties were actually levied on nutmegs. Smuggling, especially of tea, was so widespread that twice as much illicit tea was consumed as tea that paid the duty of 119 per cent. Pitt met the smuggling menace by the simple expedient of so lowering the duty as to make the avoidance of the customs less profitable. The entire system of customs was simplified. Nor did Pitt fear to meddle with the excise, despite Walpole's sad experience fifty years before.

The result of his minute "ratcatching" examination of governmental finance was no less than magical. The deficits were met. The floating debt was consolidated with much the same advantage that resulted from the similar measures of Walpole and Pelham. By 1786 the Government was able to begin laying aside a million pounds a year in a sinking fund. This fund greatly added to Pitt's reputation as a financier, since it was said of it, and believed, that it would automatically extinguish the national debt by 1815.

In his financial and commercial views Pitt was a convinced disciple of Adam Smith. He labored to simplify the trading arrangements within and without the Empire in the direction of less restriction

Revision of
the customs

The public
debt

Influence of
Adam Smith

and even of freedom of tradé. Pitt's most noteworthy success in this direction was the commercial treaty made with France in 1786, even though he was accused of destroying the old system of monopoly and of helping a "natural and invariable" rival. It was one of Pitt's most valuable legislative victories.

IRELAND

One of Britain's insistent tasks, as the American Revolution drew to a close, was a settlement of the dangerous Irish situation. It will be recalled that the Revolution of 1688 had done more harm than good to Ireland, by saddling the country with severe penal laws and by restricting its traders and fettering its commerce. The Protestant ascendancy was complete, for the Irish Catholics were without political privileges. The peasantry were as slaves. Even the Anglo-Irish Whigs became restive, though they monopolized what little political power was allowed to the Irish. This was not much, however, since the British Parliament could legislate for Ireland, the Irish executive was appointed in Great Britain, and no bills could be introduced into the Irish Parliament without the approval of the English Privy Council.

Protestant
ascendancy
in Ireland

As the American trouble grew worse the Irish insisted more strongly than ever that they be given some attention. The reduction of the life of the Irish Parliament from the term of a King's life to eight years (1769) was but a feeble beginning. In 1775 the opposition in the Irish Parliament became more than ever determined in its tactics, for in that year Henry Grattan became its leader. His oratorical ability and political acumen seem to have been superb. Certainly they were brought to bear on Britain at an opportune time. Non-importation agreements, after the American pattern, became general. Large bodies of "volunteers" were formed — ostensibly to defend the island from outside attack, but their political influence could not help but be momentous.

Effect of
American
Revolution
on Ireland

The Irish Parliament of 1779 voiced the national feeling by demanding free trade; they made the demand more pointed by granting supplies for six months only. The result was the passage at Westminster in 1780 of bills by which Ireland was freed from many of the galling commercial restrictions. Henceforth the Irish were allowed to export their chief commodities to Europe freely and to participate on a basis of equality in the West Indian trade.

The Irish were now more determined than ever to win their legislative freedom. The Volunteer corps, which continued to grow menacingly, numbered as many as eighty thousand men by the close of the American war. In 1782 all the groups from Ulster met in a sort of congress at Dungannon (north of Armagh) and endorsed the demand for legislative freedom. Thereupon the Irish Parliament passed a Declaration of Rights and Grievances. Just at this juncture Lord North's government gave way to Rockingham's short Whig administration. Though brief, it was long enough to accede generously to the Irish demands. The repeal by the Irish Parliament of the famous Poynings' Law of 1494, which gave the English Privy Council essential control of Irish legislation, was matched in the Parliament at Westminster by the repeal of an act of 1719 "for better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain." As if this were not enough, the British Parliament passed a Renunciation Act in 1783 to remove all doubts "which have arisen concerning the exclusive rights of the parliament and the courts of Ireland, in matters of legislation and judicature."

The privileges won from the hard-pressed mother country in 1782 were significant. What might be called a measure of "home rule" was accorded to Britain's nearest colony. It was far from being independence or even "home rule" as now enjoyed on the island. The bond that held Ireland to England then as now was the Crown. But in 1782 the Irish executive was actually responsible to, as well as really appointed by, the

The Irish
Declaration
of Rights

Improved
conditions
for Ireland

British Government. Here lay the germ of future trouble, since the executive was not responsible to a legislature that had won its independence of action. The British ministry naturally sought to keep control of the Irish legislature henceforth by the unblushing use of corruption. It is probably too much to expect that Britain should have given Ireland real home rule in 1782. But had it been granted, another golden opportunity to settle the Irish question would not have been lost.

Much remained, in fact, to be done. Pitt, who came to power soon afterward, was desirous of reforming the Irish Parliament as well as establishing more fully Irish commercial freedom. He sharply denounced the British system of "cruel and abominable restraint," because it was not only harsh and unjust but also impolitic; it "counteracted the kindness of Providence, and suspended the industry and enterprise of man." He would, in 1785, have cleansed the Irish Parliament by a real reform, and have bound the two countries together by a full and final commercial adjustment. But in the face of strong opposition from British merchants and manufacturers Pitt gave way. Perhaps he yielded too easily; at any rate another chance slipped by. Soon the Irish were to be more deeply embittered than ever by a renewal of the galling dependence on Great Britain.¹

Irish problem left unsolved by Pitt

INDIAN REFORM

The ministry of healing was as necessary for the Indian dominions as for Ireland. In this case the compulsion came not from downtrodden Indian natives but from a widespread consciousness that India was being administered in a shocking manner by the trading company that had it in charge. Again it will be needful for us to glance backward in order to see the imperative-ness of measures of regulation. Clive won empire for Britain in India under conditions already explained.² The East India Company was in possession of trading posts and con-

Clive's accomplishments in India

¹ See pp. 688-92.

² See pp. 584, 590.

cessions on the west coast at Bombay, and on the east coast, principally at Madras in the south and in the lower valley of the Ganges. The immensely populous and rich district of Bengal became a free field for exploitation as the result of the rout at Plassey.

But at all points the Company found that its penetrative trading policy was leading to dangerous embroilments.

Internal political conditions The nominal ruler of India was the Mogul, whose capital had been Delhi. It was on him that the nawab of Bengal was supposedly dependent. West of Bengal lay Oudh, where another nawab held his state in a similar relation. On to the west and south — throughout central India, in fact — the country had long been under the control of a powerful fighting race, the Mahrattas. But this great confederacy was already somewhat divided, for the nominal head, the Peshwa, who lived at Poona near Bombay, was about as weak as the Mogul. Yet the Mahrattas remained a sufficiently strong confederacy to be a dangerous foe to the advancing European traders. Back of Madras, also, strong states were to be reckoned with. The Nizam of Hyderabad ruled a state as large as Ireland. To the south of Hyderabad lay Mysore, which in the sixties had come into the hands of an able Mohammedan dictator, Hyder Ali.

Draining of India's wealth If the Company was rapacious its individual servants were more so. Clive and his followers had set the standard by reaping immense financial rewards after Plassey. Every opportunity was taken after Clive's departure for England to carry "money grabbing" to the extreme. Huge fortunes were made out of powerless Bengal. The need for cleansing the Indian administration was so patent by 1765 that Clive was appointed to the governorship and sent out to mend matters. During the two years he was in India, he made a number of important changes. The Mogul was granted a tribute from Bengal. Oudh became by treaty a sort of dependent of the Company. The Company also took over the collection of the revenues of Bengal — an immensely profitable

procedure. Clive was unable, however, to place any effective curb on the rapacity of the Company's servants. Too frequently they returned after a few years in India, "laden with odium and riches," to act as nabobs at home. The problem was not solved by Clive for there was no real way in which the home government and public feeling in England could check the Honorable East India Company. A devastating famine of 1770 only brought out in greater relief the cold-blooded misgovernment of the country in the interests of money getting. The people at home became aroused over the heartless collection of revenue and the attempts to make money from the hoarding of grain at a time when a third of the Indian population was dying of starvation.

Finally, in 1772, Warren Hastings was deputed to remedy the conditions. He had already proved his ability in the Company's service and had made clear his personal disinterestedness as well. Hastings immediately proceeded to energetic measures. The civil and the political administration of Bengal were brought to Calcutta; the land revenue was more efficiently collected on the basis of a more equitable and thorough assessment. Hastings also set up a new system of justice and stopped the unfair trading that had been such a fruitful cause of the bad reputation of the Company.

In the meantime the Government at Westminster at last took things in hand after a thorough investigation by committees. Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 marks the first important attempt to bring the Company under some sort of responsibility.

Warren
Hastings

Lord North's
Regulating
Act, 1773

Though the Company still retained political power, the Directors thereafter were to communicate to the Government their despatches on political subjects. A supreme court under a chief justice appointed by the Crown was established in Bengal as a check on the work of the traders. The Governor of Bengal became the Governor General of all the Company's posts in India. His council was to consist of four members, and the decision on any question was

left to a majority of the five. The interest the Company could obtain was restricted, but at the same time it was granted measures of relief. It received a loan of one million pounds, the annual payment to the State was stopped, and the bonded tea of the Company was permitted exportation — with the Boston Tea Party as the result.

This well-meant act of regulation did not prove very effective. Hastings, who became the first Governor General as a matter of course, was hampered by the extremely suspicious councilors who came out from England. He was especially restricted in his imperial policies. Without question Hastings was a devoted servant of the Company, whose interests in India he felt bound to protect at the same time that he was under the necessity of making the Company a paying concern. The clamor for dividends by those whom Hastings served made it imperative for him to procure funds, and at the same time his desire to safeguard and extend the Company's power in India demanded heavy financial backing for military activity and for subsidies for friendly princes.

When the war opened with France in 1778, Hastings took prompt action. The French trading posts were seized. But a more serious menace arose for the native rulers as the British actively interfered in Indian politics. In 1779 a great native confederation was formed by the Nizam of Hyderabad, Hyder Ali, and the Mahrattas for a thorough annihilation of the aggressive British traders. Hastings was hard pressed for supplies of men and money to fight the life-and-death struggle that ensued. His iron will and sureness of judgment proved sufficient for the occasion. Money was obtained in extortionate amounts from various states and rulers. The Rajah of Benares, for example, had his tribute raised to ten times its former size because of failure to respond promptly to the demand for troops. The *begums*, or princesses, of Oudh — mother and grandmother of the Nawab — possessed the treasure of that State; they were

Hastings as
Governor
General

India
during the
war with
France

accused of rebellion and "convicted of wealth" in order that their hoardings might be used.

Whatever may be said of the straits into which Hastings came and of his methods for solving difficulties, he at least succeeded in fending off the threatened annihilation of the Company. By 1782 peace was made with the Mahrattas and their confederates without any loss or gain of territory for the British. The system of alliances by which Hastings had built up a wall of defense for British interests served its purpose, even though it made the political relations of the Company and the Indian states very complex, and always called for extensive and expensive Indian policy. He labored with personal unselfishness to make the "British nation paramount in India." His return to England in "honorable poverty" in 1785 marked the end of a notable period, probably the most critical, in the history of British India.

Return of
Hastings,
1785

In the meantime the Company's affairs were subject to further modification, for the aggressive policy of Hastings was looked upon with suspicion. In 1783 Fox and Burke presented their India Bill to reform the "absolutely incorrigible" government of the East India Company. It called for the transfer of the authority and property of the Company to a group of commissioners, who in their turn would leave the financial matters of the Company in the hands of a sub-committee not unlike the existing Board of Directors. Though the original commissioners were named in the bill their places were to be filled by the Crown. But the measure suffered shipwreck in the House of Lords, as we have found, largely because it seemed to give patronage, at least temporarily, into the hands of the Foxite Whigs.

Fox's India
Bill, 1783

In the next year Pitt presented his India Bill to remedy what he declared was the "most immediate concern of the country." Though Pitt's measure was not so thoroughgoing as that of Fox, yet it new-modeled the Company charter in the interests of a more vigorous system of control. He left commerce in the hands of the

Pitt's India
Act, 1784

Company. But a new government department, the Board of Control, was set up beside the commercial Board of Directors to exercise all the political functions. The measure created a dual system that remained with some changes the form of government for India until 1858, when the complete transfer desired by Fox in 1783 was at last brought about. Henceforth the affairs of India went on more smoothly and more equitably.

The later career of Hastings can be dismissed briefly. On his return he was impeached for his various acts of extortion and for the very energy with which he had handled affairs. Burke, Fox, and Sheridan were the chief figures in the brilliant attack. Even Pitt at first acquiesced in some of the charges. The trial dragged on from 1788 to 1795 before Hastings was at last acquitted. He was certainly not blameless, but his acts were largely inevitable if it is granted that the Company had a right to exploit a people helpless before the aggressive and acquisitive westerners. The impeachment served the very valuable purpose of warning traders and empire builders that there were moral obligations to which reasonable adherence must be given.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

No more significant growth took place during these years than in British North America. At the opening of the American Revolution the British had a number of loyal colonies to the north of the revolting thirteen. There was the fishing station of Newfoundland, hardly a colony as yet, since any population beyond the needs of the annual fishing fleets was discouraged. Nova Scotia had received a considerable migration of British settlers but was yet in bad need of additional help for its development. Prince Edward Island had been separated as a distinct government in 1769.

Canada after 1763 remained overwhelmingly French; out of a population of about seventy thousand in 1763 there were hardly six hundred of British stock. As a conquered

colony it was ruled for a time by a military government. And when a civil régime was set up the Roman Catholic interests of the French were, as a matter of course, protected. On the eve of the American Revolution the Quebec Act of 1774 brought about some important changes, for there was confusion between the French and the British conception of law. This famous Act defined the boundaries of the Province of Quebec by stretching the jurisdiction of the Quebec governor westward to the Mississippi and southward to the Ohio. Quebec was enlarged in order to protect the Indians and to connect the back country of the fur traders with the natural outlet for this branch of commerce. The Roman Catholic religion was again recognized, and French civil law was allowed to remain beside the British criminal law. No provision was made for a popular assembly. The Quebec Act came at an unfortunate time, for it was coupled, though unjustly, with the repressive acts against Massachusetts as an "intolerable" measure. At any rate it was not intolerable to the French Canadians, since they refused to join the revolting colonies in spite of active efforts to win their assistance. Sir Guy Carleton served as an efficient military head during these troubled years.

The close of the Revolution proved the beginning of an epoch in the history of the maritime provinces and of Canada. The numerous Loyalists to the south were in a bad way when the peace came. Many had actively participated against the Revolution. Others had remained passive in the hope of the final success of the mother country. During the war the lot of the Loyalists was hard unless they were under the direct protection of the British armies. Their lands were confiscated and they themselves were liable to physical mistreatment as traitors. The treaty of peace provided that no lawful impediment should prevent the recovery of debts, and Congress was to recommend to the States the return of confiscated property. Future confiscations were to be forbidden. But a powerless Congress and a hostile and triumphant

Canada after
the Seven
Years' War

Canada and
the American
Revolution

people were neither able nor inclined to be lenient with the losers.

In consequence, Loyalists by the thousands left the thirteen colonies for British imperial soil. Some went to the West Indies, some to Great Britain; more found it simpler to seek new homes to the north. Several thousand of the refugees began life anew on Cape Breton Island, and some twenty-eight thousand settled in western Nova Scotia. Because of the great increase of the population in that portion of the province, it was set apart in 1784, under the name of New Brunswick, as a home for the Loyalists. A lesser number, possibly ten thousand, settled near Montreal, and a somewhat larger migration led to pioneer settlements about Kingston at the lower end of Lake Ontario, across from Niagara along the Bay of Quinté, and across from Detroit. These immigrants soon became known as United Empire Loyalists, an appellation in which they and their descendants took and take great pride. Their part in the making of Canada was to prove of prime value. It was found impossible, on account of rancor against "Tories," for the freed colonies to fulfill the promises of the treaty regarding confiscated lands. The mother country, therefore, stepped in and settled claims for a money indemnity to the amount of £3,000,000. Those that trekked into the northern wilderness to make new homes were not without assistance.

The coming of the Loyalists began a new era for Canada. The English minority in the lower part of the province about Montreal and the city of Quebec became somewhat stronger in numbers. They began to demand more urgently that their rights be given recognition and that an assembly be set up. The French Canadians, vastly in the majority, preferred that the law and customs of the country be as they were. In the upper part of the province the English were dominant. They soon began to ask for representative institutions and even for separation from the French part of the colony that they might comfortably enjoy British customs and law.

The Loyal-
ists

Effect of
Loyalist im-
migration

Sir Guy Carleton, who began his second governorship as Lord Dorchester in 1786, was faced with these constitutional and legal demands.

Carleton was opposed to a division of the colony, but Pitt and his advisers decided that division was essential. Accordingly in 1791 an important Act was passed by which the new conditions in Canada ^{Division of Canada, 1791} were recognized. The province of Quebec was divided into two districts, called Upper and Lower Canada. Upper Canada included the Loyalist settlements along the shores of Erie and Ontario, in fact all the land claimed by Britain north of the Great Lakes and west of the Ottawa River. Each province was given a Legislative Council and an elective Assembly. The Roman Catholic religion was permitted. Alongside it the Established Church of England was endowed by the appropriation of one seventh of the uncleared Crown lands. The holding of land in Lower Canada was by either the British or the French system; in the upper province the British custom prevailed. No taxes were to be imposed by the British Parliament save for the regulation of trade and commerce, and care was taken that the governmental income should be dispensed by the legislatures. These provisions were made, as Pitt explained, "in order to prevent any such dispute as had been the cause of separating the thirteen states from the mother country."¹ Though the Canada Act of 1791 did not provide for responsible government (home rule), it showed a commendable and timely liberality in the treatment of Canadian wishes and a recognition of the need for a more liberal colonial policy. By the end of the peaceful interim, and but a decade after the loss of the thirteen states, Great Britain possessed six North American colonies, strongly reinforced by British stock, and on whose continued loyalty the mother country could depend.

CONVICTS AND SLAVES

During the same years in which Canada was being re-

¹ Lucas, *Canada, 1763-1812*, p. 268.

organized, the British were taking the first steps toward the settlement of Australia. The Australian continent and the islands of New Zealand to the east were slow to attract European attention.¹

Captain Cook
(1728-79)

The Dutch knew of land in the south seas early in the seventeenth century, but they discouraged its development and the spread of information about the south land. The first English explorer, if we set aside the observations of the buccaneer, Dampier, was the famous Captain Cook. He was in charge of a ship carrying astronomers to Tahiti in 1769 to observe a transit of Venus. On that voyage he sighted New Zealand, already visited and named by Dutch discoverers from the west. Cook also coasted along the eastern shore of the Australian continent, found several attractive points for settlement, including Botany Bay and Port Jackson, and took the land for Great Britain. In two later voyages, undertaken during the American Revolution, the intrepid discoverer made very important additions to the knowledge of the Pacific.²

The attractive reports about the eastern shore of Australia led to its use in the late eighties as a place to which convicts could be sent. The independence of the American States put an end to the use of the southern colonies for emptying the congested jails of Great Britain. In 1783 an act was passed authorizing the Government to fix places within the Empire for criminal settlements. Australia was suggested. But it was not until some years later that the first shipment took place. Captain Phillip took seven hundred and fifty male and female criminals to Botany Bay in 1788. This place being found unfit, the expedition laid the basis of the first English settlement in Australia at Port Jackson, under the name of Sydney.

A controversy with Spain which nearly brought war be-

¹ Indeed it was long thought that the great southland was much farther east than it was found to be. Readers of *Gulliver's Travels* may be surprised to learn that Swift unknowingly placed the island of Lilliput in the center of the Australian continent.

² He was killed in 1779 by the natives of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii).

tween the two countries in 1790 brings to our attention British activity in another part of the Pacific.

British traders were busy on the west coast of North America, much to the discredit of Spanish claims to the whole shore line. In 1789 a British settlement at Nootka Sound, on the western side of Vancouver Island, was attacked by the Spaniards, and the settlers were made prisoners. Pitt promptly prepared for war and did it so vigorously that Nootka Sound was returned and British trading rights were acknowledged in the region. An important member of the expedition sent to uphold the rights of British trade was Lieutenant George Vancouver. After peace was made, Vancouver, who had acquired an interest in exploration from his journeys with Captain Cook, continued careful surveys along the western coast of North America. His name was fittingly attached to the island that was later to serve as the Canadian gateway to the Pacific.

One of the most hopeful signs of the time was the growth of humanitarian feeling. In spite of the commercial interests involved there was a strong attack on the slave trade during these years. It seems to have begun among the Quakers, though it was early taken up by the Methodists and the Evangelicals in general. It thus happened that a business against which there was little protest at the opening of the century was attacked with vehemence in England long before it had aroused odium in France or Spain or Holland. Anti-slave trade committees were formed for agitating against the "infernal business," and the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade powerfully forwarded the movement. Clarkson and Granville Sharp, Zachary Macaulay (the father of the historian) and the indefatigable Wilberforce were the chief laborers. Pitt, a close friend of Wilberforce, had a profound conviction against making "human beings the subject of commerce," and spoke powerfully in favor of motions for immediate abolition in 1791 and 1792. For once Fox was at one with Pitt. But their efforts were un-

Nootka
Sound and
Vancouver

Attacks on
the slave
trade

availing against the mercantile interests, who found the call of humanity as nothing in view of a lucrative annual shipment of eighty thousand negroes from Africa to the West Indies. It was not until 1807 that the movement was to succeed.

But this did not prevent the humanitarians from establishing a settlement in Africa as a haven for freed slaves.

Sierra Leone, 1787 In 1787 the idea took form. Shortly afterward, a strip of land on the west African coast was purchased by a group of Evangelicals. The Sierra Leone Company, as the group was called, established Freetown as the port of their novel colony in 1791. It was a small beginning yet very significant of the trend of feeling, and an evidence that commercial gain was not the sole aim of British expansion even in the eighteenth century. Had not the French Revolution raised the specter of radicalism and turned the British as a whole into reactionaries, the movement against the slave trade would have been a prelude to humanitarianism in other needed fields. Much regrettable brutality might thus have been avoided in the scramble for wealth during the century about to open.

Such were some of the interests of the decade of peace between two exhausting wars. Retrenchment and reform, with retrenchment more successful than reform, mark the years of Pitt's peace ministry. Commerce and finance were his major concerns; genuine reforms were handled by him with less vigor and conviction, especially if their advocacy seemed to endanger his grasp of power. There is remarkably little legislation to his credit, but he successfully buoyed up the State after war, gave it renewed commercial opportunities, and restored its damaged credit abroad. Unfortunately the ruffianism of war intervened in 1793. It made Pitt and hosts of other Englishmen into conservatives.

Yet before we observe the sad effects of the French Revolution on Britain, our attention must be given to the elemental changes that were modifying the working conditions in town and country. Only as we understand the

changes in agriculture and industry can we appreciate the strength of Britain as a new century opens.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL UPHEAVAL

THE last half of the eighteenth century was the scene of much unrest. The demand for political and financial reform, the devastating rebellion of the American colonies, Irish insistence on a better status in the Empire, the reparation of the government of British India, these and many other tasks called for much attention. Following the American Revolution a careful remedial policy became necessary under the astute leadership of William Pitt. During the eighties much was done to mend the faults so conspicuous in the British State. And yet but a beginning had been made when the all-engrossing French Revolution turned the minds of the British ruling class to political problems and foreign policy.

Great Britain faced this new and greatest of national tests in a more vigorous fashion than ever before. The explanation is not to be sought in the reparation measures of Pitt or in the slight efforts at governmental reform. Since the beginning of the reign of George III a great change was in process in the social life of the Empire, especially in England; it was nothing less than the transformation of the conditions under which industry was carried on in town and country. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that during this time the re-making of agricultural and industrial methods brought a new Britain into existence, for it quickened marvelously the productivity of the land and of manufacture. And of very necessity it brought a new system of roads and canals. Even more than that it modified man's attitude to the mechanical forces that came increasingly under his control and changed mental attitudes toward traditional custom and the idea of progress. The word revolution is not inaptly applied to the earlier stages of the social reorganiza-

The impending French Revolution

Britain's industrial strength on trial

tion of Britain, even though that revolution extended over a much longer stretch of time than the American and French revolutions. And so far as influences are concerned, the industrial and agricultural reorganization was much more pervasive and unsettling than either of the political revolutions with which this epoch of British history is usually linked.

AGRICULTURAL ADVANCE

Agriculture was affected first. Here the immemorial methods were still very largely in use. There was indeed considerable variation throughout the shires. Agriculture Enclosure movements had arisen from time to time,¹ but their effect on farm methods previous to the eighteenth century was comparatively slight. In 1700 England was still largely a country of common fields, where the old village system persisted with but slight change. Within these open fields were the strips of the various members of the village, scattered here and there and separated by grass bands called balks, or sometimes by furrows. In the more advanced parts of the country the owners of the various strips had to some extent exchanged their allotments, so that the "lands" of one man were more compact. Yet the open-field system even then required uniform cultivation.

The personnel of the village was headed by the lord of the manor and the parson. Below the squire and the parson were often a number of freeholders who might have considerable possessions. The large and small freeholders made up what we already know as the yeomanry. Next in rank were the copyholders and tenant farmers, for whom the seventeenth century had been a particularly happy age. Then came the cottagers, or cottars, who might have a little land, the right to pasture a few animals on the common, and the privilege of cutting turf and fuel. The borderers, or squatters, were much like the ordinary farm servants save that they were allowed to

Agriculture
in 1700

Inhabitants
of the
village

¹ See page pp. 255, 327, 333.

build a hut and make a little "clearing" in the more distant part of the commons or the woods.

The drawbacks of the system have already been noticed.¹ The lord's manor court still directed the uniform village procedure — the distribution of the strips, the crops to be sown, the time of harvest, and the dates at which the fields were opened and closed for common pasture. Before 1773 universal consent was needed for any change of system. Of course, under such management, no particular farmer was free to follow individual caprice or to introduce newfangled ideas that would disturb the placid procedure of centuries. The result of the binding character of the open-field system on British agriculture was to make production tend to meet subsistence only, and to place British agriculture as a whole behind that of Holland, the Austrian Netherlands, and France.

It was the backwardness of British farming as compared with that on the near-by continent which seems first to have stimulated certain observant and creative minds to break away from the age-old customs. The pioneer was Jethro Tull, whose life as a farmer began in 1699. He selected his seed and studied the conditions best suited to its growth. He found that sowing broadcast was wasteful, since the seed was unevenly scattered and was not planted at a correct depth. Instead, he sowed his seed by means of a horse-drawn drill, which he had invented. He also learned the value of planting turnips and potatoes in rows so that his laborers could hoe between the plants. He also invented a horse-hoe. Best of all, Tull found that by hoeing and by the use of such crops as clover, turnips, and sainfoin the old-time succession with an occasional fallow year for each field was no longer necessary. In 1733 this pioneer of gentlemen farmers published his *Horse-Hoeing Husbandry*, "probably the most important book in the history of British agriculture."² Possibly Swift's famous statement, that he who could make

¹ See p. 517.

² Slater, *The Making of Modern England*, p. xxx.

two blades of grass grow where but one grew before was a greater benefactor to the human race than all the politicians who ever existed, might not unfittingly be applied to Tull.

The most famous of Tull's followers was Lord Townshend, with whom we have already become acquainted as Walpole's co-worker. In 1730 when the firm "Turnip Townshend" became Walpole and Townshend, the less important member abandoned the cultivation of politics for the development of his estate at Rainham in western Norfolk. His accomplishments soon made gentleman farming even more alluring. Townshend reintroduced the system of fertilizing the sandy soil of the region with the marl that was to be found as a subsoil. Marling proved wonderfully successful, because the combination of clay and lime gave the surface of the ground the elements needed for good crops. He used the drilling methods of Tull. The noble agriculturist put so much emphasis on the sowing of turnips that he became known as "Turnip Townshend." In fact, he invented the Norfolk "four-course rotation," consisting of turnips, followed by barley, then by clover, then by wheat.

The emphasis on root crops such as turnips made it possible to raise more and better farm animals. There was great need of improving the breeds along intelligent lines. Heretofore provincialism and custom had kept local peculiarities to their districts. Sheep were esteemed chiefly for their wool, oxen for draught purposes, cows for milk. It occurred to a Leicestershire farmer, Bakewell by name, that by stock-breeding experiments he could produce sheep and cattle that would be valuable as meat-producing animals as well. His astonishing success with the "long-horned Leicesters" led to a remarkable advance in sheep-farming. He also improved the breed of cattle and horses. During the century the average weight of cattle and of sheep more than doubled.

Bakewell,
the stock-
breeder

These pioneers gave an impulse to farming such as it had

never before received. It became the fashionable thing for
 Gentlemen the English nobleman to develop his fields just
 farmers at the time when the French noble was desert-
 ing his lands to become a courtier. Possibly the difference
 was partly the result of George III's own interest in farm-
 ing. At Windsor he evinced a keen concern in agriculture;
 for a time he had as his bailiff Nathaniel Kent, who did
 much to improve farming by his *Hints to Gentlemen of
 Landed Property*. Lord Rockingham and the Duke of
 Bedford, both of whom were prominent as politicians, were
 famed as farmers. Nor should we forget to mention
 Thomas Coke of Holkham in Norfolk, a fine example of
 gentleman farmer and improving landlord. In 1776 he
 inherited an estate of three thousand acres in bad need of
 attention. He soon made it over by marling, by the
 introduction of modern farming machinery, by the use of
 turnips and clover, and by the adequate stocking of his
 lands. He yearly had a gathering of agriculturists at his
 farm in sheepshearing time for the exchange of ideas.
 Nobles as well as simple farmers came from far and near.
 Coke offered prizes for agricultural improvements and even
 had classes for teaching farming. His name became well
 known and his work of wide importance.[†]

The leading publicist for the new agriculture was Arthur
 Young. Though not a great success as a farmer himself,
 he was indefatigable as an observer, experi-
 Arthur Young (1741-1820) menter, and writer. His simple, vivid style of
 expression made his writings readable, and his
 widespread observations gave them authority. In 1767 he
 published *The Farmer's Letters to the People of England*,
 "containing the sentiments of a practical husbandman."
 In 1768 appeared the results of *A Six Weeks' Tour in the
 Southern Counties of England and Wales*, to be followed two
 years later by *A Six Months' Tour Through the North of*

[†] It is interesting to know that the rising Edmund Burke endeavored to become a farmer in good earnest, experimenting with new seeds and writing to experts on the "merits of carrots in fattening porkers." George Washington and Thomas Jefferson are but two examples among the many in America that show the spread of the scientific agriculture.

England, and in 1771 by *The Farmer's Tour Through the East of England*. By his careful study of conditions throughout the country it became possible for the agricultural conditions of the nation as a whole to become known, and for something like a general advance to be made, since this untiring traveler made caustic and penetrative comments on backwardness wherever he found it. His later journeys to France became famous because his study of French farming just before the Revolution has furnished students an invaluable picture of the Old Régime on the eve of the cataclysm. In 1784 Young was largely instrumental in starting the publication, *Annals of Agriculture*, of which he was editor. The keenly interested King assured Young that he was the man in his dominions to whom he felt most indebted. The climax of Young's work was the establishment in 1793 of the Board of Agriculture.¹

THE ENCLOSURE MOVEMENT

The new agricultural advance very naturally came into conflict with the old open-field system and with the great majority of small farmers who distrusted the innovations. The reformers, quite naturally, favored enclosure; they advocated it as one of the necessary steps in the remaking of English farming. As the country was growing in population its needs were greater and greater. The enclosure of wastes would, in consequence, add to the farmed lands. The enclosure of open fields seemed also essential because the coöperative farming of a village on the strip system hindered the effective introduction of new methods. The formation of large estates also appealed strongly to the squires for social reasons. As yet the country was almost exclusively under the government of the holders of landed property.

Enclosures were not a new thing in Britain. But never before did the change affect so much of the land. The methods of doing away with open fields and waste land were various. In former times it was often done by mutual

¹ The Board of Agriculture was a voluntary association, though assisted by a treasury grant. It existed for twenty-six years.

agreement or by the purchasing of the commoner's rights by one or more persons. In the seventeenth century the custom grew up of enclosing by means of an act of Parliament. There were two such acts in the days before the Commonwealth and only five before the coming of the Hanoverians. During George I's reign there were sixteen, in the reign of George II over two hundred. The rapidity of enclosures greatly increased after 1760, for there were about fifteen hundred enclosures acts before 1800 and over twice that many for the whole reign of George III.

The legislative process was started by a petition sent to Parliament from the village, the petition usually initiated by the lord of the manor, the rector, and the more substantial landholders. Usually the petitions bore the names of the owners of three fourths of the land of the village; this might require, however, but a few names or even only one. Often the solitary signature of the big landowner was enough to set an enclosure act in process. The petition having been read, leave was given for the introduction of a bill. The bill included the names of several commissioners who were to effect the enclosure, the persons being chosen by the petitioners. Enclosure acts passed almost as a matter of course. Lord Sandwich expressed the prevalent view of the governing squirearchy in his statement in the House of Lords, "that the more enclosures the better, that as far as his poor abilities would enable him, he would support every enclosure bill that should be brought into the House."¹ In the earlier days the process of redistributing land might be, and often was, done with secrecy. This led to such an outcry that in 1774 a Standing Order prevented a secret application by requiring the petition to be affixed to the parish church door for three successive Sundays. But little good came from it, for the dominant land-owning class paid scant heed to counter petitions sent up by the small farmers and cottagers.

¹ Quoted in Hammond, *The Village Labourer*, p. 58.

After the act was passed, the commissioners carried out the enclosure in the interests of the petitioners. The land had to be appraised and the decision made as to how much each villager was to have. Surveyors then set about the remapping of the fields. The lord of the manor then received land in place of old manorial rights as well as having his lands grouped together. The vicar often also received lands instead of tithes. A villager's rights of pasturage on the common for geese and for one or more cows and other animals were transferred into land values. Often, however, the cottager received in lieu of his former privileges of pasturage and of cutting hay and fuel so small a portion of the soil that he could not profitably work it. At Louth, for example, sixty-seven persons were allotted less than an acre; in the Ches-hunt enclosure forty-nine persons came out with the same result. And it was required, in addition, that each one fence in his allotment with a good quickset hedge, an expense the unfortunate poor could not afford; often the cost of hedging the lands of the lord or of the vicar was to fall on the rest, according to the act.

The redistribution of land in an enclosed village

The effects of enclosure are already somewhat apparent. An improving landlord was able to farm according to the new methods with increasing returns. The enclosure of waste added large sections of the country to the productive soil. The country became more and more a land of hedges, where the cavalry of a Prince Rupert or a Cromwell would have found it impossible to campaign with ease. But the effects were by no means to the good, as a whole. The village life was broken up. Many of the luckless holders of small plots sold their acre or less even before enclosure was completed. They were either driven from the village or compelled to stay as laborers on the verge of poverty. A counter-petition from Raunds in Northants pathetically put the case thus: "They further conceive, that a more ruinous effect of this enclosure will be the almost total depopulation of their town, now filled with bold and hardy husbandmen, . . . and driving

Baneful effects

them from necessity and want of employ in vast crowds into manufacturing towns.”¹ Many of the “loveliest villages of the plain” became illustrations of Goldsmith’s well-known lament, for the dispossessed inhabitants did emigrate to the manufacturing centers, or over the sea, or became a burden on the community in which they may have remained. The problem of the poor was greatly aggravated. Nor is it too much to say that with the losing of the land by the poor a new drink problem arose. The landless man had lost his anchorage.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Unfortunately, this social strain in the country villages was at its height when an equally momentous modification of manufacturing conditions was in process. Although the changes in manufacture began somewhat later than the enclosure movement, the effects of the former were probably already more profound by the end of the century. The textile trades were first vitally influenced by the new inventions, then mining and the use of steam for power as well as the improvement in methods of communication gave increased momentum to all the trades.

In the making of cloth the so-called “domestic system” still prevailed in the early eighteenth century. The carding and spinning and weaving were done as they had been for centuries. And the work was often part of the labor of the farmer’s family in their spare moments. On the market day the farmer who was a manufacturer in a small way would frequently carry the goods made by the family in one hand and a basket of fresh butter in the other. In Lancashire, where much of the work was done, the weavers were often independent men, buying their own raw materials for carding, spinning, and weaving.

The chief change came in the cotton industry, though the woolen manufacture was later as much affected by the new inventions. The making of cotton cloth was not so old as

¹ Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

the making of woollens, for the simple reason that in the case of woollens the raw material was at hand. Cotton goods had long been imported from the East. The fine and thin muslins and calicoes from the East were becoming more and more fashionable for ladies' wear by the middle of the century. But the attempt to compete with the fine cotton goods of India had been largely unsuccessful. British hand-spun yarn was not fine enough. In consequence, the cotton goods made in Britain at the time were not pure cotton; the warp was of linen or wool. At the opening of the century the annual import of cotton amounted to less than 700,000 pounds. But a series of remarkable inventions soon increased the cotton business of Lancashire and the export trade of the rising port of Liverpool.

In 1738 John Kay of Bury invented the fly shuttle by which the productivity of the hand weaver was doubled; this made the dearth of yarn, both cotton and wool, even more severely felt, and the weavers were often idle for lack of material. The situation was partially remedied in the sixties by James Hargreaves of Blackburn. He invented a spinning machine which produced eight threads simultaneously by the turning of one wheel. His "jenny" became popular despite the anger with which it was at first received, because it could be used in the homes, and was so easy to operate that a child could work it. Soon the jennies were carrying twenty spindles. The weavers were now kept busy, even though the jennies could not spin yarn firm and strong enough for warp. The next step came at the end of the same decade. Richard Arkwright of Bolton patented a "water frame" in 1769 which spun yarn by rollers. The yarn was harder and firmer than that made on the jenny, and could be used as warp. But as Arkwright's machines were heavy and not adaptable for domestic use, water power was employed to run them. The yarn made by the water frame was commonly called "water twist."

It was not until ten years later, in 1779, that the final

step was taken in the improvement of spinning. Samuel Crompton's mule Crompton of Bolton — like the other inventors, a Lancashire man — was accustomed to do his set amount of work each day on the jenny. He succeeded in improving on both the previous inventions by combining the principles of the two former spinning machines. He was successful in producing a machine known as the "mule," which could be used at home. It was able to do what neither Arkwright nor Hargreaves made possible, produce yarn fine enough for making muslins and calicoes. Henceforth pure cotton could be made in Lancashire. Crompton's first mule had forty-eight spindles; seven years later one was made with over a hundred spindles; by the end of the century over three hundred spindles were to be found on a single mule. Crompton's work came as the climax of the series, for his machine with some improvements remained the standard.

Other essentials to the new cotton industry came as the need arose. In 1785 Cartwright perfected a power loom, but it did not come into general use during the period we are considering. The hand-loom weavers continued to enjoy great prosperity for some time. Combing machines appeared also. It was soon realized that bleaching could be done by chemicals instead of by the troublesome sun bleaching. Acres of ground were often covered by cloth on favorable days under the old system. Nor should it be forgotten that in America an ingenious Yankee, Whitney by name, was making possible a larger production of cotton by his invention of the gin (1792) for the cleaning of the raw cotton as it was picked on the plantations.

The increase of the import of cotton from the West Indies and America is eloquent testimony to the revolution that took place in the latter half of the century. In 1700 the import was about 700,000 pounds annually; by the sixties it had increased to nearly 4,000,000 pounds; when Crompton's mule was invented the annual import was between six and seven million

pounds; ten years later, at the opening of the French Revolution, it was 32,000,000 pounds. We can begin to realize why Britain was not particularly set back by the American Revolution.

Simultaneously with the expansion of the textile trades there was a stimulation of the mining industry and of the manufacture of iron and steel. The iron industry was not in its infancy but rather in its dotage. Charcoal was yet necessary in making pig iron in the furnaces. But the use of timber to make charcoal had so depleted the woods that fewer and fewer smelting furnaces were in use as the first half of the eighteenth century came to a close. Iron was imported from the colonies and from the countries of Europe, particularly Sweden. The need was partly met by the discovery in the thirties that coke made from coal could be used for smelting in place of charcoal made from wood. The change was brought about by the ingenuity of a Shropshire ironmaster named Abraham Darby. It was only a partial remedy, however, since the smiths still were laboriously working up "pigs" into wrought iron on forges. The opening of new districts was slow in consequence.

Not until the eighties was the process called "puddling" completed and patented; by it the raw pig iron was refined in a furnace. Henceforth iron works began to appear in new places — not necessarily near or in forests. Wherever coal and iron were found together new works were erected, especially in Staffordshire, in western Yorkshire, and in South Wales. The Black Country came into being. The steel manufactures had long been centered at Sheffield, but imported metal was largely used. About the middle of the century Benjamin Huntsman of Sheffield invented the process of casting steel; one more impetus had been given the iron and steel manufactures. The country ceased to import and began to export iron and steel. By the end of the century the number of smelting furnaces had nearly doubled, and the production of iron had more than quadrupled. Iron began to be used

The iron
industry

Increased
use of iron
and steel

in diverse ways. The first iron bridge was built over the Severn in 1779, and before the century closed an iron ship had been launched. But the advance in the nineteenth century was to make the beginnings seem insignificant.

We have noted the relation between the new iron industry and the use of coal. The impetus to coal mining was tremendous when it was found that English coal could be used for other purposes than on the domestic hearth. Before 1760 the most important coal field was in the Tyne region because coal was easily shipped by water from Newcastle to all parts of the country. When industrial needs were found for coal, and especially when coal and iron could be mined in the same regions, as in western Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire, it meant a great increase in the number of collieries.¹

A serious impediment to the colliers was the presence of water in the mines, especially in the deeper mines which were being dug in the eighteenth century. The old-fashioned air pump was quite inadequate. Early in the century an ironmonger by the name of Newcomen perfected a pump the piston of which was raised by steam and lowered by atmospheric pressure. Though Newcomen's pump was necessarily slow, it greatly aided in the development of mining. It was of more value, though, in the revolution we are studying, because it impelled the Scottish maker of mathematical instruments, James Watt, to the perfection of the first steam engine. In 1763 a Newcomen engine was brought to Watt for repair. He saw the wastefulness of cooling the cylinder that the atmospheric pressure might push down the piston. After studying the matter for several years, Watt first invented a separate condenser, and later added greatly to the efficiency and speed of his engine by closing the cylinder at both ends; the piston

¹ Nor should mention be omitted of the wonderful progress in the china and earthenware trades. Northern Staffordshire, the district ever since known as the "Potteries," became the center of an ever larger number of kilns whence work of high artistic value went to all the chief countries of Europe. Josiah Wedgwood, who died in 1795, is the most famous of the eighteenth-century makers of pottery and porcelain.

was pushed by steam not only up but down. Not until the eighties did Watt further improve his machine by making it usable, not only for pumping, but for driving a wheel and thus turning machinery.

Its applications soon became numerous. It not only cleared mines of water but sunk shafts and brought coal from the pits. It was used at the forge in place of water power and for producing the blast for the smelting furnace. His engine proved valuable in the textile trades in operating the increasingly large "frames," or machines. Watt's invention gave a new power to man, more fundamental for the development of the last century and a half than any we have yet considered. It accelerated human activity along every avenue of industrial and commercial advance. Not until the nineteenth century was Watt's engine to be used to propel railway engines and ocean steamers. Nor was this powerful agent widely used in other countries until some time after its application to British needs. Britain, as a result, was placed far in the lead of any competitor.¹

Applications
of steam
power

TRANSPORTATION

Our study of the forces that remade Britain in the last half of the eighteenth century would not be complete without some appreciation of the network of roads and canals that made possible the knitting together of the various industrial and agricultural districts. The means of communication that had remained exceedingly poor ever since Roman times were improved by better highways, by the digging of canals, and, later, by the laying down of railways for steam locomotion. We have had occasion to refer to the highways.² If travelers of the time were judges, the roads must have seen little improvement before the late eighteenth century. That ceaseless traveler, Arthur Young, thus describes one of the main roads of

State of
the roads

¹ Watt's success was made possible by his partnership with a rich manufacturer of Birmingham, Matthew Boulton. It was in the Boulton and Watt works, about 1800, that gas was first used for lighting.

² See pp. 518, 613.

Lancashire as he found it in 1770: "I know not in the whole range of language terms sufficiently expressive to describe this infernal road. To look over the map and perceive it is a principal one, one would naturally conclude it to be at least decent; but let me most seriously caution all travelers who may accidentally purpose to travel this terrible country, to avoid it as they would the devil." The general condition of the roads was such that the carriage of goods was still largely by pack-horses. In Cornwall carts were scarcely used before 1800. During the wet winter season they were hardly used anywhere.

The need of better roads for the scientific farmers and the new industries led to a great increase in the grant of roads to turnpike commissioners. They assumed the care of a particular stretch of road and collected tolls of the traffic as their reward. From 1760 to 1774 over four hundred and fifty acts of Parliament related to road improvement. At this time, also, road makers were beginning to take more care in laying down sections of turnpike. The pioneer was the blind John Metcalf, who constructed an improved stone and gravel road in Yorkshire as early as 1765. During the next thirty years he added to his reputation and to the comfort of travelers by carefully supervising many miles of reconstructed roadway. Another early road maker of worth was Thomas Telford. He became public surveyor for the county of Shropshire in 1787. His building of roads, bridges, and canals became so highly esteemed that Telford built a thousand miles of road in Scotland for the Government in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Another Scot, John McAdam, became even more famous as a road engineer. His work, the making of *macadamized* roads by the use of broken stone, was scarcely begun before the eighteenth century came to a close.

One of the best evidences of the improved roads of the time was the change in the postal system. Previous to 1784 all the mails were still carried by postboys at a speed hardly exceeding five miles an hour. In that year, how-

ever, John Palmer of Bristol conceived the use of fast mail coaches for the sending of letters. He later, as Comptroller of the Post Office, so extended and perfected the system that by the end of the century hundreds of towns were receiving their daily mail.

Improved
postal
service

Britain, strangely, lagged far behind Holland and France in the use of artificial waterways for internal commerce. The numerous streams were largely used but were not effectively joined by canals. The canal that initiated the new era of waterway carriage was, typically enough, for the purpose of taking coal from Worsley to Manchester. The Duke of Bridgewater, owner of the collieries at Worsley, believed that a canal could be devised for shipping his coal the seven miles to Manchester to replace the slow and expensive use of pack-horses. He consequently engaged an uneducated genius, James Brindley, to do the work. The canal was successfully completed in 1761, and the price of coal in Manchester fell fifty per cent as a result. In 1772 the Duke of Bridgewater and Brindley extended the canal to Runcorn on the Mersey in order to give water communication between Manchester and Liverpool. It was a great stimulus to the cotton industry and to Liverpool as a shipping center. In the meantime the potters of Staffordshire looked to canal carriage as a safer means of getting their products to market unbroken. Accordingly, they connected with the Duke's canal at Runcorn, the Grand Trunk Canal that opened up the Potteries and joined the Mersey with the Trent and the North Sea. Others crossed the Pennines to Yorkshire. The Severn and the Thames were also connected with the great Midland network of canals. At the same time the Forth and the Clyde were joined in the Scottish Lowlands. It was after the opening of the next century that Telford built the Caledonian ship canal northeast and southwest through the heart of Scotland.

Canal con-
struction

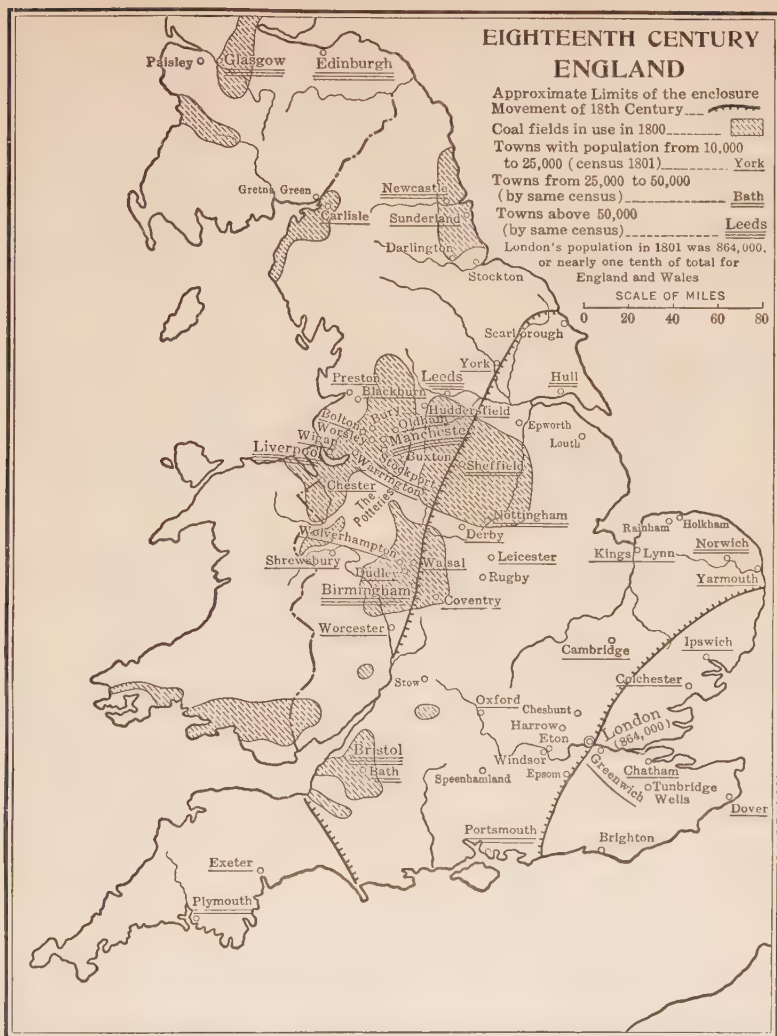
Canal construction was at its height by 1800. The feverish eagerness for making the waterways was occasioned by

the manifest advantage of this slow but sure means of carriage. Until the highways were made into really satisfactory hard roads and the railways served for faster communication, the canal system was an indispensable adjunct of the Industrial Revolution.

THE NEW BRITAIN

Now that the principal aspects of the revolutions in agriculture and manufacture have passed in review, it will be well to note some of the effects of this amazing set of changes on Britain and its Empire. They were already apparent by 1800.

For one thing, there was an increase in wealth within the country on a scale hitherto unknown. The exports were worth but six millions of pounds about 1700; in a century their value had increased nearly six times, and over half of the increase had occurred in the last forty years of the century. Imports had risen correspondingly. The figures for the cotton and iron trades have already furnished eloquent evidence. But the export and import figures cannot tell us of the growth of internal commerce where the additions were doubtless even greater because of the improvement in methods of communication, the rapid growth of population, and the rising standard of living. It is difficult to gauge the wealth of the country, but possibly the growth of the national debt and of the revenue may help to an appreciation of its increase. The recently created national debt was about £36,000,000 when the War of the Spanish Succession closed. It had increased sevenfold by 1793 and was fifteen times as large in 1802 as in 1714. Pitt and his successors who waged the long wars against France from 1793 to 1815 found the taxable resources greater than ever before, and were able to pay an even larger proportion of the current war expenses out of revenue. This is an important means of checking the financial conditions, since the wars against the Revolution and Napoleon entailed a national expenditure about nine times as great as any previous eighteenth-



century conflict. "The triumphant issue of the French war was largely if not mainly due to the cotton mill and the steam engine. England might well place the statues of Watt and Arkwright by the side of those of Wellington and Nelson."¹

The figures for population show that the island was

¹ Lecky, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 280.

rapidly becoming a teeming human hive, and at a rate never before known. By 1760 the population had grown to over six millions. During the last forty years of the century, the years of the changes in agriculture and industry, the population rose to nine millions. A population that had not increased more than ten per cent in the seventeenth century more than doubled in the eighteenth. Or to put it another way, the percentage of increase in the eighteenth century was about the same as that for the whole period from 1066 to 1700. Thinkers of the time were seriously concerned over population problems. The famous essay of Malthus, published in 1798, startled his contemporaries by declaring that the food supply was not keeping pace with a growth that would, if unhampered, double the population every twenty-five years.

It is impossible to know with certainty just how the people were distributed, for the first census was taken only in 1801. But we can learn from estimates and comparisons that the population was shifting radically during the years of industrial change. Through all the previous centuries the majority of the people of England were living in and around London and in the southern and eastern counties. The northern part of the country, which had been comparatively deserted, became heavily populated as a result of the eighteenth-century changes. Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, Staffordshire, and Warwickshire vied with Middlesex and Surrey. The movement to the northern industrial centers in the forty years before 1800 was a revolutionary change such as England had never before known. During the nineteenth century the ever rapidly rising census figures were to be but an emphasis of the revolutionary shift of the eighteenth century. Scotland was having a similar experience on a smaller scale. The disparity between the population of the Lowlands and that of the Highlands was becoming greater than ever as the valley of the Clyde became a busy industrial center.

And the movement to the urban centers was making England over from a predominantly rural to a more and more urban country. If the changes in agriculture were partly to blame, the rise of the factory system was an even greater incentive; the one tended to push and the other to pull people to the towns. With the growing size of the machines, the spreading use of the steam engine, and the natural concentration of related industries, the urbanizing of the people became more evident. At first the factories were small and often in the rural districts. But the land was becoming irresistibly one of tall chimneys, with many a countryside darkened by an almost perpetual veil of coal smoke and with the rivers polluted by the dark stains of dye-woods and the refuse of the factories.

The effect of these upheavals on the people need not be extensively considered at this time; human misery and vice in crowded tenement districts became critical only after the Napoleonic wars. The Industrial Revolution came so rapidly that much that was evil grew up before regulations sufficiently stringent checked the mad rush for wealth at the expense of the lower classes, of the children, and of the national health. Unfortunately, political power was wholly in the hands of those inclined to exploit the lower classes. Politically, therefore, the changes meant a greater insistence in the next century on parliamentary reform and on the rights of the proletariat.

In short, the student of British history must realize that after 1800 new issues and conditions color all the future growth of the British peoples. Underlying the manifold developments is a new set of forces. The hard-and-fast mastery of tradition was being broken. Man's tools assumed a new importance. Perhaps the most fundamental effect on British life of the agricultural and industrial advance was the change in men's habits of thought. And this imposes on the student of subsequent British history a radical modification of his attitude, for Britain was becoming a "new thing under the sun."

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CHAPTER XXXIII

BRITAIN AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE eighteenth century was not to close before a profound change occurred in the course of British development. In 1789 the French Revolution began its overturning and reshaping of the seemingly solid despotism in France. Its effect on Britain can be thought of as similar to an earthquake that so modifies a river's course as not to stop its movement but to change its channel. The peace ministry of Pitt became a war ministry faced by problems that were entirely unforeseen. The ferment of French revolutionary ideas profoundly influenced thinking and actions in the island kingdom across the Channel. Foreign and domestic policy was deeply affected. "Memorable eighty-nine," as Cowper put it, was sung by the poet because the frail mind of George III temporarily recovered sanity in that year. But it was to prove memorable to Britishers for more weighty reasons.

The Revolution in France was long preparing. The French State had developed, particularly under Louis XIV, into a strong centralized monarchy. Its pretensions to control the course of European affairs had been sharply challenged in the War of the Spanish Succession, and its claim to a powerful colonial dominion successfully questioned by Britain in the Seven Years' War. The damaged prestige of the monarchy led to more and more frankness on the part of its dissatisfied thinkers as they criticized the French social and political system. The country, though prosperous as a whole, was governed by a top-heavy despotism in which the social and political privileges were confined to about one per cent of the population. To make matters worse, the ailing condition of the Government which Louis XVI inherited in 1774 became more grave in spite of attempts at reform by such men as Turgot and Necker. Financial troubles dogged the

Memorable
eighty-nine

Causes for
the French
Revolution

State, and became even worse as a result of French assistance to the revolting American colonies. The condition grew alarming by the end of the eighties. The good-natured and weak-willed Louis was unable to solve a situation for which he was not primarily to blame.

The Estates General, which the King called into his counsels in 1789, was the analogue of the British Parliament.

Rise of the
French
democracy

But it had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years. Indecision on the part of the court as to the methods of procedure in the assembly led to the dominance of the representatives of the Third Estate, or commoners. They set out in the spring of "memorable eighty-nine" to refashion the State on democratic lines. A Declaration of Rights formed the basis for a constitution which made France a limited monarchy. In the meantime violence had naturally arisen; the Bastille was taken in July of that year, and in October the King was forced to transfer his court from Versailles to Paris. Louis and his Queen, Marie Antoinette, accepted their lot unwillingly. In 1791 they even attempted to escape in order to join the forces of "feudal Europe" in holding back the democratic movement. In the next year republicanism arose as the more radical solution of the French dilemma. By that time the affairs of France were no longer of domestic interest only. Britain as well as the absolutist monarchies on the Continent realized that the French upheaval was endangering other absolutisms and aristocracies than those of France.

THE BRITISH REACTION

Early effects
on England

The impulses to reform the French situation in the direction of political and social equality were drawn at least partly from English sources. The philosopher, John Locke, was much read by French thinkers of the eighteenth century. Voltaire and Montesquieu both had made important sojourns in England and had carried back a wholesome impression of the freedom of thought in a parliamentary state. The British and Ameri-

can examples were of no little value to the French patriots bent on reform. It was natural, as a result, that considerable sympathy should be expressed in Britain for the work which seemed designed to make French despotism over into a state not unlike that in the British Isles, or even to do a more thorough job and really bring about economic and political reform. Before 1789 there had been considerable agitation in Britain with just that purpose in view. In England the privileges of the landed classes were not so monopolistic as in France, but they were undoubted. Various "revolution" societies such as the Society of the Bill of Rights and the Constitutional Society existed in the English towns. In 1780 a Society for Promoting Constitutional Information was founded. Probably the best known of such organizations was the London Revolution Society. In 1788 — the centenary of the winning of "political liberty" — much attention was paid in the London Society to the liberties not yet won in England.

The work of the French Assembly thus found considerable favor. The scientist Priestley was greatly aroused by their work: "I hope," he declared, "the time is ap- The revolution societies proaching when an end will be put to all usurpation in things civil or religious, first in Europe and then in other countries." The London Revolution Society, which was largely recruited from Dissenters, rejoiced over the events occurring across the Channel. At its annual meeting in November of 1789 much attention was given to the work in France, and an address was drafted and sent to the Assembly congratulating it on the victories already won. A noted Unitarian minister, Dr. Price, preached an anniversary sermon in which he thanked God that he had lived to see that eventful year. Not only did the Revolution stimulate the "revolution" societies already in existence, but it led to the formation of new ones among the middle classes; the Society of the Friends of the People and the London Corresponding Society were started in 1791 and 1792, respectively.

Among the upper classes there was a divided feeling.

The Whigs would be expected to look with some favor on the French Revolution. Fox, who was a convinced Liberal, enthusiastically welcomed the changes. His famous remark on hearing of the fall of the Bastille is well known: "How much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!" He characterized the new French constitution as "the most stupendous and glorious edifice of liberty which has been erected on the foundations of human integrity in any time or country." But Fox's Whig colleague, Edmund Burke, distrusted from the first the worth of the Revolution. He feared that the "old Parisian ferocity" would tend to separate freedom from justice and steer the ship of state to its destruction. Burke's Whiggism was of a conservative kind; he loved "England as he found her, England of the establishment, England of the Whigs, ruled by men of station, with leisure and tradition."¹ To Burke the settlement of 1688 seemed endangered by the events in France. He was embittered by the rough way in which the royal family was treated at Versailles by the Paris mob. His anger was aroused by Dr. Price's harmless sermon to the London Revolution Society; he saw his worst fears seemingly realized. It led him to put into form in the famous *Reflections* his objection to the work of the French Assembly.

The condemnation which under his assiduous revisions had become a book in size proved of great importance in helping the British to take one side or the other in the controversy of tradition versus revolution.

The Tory government paid no attention at first to the Revolution. There seemed little genuine republicanism in England, for though the rich had political privileges they were not exempt from taxes; the parliamentary organization was in working order, and the finances were in commendable shape. Pitt and his colleagues looked without fear at a movement that would weaken an old rival. They even

Upper-class
reactions

Burke's
Reflections,
1790

Apparent
harmless-
ness of the
French
upheaval

¹ Brown, *The French Revolution in English History*, p. 76.

felt like congratulating a neighbor despotism in becoming more like their own country, though the change came violently. The Government even reduced the naval force in 1789 to 16,000 men; at the time Pitt forecast fifteen years of tranquillity for Britain.

Burke's pamphlet did much to clear the air, for it brought forth numerous and able replies. Mary Wollstonecraft wrote a *Vindication of the Rights of Man*; James Mackintosh appealed to enlightened opinion in his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*; Thomas Paine published the *Rights of Man* for the working classes and the discontented radicals — whom Burke referred to as the "swinish multitude." The last-named volume particularly brought home to the government and the upper classes the danger that Burke foresaw. Over two hundred thousand copies of the *Rights of Man* were sold. The volume was frankly republican in its point of view, for republicanism had obtained thorough empire over Paine's mind even before the American Revolution. To him hereditary monarchy was tyranny, and it was ridiculous to send to Holland or Hanover for kings who were not fit for the office of a "parish constable." He declared that one might as well choose a "Cherokee chief or a Hessian hussar." In his pitiless and scintillating examination of the whole structure of the British Government Paine called in question everything that Burke accepted and venerated. The reply to Burke would have been more effective had Paine not been so thorough a republican. It is little wonder that the incendiary volume was condemned and that Paine was outlawed. He had outraged a comfortable public opinion.

The growing aversion to the French Revolution soon took on a more definite character as events in France moved swiftly to more and more radical stages. The constitutional monarchy of which Louis was the unwilling King became more and more militant as the royalist *émigrés* busied themselves in arousing feeling in Austria. The feeling of the British Government was still for a strict neutrality. But the French made that attitude

Various
judgments
on the
French
Revolution

Appearance
of the
French Re-
public, 1792

a harder and harder one to maintain. In their frantic efforts to face the Austro-Prussian invasions in the fall of 1792, the populace rose against the monarchy. The Tuileries were invaded, the King was suspended, and a Convention was set up to face the menace of a foreign foe. The Government became in reality a republic. It proved terribly efficient; in the latter part of the year the armies of the Revolution swept into Belgium, conquered Savoy and Nice, and occupied the Rhine Provinces. Burke's prophecies seemed to be coming true, especially when the French Convention went to the extreme of executing Louis in January of 1793.

WAR WITH THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

Pitt was in a panic. The easy attitude of 1789 had gone in view of the "sedition" that seemed to be rising in Eng-
The growing
French
menace
land, and before the militancy of a regicide re-
public in France. The belief in a harmless
France could no longer be held when its armies
 were superbly victorious. Moreover, they went forth with the definite purpose of spreading the doctrines of the Republic. By a decree of the 19th November, 1792, the Convention offered fraternity and assistance to all peoples desiring to regain their liberty. This "declaration of war against all governments," as Pitt called it, was supplemented by another decree of the 15th December directing the French armies to set up appropriate governments based on the "sovereignty and liberty of the people." The French plainly had their eyes on Belgium, but it had long been a fixed British policy to keep the near-by Continental shore out of the control of a single strong state. The French also declared the river Scheldt open to navigation, even though it was closed by treaty to all shipping save that of the Dutch. And Britain had been a signatory to this limitation.

These menacing decrees taken in connection with the execution of the King and the aggressions in Belgium did much to crystallize anti-French opinion in Great Britain. The whole population wore mourning for the King of

France. Crowds, calling for war with France, surrounded King George's carriage when he went driving. When the news of Louis's execution became known, the French ambassador, Chauvelin, was ordered to leave the country. Up to this point the French Government seems to have expected that Britain would remain neutral. But on Chauvelin's return to Paris the French Republic declared war on Britain and Holland (February 1, 1793), confident that "impartial history will throw the whole blame on the English government." The reluctant Pitt had been swept off his feet, and Burke had become the greatest power in the country. No better illustration of the exaggerated fear need be cited than the scene in the House of Commons in 1792 when Burke melodramatically drew out a dagger from his bosom and threw it on the floor as he besought the House to keep French principles from their heads and French daggers from their hearts. Burke, though of great influence on opinion, never held any official position of importance. He died in 1797 when the hope of crushing the Revolution seemed most forlorn.

Pitt's speech to Parliament announcing the war with France makes interesting reading in the light of future events. He declared that the provocations endured from France were such that war only could bring "proper satisfaction for the past, and reasonable assurance with respect to the future." War was preferable to peace, "because it was a shorter and surer way to that end which the House had undoubtedly in view as its ultimate object — a secure and lasting peace." To the Prime Minister the protection of British commerce and the preservation of the "high state of prosperity" in Britain could only be attained by a "vigorous and timely interposition" against a nation threatening the "tranquillity of this country, the security of its allies, the good order of every European government, and the happiness of the whole human race." Pitt proved a poor prophet. Instead of a few months of war there were to be twenty years and more of wasteful conflict, and British prosperity and commerce

Britain and
France at
war, 1793

Pitt's rea-
sons for war

were to suffer as they had never suffered before. The "good order" of the British state was to be understood as the severe repression of every effort at reform and progress. It was to lead to further mistreatment of Ireland and to a second war with the former thirteen colonies. Could Pitt have foreseen all this his natural desire for peace might have held him back.

In the war against France, Britain was one of a coalition which included Prussia, Austria, Spain, and Piedmont.

The coalition The purpose of the war was frankly to oppose French revolutionary ideas as they exuberantly spread beyond the home country. The coalition was a questionable company at best. Fear of ideas was matched by a crass and gross selfishness that hardly seemed to justify the large subsidies that Pitt paid to Britain's allies. No better illustration of the dynastic heartlessness of the eighteenth century can be found than in the second and third partitions of Poland in 1793 and 1795. The interests of Prussia and Austria in snatching their share of the Polish state accounted largely for the almost uniform failure of the allies against France. It would have been a misfortune had France suffered defeat as did Poland, for it might have meant an inevitable dismemberment by a greedy coalition.

Britain contributed liberally to the failure of the allies. Financially the country was in good shape for a short con-

The British army flict. But the military preparations of Pitt were totally inadequate to make the war short

and decisive. The army was small and deficient in training. Throughout the first French War (to 1802) it was almost uniformly negligible. Early in the struggle a British force was sent to the Netherlands under the Duke of York, the King's son. After some slight successes it was driven back, along with the other allied forces, out of Belgium and then out of Holland into northwestern Germany; the remnant came back to Britain by way of Bremen. Another disastrous army expedition was that dispatched to aid the French royalists in Brittany (1795). During these years

the country lacked efficient military leadership and anything like a well-worked-out plan of operations. It is true that the secretaryship for war was created at this time, but the office was held by the Scottish Dundas, who only added to the incompetency of the Duke of York and lesser known men.

The British navy played a more important rôle than the army. But if, in the end, it proved a decisive factor, the beginning of naval operations was discouraging enough. The impressment of men and the pay-^{The navy}ment of low wages — they had not been raised materially since the time of Charles II — were the causes of much unrest. British merchant seamen were as a rule unwilling to serve in the navy because of the severity of the discipline. Despite these drawbacks the British naval force was capable of much, for it was somewhat larger than the French navy at the beginning of the war. Yet its record was not impressive for the early years of the conflict. Pitt at first was assisted by no fleet leaders such as Nelson, Jervis, or Collingwood, nor was the navy wisely directed. Instead of the superior fleets of Britain being used to blockade the French squadrons, the British navy was dissipated in the capture of sugar islands and the harrying of commerce. During the early years there was only one great naval victory, that of Howe off Brest in 1794.

Such was the progress of the war in its early stages — before the advent of Napoleon. While this brilliant general was humbling the Austrian forces in Italy, the French were actually able to land troops in Ireland and in Wales. Though the invasions^{Danger of an invasion from France} were unimportant they showed that the fleets had a definite task. The British even felt it necessary to evacuate the Mediterranean in that year (1796) as a result of the danger of invasion and because Spain became an ally of France. The concerted efforts of France and its new allies, Spain and Holland, failed, nevertheless, to bring about a successful crossing of the Channel. Early in 1797 Admiral Jervis battled the Spanish Mediterranean fleet off Cape Saint

Vincent in order to prevent its junction with the French. Nearer home the British labored to prevent the Dutch fleet in the Texel and the French ships at Brest from coöperating or aiding a crossing of troops. The danger became tenfold a few months after the victory of Cape Saint Vincent by the "strike" of the British sailors against their low pay, harsh treatment, and bad food. At one time Admiral Duncan had but two ships watching off the Texel. Had the Dutch realized the situation the outlook might have been calamitous. As it was the Dutch fleet on its emergence in October was badly defeated at Camperdown.

In 1798 Bonaparte set sail for Egypt with the purpose of injuring British trade and possibly striking at the enemy's oversea possessions. Thereupon the British admiralty sent Nelson — he had distinguished himself in the battle off Cape Saint Vincent — with a fleet into the Mediterranean to intercept the expedition. Though the French eluded the British, Nelson retrieved himself by defeating the French fleet as it lay in Aboukir Bay. At one stroke the British reëstablished themselves in the Mediterranean and cut off Napoleon from his home base. Minorca and, later, Malta were captured to serve as centers of naval activity. The difficulty with which Napoleon returned to France after his "filibustering" expedition in Africa and Syria is eloquent evidence of the new situation. British sea-power was at last asserting its supremacy despite the lameness of the Continental resistance to France.

Previous to Napoleon's return from Egypt the enemies of France were planning a second coalition in the hope of defeating the weak Directory.¹ But the return of Bonaparte settled their hopes. The intrepid general transformed the Republic into a Consulate of which he was the leader. Thereupon he proceeded to deal with the country's external foes. And with startling success.

¹ The Directory was the republican form of government that replaced the Convention in 1795. It received the name from the Directory of five members which formed the executive.

In 1800 Italy was reconquered with ease by Bonaparte, while Moreau was victorious on the other side of the Alps. The second coalition collapsed even more rapidly than the first, and Britain was again alone.¹

An account of the British part in the war from 1793 to 1802 would be incomplete without reference to the activities outside of Europe. In truth, from the first Pitt seems to have thought that his policy should follow that of his father in the Seven Years' War.

British
acquisition
of colonies

Troops and ships were busied from the start in snatching every available colony of the enemy. This "filching of sugar islands" and other commercial outposts gives a strong color of selfishness to the British conduct of the war, and it was to a large degree responsible for much of the ineffectiveness in Europe. Early in the war Guadeloupe, Martinique, Saint Lucia, and Tobago were taken. The efforts to capture Santo Domingo, where the negroes under Toussaint L'Ouverture were in revolt against France, was unsuccessful and very costly in men. In the first three years of the West Indian operations over eighty thousand British soldiers were disabled or killed. When the Dutch joined the French more colonies were open to attack. Ceylon, Dutch Guiana, Cape Colony, Malacca, and ports in the Spice Islands became British. Spanish Trinidad was added to the Empire in 1797. Just at the end of the century both Denmark and Sweden lost their West Indian holdings, and the Portuguese had to give up Madeira in 1801. This imposing list of colonial victories is impressive proof of the power of the British navy and the importance of oversea commerce in the eyes of the Government. But it is not good evidence of Pitt's determination to win a short and decisive war over the French revolutionists.

¹ The isolation was emphasized by an attempt of the northern nations to revive the Armed Neutrality of the previous war. (See p. 630.) The union of Prussia, Sweden, Russia, and Denmark was frustrated by the attack on the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, even though the nations were not at war. Nelson again distinguished himself.

REPRESSION IN BRITAIN

We have already found that Britishers were much affected by the burst of idealism in France. Burke's famous pamphlet and the numerous replies it evoked helped to clarify men's minds. Conservatives became more conservative. Liberals vigorously organized to hasten a reform in Britain that would approximate the work of the French Assembly. The various "revolution" societies, old and new, became more and more active, though they seldom showed any desire to overturn the existing régime. Classes which had not up to that time taken much interest in government found an opportunity to unite. Workingmen's politics really began in such clubs as the London Corresponding Society. So widespread was the feeling that a convention was even held at Edinburgh, in 1792, of delegates of the various reforming societies. It was a very quiet and moderate meeting; its fault was that the inspiration came from over the water.

The governing class grew more and more fearful. The Whig Party was split, one part, under Burke and the Duke of Portland, going over to the Tories. Fox and a mere handful of followers stuck by their liberalism even if their opposition in Parliament was of little avail. Reform in the House of Commons was absolutely dead. The governing class became so afraid of the malefic contagion that an expensive spy system was created by Dundas to net those who were guilty of disloyalty. The word "disloyalty" came to have a very extensive meaning; it was applied even to those mildly denying the perfect character of the British constitution. A number of famous trials illustrate the effort to check British "Jacobinism." The first important trials took place in Scotland in 1793. Thomas Muir, a brilliant young lawyer, was condemned to fourteen years' transportation to Australia for having recommended Paine's works, though with reserve.¹ A well-known and scholarly clergyman,

¹ The poet Burns, who had actually sent some guns to France to show his good will, wrote "Scots, wha hae" on hearing of the extreme severity with which Muir was treated.

Palmer by name, received seven years' transportation for revising a pamphlet for a society at Dundee.

In 1794 a similar, but less successful, procedure was begun in England. Some of the more important members of the corresponding and constitutional societies were arrested and tried. The former so- State trials ciety was attacked through its most prominent member, Thomas Hardy. But as a result of his brilliant defense by the great Erskine, the jury declared him not guilty. Horne Tooke and Thelwall, two other members of the Corresponding Society, were likewise acquitted through Erskine's efforts and the lack of real evidence of treason. The truth of the matter seems to be that the panic resulting from the war so affected the Government and Pitt, its leader, that they exaggerated treasonable activities to justify war measures. The societies were simply stimulated by French example to seek parliamentary reform by an agitation of public opinion. But it came at the wrong time.

"War" legislation bore down heavily on any who might object to the conduct of the Government. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in 1795 for the remainder of the century. All secret associations were placed under the ban. By the Seditious Meetings Act of 1795, lecture rooms where an admission was charged were ranked as brothels. Meetings could be held only on due notice of householders, and none could be attended by more than fifty persons without the superintendence of the magistrate. In the same year a Treasonable Practices Act so extended the definition of treason that it seriously infringed on liberty of speech. Printing-presses were registered, and no English papers could be sent abroad. In 1799 the Corresponding Society and others were suppressed by name, and in the same year a famous anti-combination act forbade trade unions. It is an humiliating record, only to be explained by the severe strain under which the Government found itself as the war dragged on indecisively and piled up debts for the country.

Repressive
war legisla-
tion

Internal distress was also a fruit of the weary struggle. Prices went up, grain especially became very dear because of the rapidly growing population, the interruption of commerce, the crop failures of such lean years as 1795 and 1797, and the determination of the landed aristocracy that they should get a price for their "corn." So acute became the distress among the lower classes that it amounted almost to famine. Insufficient wages were met by doles. By the end of the period we are studying over a quarter of the population were being helped under the provisions of the poor law.

Distress of
the lower
classes

THE UNION

Not the least troublesome consequence of the war was the reëmergence of the Irish question. When it was last encountered at the close of the American Revolution some commercial privileges were granted Ireland, as well as a greater measure of legislative independence. Much yet remained, notwithstanding, to cause ill feeling among the Irish, for the peaceful years of Pitt's ministry slipped by without an attempt to handle thoroughly the anomalous Irish Government. Ireland's legislative independence was but nominal, since the Lord Lieutenant was appointed by the British Crown. The "Castle gang," in consequence, was under the control of the British executive. The Irish Parliament, too, was in crying need of reform. Pocket boroughs were numerous and were unblushingly used to keep the ascendancy in the hands of the opponents of reform. One third of the three hundred members of Parliament were practically governmental nominees.

Government
by corrup-
tion in
Ireland

The reformers in Ireland were not united. Some would have conservatively opened Parliament to all Protestants; the most conspicuous advocate of this policy was Flood. Others wished equal privileges for Catholics and Protestants in a really reformed Parliament. Grattan, who championed this view with great power, was conservative in his wishes, for

The French
Revolution
and Irish
national
feeling

he would have restricted the franchise in the interests of good government. Even before the opening of war in 1793 radicals were expressing their wish for a separation of Ireland to form an independent state. Republicanism of the Tom Paine variety was most ardently expressed as early as 1791 by Wolfe Tone, a Belfast lawyer. He would, like Grattan, have Catholic and Protestant coöperate, but for a more extreme end. Wolfe Tone was responsible for the founding of the Society of United Irishmen at the beginning of the decade. The feeling of the Catholics against the tithes and the unfair system of landholding had also generated an association to attain better economic conditions. The Defenders, as they called themselves, sought to compass their purpose by violence, in the hope that outrage would bring concessions like those won by the Volunteer movement of the seventies.

In 1793 there was a slight step forward. Property disabilities were removed and the vote was accorded to Catholics as well as Protestants. But the step was a halting one. Parliament as well as the most important offices remained closed to Catholics, though Catholics could vote for members of Parliament. The rotten-borough system remained as rotten as ever.

Extension
of the Irish
franchise,
1793

The French war was sure to affect the Irish as much as or more than it did the liberal-minded minority in Britain. The slogan, "liberty, equality, fraternity," seemed an answer to Ireland's need. Irish sympathy with French liberalism complicated Pitt's task and proved him behindhand as usual in treating a condition which should have been courageously met years before. The Society of United Irishmen became a national medium for pro-French and pro-republican activity, so much so that Wolfe Tone, like Tom Paine, found a sojourn in France convenient. The tendency to affiliate with the French that rights might be won for Ireland was stimulated in 1795 by an unwise act of the British Government. When the Whigs joined the Tories, Lord Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Fitzwilliam was decidedly in

Growth of
radicalism
in Ireland

favor of Catholic emancipation and of reform in general. When, on his arrival in Dublin early in 1795, the new viceroy proceeded to make his sympathies plain, he was suddenly recalled. Indeed, his recall came just six weeks after he had gone to Ireland. Such a step was calamitous, for it showed the attitude of the Government toward reform. One might expect cautious action in view of the feeling that France was intriguing with Ireland. But in that case Fitzwilliam might better have not been sent, or at least have received explicit directions as to his attitude before he left.

From this time on matters drifted rapidly to a crisis. The various secret organizations became more active and more bitter. Feeling also arose between the
 The Irish revolt and its suppression two religions. The Protestants of Ulster founded the Orange Society to expel the Catholics from the north and to send them, as they put it, "to hell or Connaught." The French interest in Ireland was shown by several expeditions. At the end of 1796 General Hoche with fifteen thousand troops safely reached Bantry Bay but failed to land because of a storm.¹ Had the weather not intervened Ireland might well have been lost to Britain; and the British Government knew it. A determined effort, in consequence, was made to disarm the Irish. The methods adopted were brutal and better fitted to express the bestial fury of some half-civilized conqueror. Since regular troops were not available, for the army was busy taking sugar islands, irregulars were employed. Cromwell found a peer in General Lake. Ulster was "disarmed" in 1797, and Leinster in the next year. But it was more a reign of terror than anything else. The year 1798 was one of the most horrible that Ireland has experienced. The British at last succeeded in breaking up the United Irishmen by arresting the leaders. The decisive defeat of the revolutionists at Vinegar Hill in June practically ended the struggle. Two French forces that landed a few months later were unable to offset the British

¹ See the map on page 880.

victory. Wolfe Tone, who came with the French, killed himself to avoid being captured.

The anxieties of these years convinced Pitt that he should bring about a legislative union of Britain and Ireland. Cornwallis, who was already conspicuous for his imperial services in North America and India, was sent over as viceroy with the explicit purpose of uniting the "two kingdoms."¹ Legally the step could be taken only with the assent of both the British and Irish parliaments. But a body so corrupt as the three hundred legislators in Dublin proved recalcitrant. The resolutions in favor of union were even voted down by the venal Irish House of Commons in 1799. The only thing to do was to win votes by purchasing them. Corruption reigned supreme during that year and the next. British secret-service money was freely and unblushingly used to bribe the Irish Parliament out of existence. The borough owners were bought off at so much per borough. Peerages and pensions and honors of all sorts were used to create a majority for union. Pitt did not dare go to the electors on the issue, as had been done when the union with Scotland was brought about a hundred years earlier. A nation's birthright was being bought in as despicable a manner as could be imagined. The dirty work was at last done by March of 1800, and Ireland lost its Parliament despite the overwhelming opposition of public opinion.

The Act of Union went into effect with the opening of the year 1801. The Government, henceforth known as the "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ire-
land," was to have one Parliament at West-
minster in which Ireland was represented. Twenty-eight Irish peers, chosen for life, were added to the British House of Lords, and one hundred representatives joined the House of Commons. The Act provided that Irish peers who were not elected to sit in the House of Lords might represent a British constituency in the House of Commons. The two established churches were combined as the United Church

End of the
Irish Par-
liament

Terms of the
Act of Union

¹ See pp. 631 and 796.

of England and Ireland; four "lords spiritual" represented the Irish branch in the House of Lords. The two islands were put on a footing of economic equality.

The union of 1801 does not bear comparison with that of 1707. Irish union was not carefully negotiated by repre-

Comparison
of unions of
1707 and
1801

sentatives of the two countries, but was bought against the general will of its inhabitants. If the

union of 1707 was unpopular in Scotland, the union of Ireland with Great Britain was sure to be an even more severe wrench. With all the bribery that was so freely used, it is doubtful if the step would have been taken by the Parliament in Dublin had not the Irish believed that Pitt fully intended to follow the union with an act of emancipation. Nor were they disappointed. Pitt did propose to his Cabinet a thoroughgoing arrangement to emancipate the Catholics and commute the hated tithes. He seems to have left every reference to the Irish franchise out of the Act of Union in order to deal with it later and separately. But the Tory irreconcilables opposed the only step by which the methods affecting the union can be justified. Half his Cabinet held out against the measures of reform, and the King was convinced by one of the cabinet members

Resignation
of Pitt,
March, 1801

that his oath of office would not permit his assenting to Catholic emancipation. George III actively opposed Pitt's plan, and Pitt resigned.

He may have satisfied his conscience by so doing, but it seems impossible to believe that he did not know the condition that he would face when emancipation was proposed. If such were the case, his action in the whole matter can find little justification. He may have felt that union was essential to the Empire, but to win it by tacitly promising an emancipation that he could not insure is indefensible. The situation savors of his willingness to withdraw his efforts for reform in earlier years when he found the opposition too strong.¹

¹ As the King's mind gave way under the strain, Pitt promised that he would not raise the question of emancipation again during the ruler's lifetime. It would seem that tenderness for the health of one bigoted royal mind might better have been lavished on the needs of a whole people.

THE TRUCE

The Peace of Amiens was finally signed and sealed in 1802. Several times in the warring decade Pitt sought peace even on terms that were not favorable to Britain. The success of Napoleon in 1800 Peace of
Amiens,
1802 made peace even more necessary. Therefore the Cabinet of Addington — he succeeded Pitt as Prime Minister — again made overtures. Since Napoleon was ready for a respite the two countries were able to come to an agreement. The outcome was widely denounced in Britain as dishonorable. France gave up none of her conquests save the States of the Church and southern Italy, but Britain returned all the colonies she had so industriously gathered except Ceylon and Trinidad. Ceylon was kept because, in Pitt's words, it was "of all places upon the face of the globe, the one which would add most to the security of our East Indian possessions." And Trinidad was retained even in preference to Martinique because it was the best naval station in the West Indies and well situated for "future operations against the possessions of Spain in South America." Malta was to be evacuated and Egypt was to be returned to Turkey since "compared with the East and West Indies, the Mediterranean is but a secondary consideration." The manufacturers in Britain wanted a commercial treaty such as had been made in 1786, but Napoleon did not see fit to consider it. Thus ended one of the darkest periods in all of British history — darker because the peace did not really end the prospect of war. Within a year the struggle was renewed.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE STRUGGLE WITH NAPOLEON

PITT upheld the terms of the Peace of Amiens on the ground that "the great object of the war was defense for ourselves and for the rest of the world." He admitted that his hope of overturning the French revolutionary Government had not been realized; yet at least "we had survived the violence of the revolutionary fever, . . . we had seen Jacobinism deprived of its fascination; we had seen it stripped of the name and pretense of liberty; it had shown itself capable only of destroying, not of building, and that it must necessarily end in a military despotism." Both the admission and the prophecy should have been disquieting. But the British Prime Minister expressed little fear of the "Chief Consul" of France and saw "every prospect of enjoying a long peace." Yet Amiens proved but a respite in the war task, largely because Jacobinism had evolved into a military despotism.

Peace of
Amiens but
a truce

Bonaparte, made First Consul by the *coup d'état* of 1799, took the step of becoming Chief Consul for life after the close of the war. Two years later (1804) another plebiscite satisfied his desire to be Emperor, the symbol and the justification for his further encroachments on the Continent. The war that was renewed in 1803 lasted for twelve years, exceeding the previous war in length and bitterness. It engaged all of Europe sooner or later, and even dragged the young United States into the conflict. From the British point of view the outcome was more decisive and satisfactory than that of Amiens.

The second
French war,
1803-1815

THE RESUMPTION OF WAR

Hostilities began by a British declaration of war in May of 1803. The causes for this solemn step were various.

The Chief Consul showed as much energy during the short peace as he had in the previous war. Causes of the second war There was the general activity of the French in Europe, where Britain was not directly affected, but which aroused fear that the growth of French power would work against the "essential interests of the British Empire." Aggressions in Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, as well as the reconstruction of Germany aroused resentment and fear. While these aggressions could hardly serve as causes for war, they did convince Britain that the Gallic menace was not decreasing.

Napoleon's interest in Italy led to British concern with the Mediterranean. That concern seemed justified by the mission of General Sebastiani to the Levant during the peaceful interval in order to ascertain the political and military situation. The published report greatly startled the British by its frankness regarding Egypt. Importance of the Mediterranean Malta, which had not been evacuated by Britain, was retained for defense against aggression in Egypt, "important because of its connection with the safety of our Indian possessions." This surprising point of view is in marked contrast to the feeling at the time of the peace. Egypt had again become a primary matter because of the aggressiveness of Napoleon.

Nor did the Consul confine himself to Europe and the Levant. He was found to be contemplating a revived colonial empire. Increased military forces were sent to Pondichéry on the arrival of peace. Napoleonic intentions It soon became known also that Spain had ceded to France the vast territory of Louisiana. The French intention of contending for the West Indian trade and supremacy was also indicated by an elaborate expedition sent to reconquer Hayti. The British even felt it necessary to strengthen their fleet at Jamaica. It was such an accumulation of acts and inferences that led to the British declaration of war. "Every principle of justice and self-defense" seemed to prompt the action, although the pretext was the question of Malta; Britain insisted on holding it, Napoleon demanded evacuation.

When the war opened Addington was Prime Minister, a replacement for the conscientious Pitt, who was thwarted by the King on the question of Irish emancipation. But the people had no confidence in Addington as the leader in the new war. As a matter of fact, feeling was strong for a union of all the groups in Parliament in a coalition that would bring the maximum ability to the nation's service. When the former Prime Minister was asked to take the leadership in the spring of 1804, he would have included even Fox in the ministry. The obstinate King would not hear of this, and Pitt again yielded. Fox's friends refused to serve without him. The ministry, therefore, was made up of material none too promising, though there were several persons of future importance in the governing group. Lord Castlereagh was Secretary of War and of the Colonies. Dundas — he was now known as Viscount Melville — was put at the head of the Admiralty. Canning had a subordinate position as Treasurer of the Navy. But Pitt's guidance was not for long, as his health was fast breaking in those years. Added anxiety over the war in addition to the strain of his long public service told on him so seriously that his death came early in 1806. Though not the equal of his father as a war minister, he was distanced by no one of his time in sincere devotion to the interests of his country. His eagerness to lead the Government occasioned more than once a temporizing that proved a blot on his career. Even in finance his reputation has probably been greater than he deserved. Despite any disparagements, it must be said that William Pitt was probably the one public man in England at the time who was fitted to take charge of so Herculean a task as the opposition to Napoleon proved.

Pitt again
the Prime
Minister,
May, 1804

With Pitt gone the King was at last compelled to accept Fox as the leader of a ministry of All the Talents. For thirty years Fox had been in opposition; he had even objected to the American War and to the first war with France. We have already found how thoroughly warm was his welcome to the National

Fox's short
tenure of
office, 1806

Assembly and its work. He now had his opportunity, for he still believed that reform at home and peace abroad could be brought about. But the imperialism of France was not to be brooked in 1806 despite Fox's efforts at conciliation. Nor did he have the time to test thoroughly the policies that were so dear to him, for he followed Pitt to the grave after but half a year as Secretary for Foreign Affairs. This convinced Liberal had one of the strangest careers of any of Britain's public men. The abolition of the slave trade was one of the chief results of his brief term of office. His mind was remarkable for its powers, keenness, and consistency, his heart for its generous love of good causes and its devotion to liberty and democracy.

The ministry of All the Talents fell soon after the death of Fox, and gave way to a Tory administration. There
 Tories in power were several subsequent changes of leadership, but from 1806 until long after the war was over the Tory Party remained the guide of the British State — until the country so insistently demanded reform that the Whigs were called in to bring it about.

BRITISH SEA-MASTERY

Let us turn to the war itself. With a promptness and certitude quite different from the inactivity of 1793, the
 The British navy's task British navy immediately went to its task on the declaration of war. Within a few days the Channel fleet was blockading Brest, and Nelson had departed to resume British control in the Mediterranean. The naval outlook was bright. The war of '93 had begun with Britain's sea-forces numbering 193 ships of the line and about as many frigates. By 1803 the number of war vessels had nearly doubled at the same time that the French sea-strength had so dwindled that it was but a sixth of that of Great Britain. And Britain was in 1803 more confident than ever because great sea-captains like Nelson and Cornwallis, Collingwood and Cochrane had emerged to lead in the contest for the mastery of the water. Napoleon could still depend on the resources of Holland and Spain to

lessen the disparity between the French and British navies. His plan was to concentrate his forces so as to make possible an invasion of England. To do this, the French fleet at Toulon and the Spanish forces must unite with the fleet at Brest in order to hold at least temporarily the control of the Channel. If Napoleon could bring together all these available fighting units there would be some seventy ships to assist the "army of England" to cross the twenty-five miles of water between Boulogne and Dover. A flotilla of twelve hundred boats awaited at Boulogne the arrival of the fleets; as soon as they were sighted the army of 150,000 would rapidly embark for the expedition.

Napoleon's hope lay in the British necessity for watching many ports and in the wearing service demanded of those patrols that must stand all conditions of weather on the open sea. The critical operations came in 1805. The French fleet at Rochefort got away to the West Indies, where it was to meet and unite with the large fleet from Toulon. The latter, under Villeneuve's command, succeeded in escaping the watchful Nelson and in sailing for the West Indies. It was hoped that Nelson would be decoyed to follow and thus free the French force of a troublesome fellow. Nelson did as he was expected to do, but when Villeneuve turned back for Europe, Nelson was hotfoot after him. As a result of this race across the Atlantic, Villeneuve was able to join with other units of the French and Spanish navies so that he had twenty ships. In mid-August he sallied forth from Ferrol at the northwest corner of the Spanish peninsula. Had he gone north and attempted to join the Brest squadron, the decisive battle would have been fought off the French coast. It was the heroic step. Instead, Villeneuve sailed south to Cadiz in order to join the Spanish force there. As a result he had thirty-three vessels under his command. Outside, waiting for his next move, was Collingwood. In September Nelson took command of the British fleet of twenty-seven sail waiting and watching for Villeneuve.

Attempt to
combine the
Napoleonic
fleets

The orders of Napoleon to the fleet at Cadiz were that it should enter the Mediterranean in order to divert the attention of some of his Continental enemies. Pitt had succeeded in forming another coalition, the third, with Russia and Austria. Napoleon realized long before Villeneuve sailed southward to Cadiz that the planned invasion of England would be a waste of men and time. Consequently, he began moving troops eastward to attack Austria, and urged Villeneuve into the Mediterranean. The French admiral moved out of Cadiz for the Strait of Gibraltar in the latter part of October. The two fleets joined battle off Cape Trafalgar on the 21st. The result was a decisive British victory, owing to the superior seamanship of the British and the magnetic power by which Nelson aroused every man to do his duty. Despite Villeneuve's battle message, "Every captain who is not under fire is not at his post," ten of the Franco-Spanish ships did not take part in the battle. Over half of the fleet of Villeneuve was sunk or captured. The beloved and gallant Nelson lost his life, but not before he was aware, as was Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham, that the victory lay with the British. The symbolic location of the Nelson Monument in Trafalgar Square, London, at the "heart of the British Empire," is but mute evidence of the gratitude of his country for the work of Nelson, and of the place of sea-power in the growth of British security.

Trafalgar did not prevent the invasion of England, for Napoleon had already changed his plans. It did, however, render even more decisive the British superiority on the water. Henceforth Napoleon was compelled to adopt other measures to defeat his indomitable foe. There were no more great naval battles between the French and British fleets, for the French Emperor never seemed to realize the importance of maritime warfare. The British continued to blockade the remnants of the French navy, and to wear down the French resistance by destroying foreign commerce and increasing the British monopoly. Moreover, the control of the sea-lanes enabled the British

armies to be much more mobile than in the previous war. This was an important condition for success, since the British military preparations were more adequate than at any previous time.¹

Trafalgar seemed to have little effect on the triumphant career of the Emperor. In a fashion never before known he rapidly made over Europe into a continent controlled from Paris. After Napoleon saw that his plans for an invasion of England were not to work out, he rapidly transferred his forces eastward in order to attack Austria. Two days before Trafalgar the Austrian army of General Mack surrendered at Ulm in southern Germany. This laid open the way to the occupation of Vienna by the French. Early in December the remaining Austrian resistance was ended by the battle of Austerlitz. It is little wonder that Pitt uttered those gloomy but prophetic words on learning of the collapse of Austria, "Roll up that map, it will not be wanted these ten years."

The Napoleonic conquest of Europe

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

Napoleon proceeded to modify the map of Europe very freely during the next two years. The coalition was shattered by an humiliating treaty in which Austria lost Venetia and other territories. Russia also found it expedient to retire to safety. The year 1806 proved to be a year of transformations. The lower part of Italy was given to the Emperor's brother, Joseph, after a feeble Russo-British attempt to prevent it. A British force intent on reconquering Hanover likewise failed, and the electorate was given to Prussia by the Emperor as the price of friendship. Holland became a kingdom under another of the Emperor's brothers, Louis.

The Emperor's repartition of Europe

¹ The sea-mastery of the British also more effectually prevented a Franco-Irish coöperation against Great Britain. Shortly after the opening of the war, the pro-French Robert Emmet headed a rebellion in Dublin that was little more than a local mob movement because of its quick suppression. Emmet was hanged, the supplies — including green uniforms — were seized, and coercion laws of a harsh nature were severely imposed. Ireland, more miserable than dangerous, was sullenly quiet for the remainder of the war.

The Holy Roman Empire took leave of history at the command of Napoleon, to be replaced by a group of vassal States known as the Confederation of the Rhine. At the same time the Emperor carried on peace negotiations with Britain. Fox was sincerely interested, but he found it impossible to come to any reasonable agreement with an Emperor who was not willing to make concessions and was only concerned with the negotiations for their temporary value.

In the fall of 1806 Prussia at last rose against Napoleon's high-handedness only to be humiliated as thoroughly as Austria. Berlin was occupied; the country lost large territories and became one of the growing number of subject states. It was then possible to get at Russia, Britain's ally. By the middle of 1807 Russia, as well, was brought to book. The Czar broke with England and allied with Napoleon in a sort of grand plan by which the two Emperors divided the Continent between themselves. This arrangement, negotiated on a raft in the river Niemen at Tilsit, gave to the French the essential control of the Continent. In 1808 even Sweden was taken in tow. Only Britain remained unconquered and defiant, determined, as Pitt had put it, "to save Europe by her example." Yet in 1808 the hope seemed forlorn enough in view of the imperial system and its European proportions.

By that time the master of Europe had adopted measures by which he hoped to coerce even Britain into peace if he could not subdue the islands by conquest. Napoleon's plan was to make his imperial European system a means of unifying and subordinating continental commerce to his own ends. If he could exclude British goods from the Continent, succeed in "blockading England," as he put it, his end might be attained. The so-called "continental system" became a deep interest of the Emperor's about 1806. Yet the work proved very difficult for several reasons. During these years the manufactures of Britain were growing apace. The trade with America and the East only added to the available wealth

Revolts
against
Napoleonic
dominance

The "conti-
nental
system"

of which the Government could take toll. Napoleon was right; if he could have seriously curbed British commerce his Continental successes would have been more permanent. But he both underestimated the wealth of England's commerce and manufactures and disregarded the necessity for a competitive naval force with which it could be attacked.

French commerce destroying was extensive because it was easy for privateers to slink out of the ports on or near the Channel, capture an unsuspecting and under-

The protection of British commerce

manned merchant vessel, and return to cover. The islanders protected their expanding commerce in several ways. Ships bound in the same direction would be assembled at some convenient port whence a convoy would take them in safety to their destination. Fleets of five hundred or a thousand merchantmen were not unknown in the Channel. Parliament even passed a Convoy Act, back in 1798, forcing ships to take this form of protection. As an additional precaution British armed vessels were sent on cruise along the commercial highways to patrol the course that merchantmen would take and to minimize the danger of capture for those venturing alone. The seas around Europe became alive with British ships sent out to keep the mastery for their commerce. Even so, the casualties were heavy. Mahan estimates that about eleven thousand British vessels were lost in the two wars between 1793 and 1815.¹

A few weeks before Bonaparte became Emperor he excluded British goods from France. As his triumphal progress brought more and more states under his imperial control, the prohibition was extended

Napoleon's attack on British trade

to include all the vassal kingdoms. In 1806 Bonaparte required Prussia to close its ports to British commerce. Fox, then in charge of British foreign affairs, proclaimed a blockade of the coast of Europe from Brest to the Elbe, although he partially relaxed its rigor beyond the

¹ *The Influence of Sea Power upon the French Revolution and Empire*, II, pp. 225-26.

boundaries of France and Belgium so that neutrals not having laden in a French port might continue to do business.

It was at this juncture that the Emperor definitely set to work to "conquer the sea by the land." While in Berlin after subduing Prussia, he decreed that the British Isles were in a state of blockade; all commerce and correspondence with the British Isles was forbidden, and English goods were declared lawful prize. Napoleon justified this action by Britain's disregard of international law, and the policy, "worthy of the earliest stages of barbarism," of rearing British commerce and industry on the ruins of that of the Continent. The British replied by an order-in-council early in 1807 forbidding trade by neutrals between ports under Napoleon's control. Prussia, of course, had agreed to the continental commercial system, and Russia also acceded at Tilsit. The Czar even promised to assist in coercing Denmark and Sweden into joining the Napoleonic group. Canning, then Foreign Secretary, learned of the agreement in time to send a fleet and an ultimatum to Denmark. The Danish refusal to accept the ultimatum led to a very questionable act, the bombardment of Copenhagen (September, 1807), and the transfer of the Danish fleet to British waters. This did not prevent Denmark from joining the system. The British now took the further step (November, 1807) of declaring under blockade all ports where the British flag was excluded, "as if the same were actually blockaded by His Majesty's naval forces." It was further ordered that neutrals must first stop at a British port before proceeding to the Continent.

Napoleon countered this "paper" blockade by a decree issued at Milan later in the same year; any vessel submitting to the British order-in-council became denationalized and, therefore, subject to capture as if it were an English vessel. Paper blockade was answered by paper blockade, for he proclaimed the British Isles "in a state of blockade by land and sea." To Napoleon this was but a just retaliation for the "bar-

Blockade
versus
blockade

barous" system adopted by the English Government, "which models its legislation on that of Algiers."

Could Napoleon have kept Europe puncture-proof the outcome might have been doubtful. But that was impossible. Smuggling on a great scale made the complete enforcement of his decrees out of the question. The dream of making Europe self-sufficing was irksome to the Continentals, especially if they found his grandiose political hegemony burdensome. There were many bases for effective smuggling. Heligoland was taken by Britain in 1807, since it served as an ideal transshipping point for goods going into Germany. In 1809 the Ionian islands in the Adriatic were seized by the British. The Swedish and Danish islands in the Baltic and Malta, Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica in the Mediterranean were also useful. And British goods came from the eastern Mediterranean by way of the Danube.

THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON

One of the most vulnerable points was Portugal. To force it satisfactorily into the system the Emperor sent an army in 1807 to occupy the country in preparation for its partition among those who would enforce his will. The Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil before Lisbon was taken by the French in November. The Spanish Government had permitted the French army to march across its territory, since portions of Portugal were to be granted to Spain. The Emperor, however, purposed to bring Spain thoroughly into his system. The consummation seemed to have been reached when he transferred his brother, Joseph, from the throne of Naples to that of Spain. Never was there a greater error. The Emperor saw only a crown to pick up; he did not realize that a people such as the Spanish had a feeling of nationality which he might arouse.

Rise of
Portugal
and Spain
against
Napoleon

The spontaneous risings that occurred in Spain were the beginnings of a stubborn resistance. The country was to cause Napoleon no end of trouble and to help materially,

as had Britain, to save Europe by its example. The British determined to take immediate advantage of the Iberian conditions. Troops were brought to Portugal in 1808 under the command of Sir Arthur Wellesley. The French army of occupation in Portugal found the going so difficult with a hostile Spain in its rear, that by a convention it evacuated the country, and was conveyed back to France in British transports. Thus began the Peninsular War, the chief accomplishment of the British army in the long struggle. At first the English forces were small; they were intended to aid the Spanish and Portuguese in resisting the imperial system, and to keep open the avenues of trade. The rise of a stubborn nationalist feeling, joined with the geographical difficulties facing a foreign invasion of Spain, made the rising a cause of continual trouble—the “Spanish ulcer,” as Napoleon called it. The Emperor himself took a hand in the matter during the winter of 1808 and 1809, and reseatd Joseph on a shaky throne. But the country had to be reconquered again in the next winter.

In 1811 the tide was definitely turning against the French. The fortresses along the Spanish and Portuguese border were captured one by one, Wellesley received more and more support from Britain, and the Spanish and Portuguese became more effective aids to the British commander. Not the least of the causes for the ultimate success of the Peninsular War lay in the ability of the British commander, a master of the art of maneuver, the one distinguished military leader that Britain produced in twenty-three years of fighting. Madrid was captured in 1812. In the next year Wellesley forced the French back to the Pyrenees, won the decisive battle of Vittoria, and drove the Napoleonic army out of the country. Before the end of the year 1813 he was in southern France. In April, 1814, the British victor entered the city of Toulouse.¹ In gratitude for his services the

¹ Elsewhere the British military achievements were of slight value. One of the most conspicuous military fiascoes was the entire failure of a British army

Government at home had made him the Duke of Wellington.

In the meantime, Napoleon was more than busy elsewhere. Indeed, his preoccupations with Germany, Austria, and Russia account in part for the British successes in the Peninsular War. The imperial system was breaking under the persistence of Britain, Spain, and Austria. Prussia, too, was developing a keen nationalism. And the Czar finally deserted the continental system because of the strain it brought on a Russia that could neither export nor import freely the goods so necessary to its existence. Even though Napoleon had annexed Holland and the German coast line beyond, he knew that if he were to keep his commercial blockade at all forceful, Russia must be annihilated for its defection. The famed Russian campaign was the result—inevitable, in view of his policy, pitiless in its effects. The nations now rose against the defeated and crippled Empire. The end of Napoleon's continental system came with the Emperor's abdication at Fontainebleau in April, 1814, driven by the Allies out of Germany just as Wellington was subduing southern France.

Defeat of
the French
Emperor

One of the best-known years in European history is the year 1815. Napoleon, exiled to Elba by the Allies, returned to France in March to raise again his standard, and to receive even more crushing evidence that his imperial dream could not be fulfilled. It was a forlorn hope, that of conquering the various allied armies. He determined first to drive "into the sea" the mixed army of the Duke of Wellington, stationed in western Belgium. He hoped to do this before the German forces of Blücher could join it. On Sunday, June 18th, Napoleon's army of 74,000 attacked Wellington's force of 68,000 as it waited on the plateau of Mont-Saint-Jean, a little south of the village of Waterloo. The army of Wellington, of which but one

Battle of
Waterloo,
June, 1815

of forty thousand men sent, in 1808, to take Antwerp and close the Scheldt. The whole affair was ill-timed and badly led by a commander who was dubbed the *late* Lord Chatham.

third were British troops, withstood attack after attack in the hope, as the commander put it, that "either night or the Prussians" would arrive. Blücher's forces became of assistance at about six-thirty; they enabled the allied troops to press home the advantage. By nightfall the French army was in flight.

Napoleon withdrew to the coast at Rochefort where two frigates waited to take the fallen Emperor to the United States. The only difficulty with the plan was the British navy; that was represented before Rochefort by Captain Maitland's ship, the *Bellerophon*. As Napoleon dared not fall into the hands of the Bourbons for fear of severe treatment, he gave himself up to Captain Maitland, and a month after Waterloo he quitted the soil of France, this time not to return. A quarter century of war was over. The lonely island of Saint Helena was chosen as his prison house; it was loaned to Britain and the allies for the purpose by the East India Company.

THE WAR OF 1812

Before recounting the visible results of the long struggle, brief mention must be given to the non-European aspects of the war. Neutrals found it necessary to take sides if they had commercial interests of any importance whatever. On the Continent this resulted in their joining Napoleon's imperial system. The only important trading nation outside of Europe was the United States, nor was it able to avoid entering the world war, though an ocean lay between it and the scene of the struggle. From 1793 on, the difficulties were enhanced by the divided feelings in America, where pro-British and pro-revolutionary points of view found congenial soil in Federalist and Democratic minds. The anti-British attitude that was one of the fruits of the war for independence did not die down very rapidly. There were several reasons. The anti-Loyalist feeling resented the harboring of the "Tories" in Canada. The British also retained the frontier posts after they were supposed to become

the property of the United States. Trade matters were slowly mended. Pitt was unwilling to make any commercial treaty with the new nation after 1783 because he saw that the natural avenues of trade brought American business to Britain. Annual permits for a limited American carrying trade were the only relaxations allowed. The settlement of the commercial question came only with the opening of the French war, for then it seemed wise to the British not to continue to strain the feeling of dissatisfaction in the United States. The Jay Treaty of 1794, which ended a decade of uncertainty, gave the Americans less than they wanted and made Jay one of the most cordially hated public servants in the United States. Though there were many causes of ill feeling after 1794, the relations of the two countries were on a fairly settled basis until the resumption of war in 1803.

Napoleon early saw the futility of trying to recreate a colonial empire. He sold Louisiana to Jefferson, concentrated his attention on crushing continental enemies, and depended on neutral trade to bring foreign produce to his domains. Britain, on the other hand, found its interests better served by more sharply curbing neutral trade. This led to much controversy over rights of carriage, especially of West Indian products, for the enterprising American seamen took every advantage that offered. Trouble also occurred with Britain over impressment; in this matter, again, bad feeling would not be apt to develop with France. The American captains could offer good pay, much better than that customary elsewhere. It naturally attracted many seamen to the American merchant service just as Britain was in greater need of sailors both for the navy and for the merchant marine. The British and American interpretations of citizenship also differed; the former nation held that it was inalienable, and the latter that it could be transferred.

When Fox began the tightening policy in 1806 in order more effectively to blockade the enemy, Napoleon resorted in a fashion already described. The Napoleonic

policy was directed against a commercial enemy. The
 Growing trade of such a neutral, however, as the United
 friction States was caught between the upper and the
 nether millstone, between decrees and orders-in-council.
 President Jefferson was not in a position to deal with the
 menacing outlook. In 1806 a non-importation act was
 passed by the Congress of the United States restricting im-
 ports from Britain. This act of retaliation for the accumu-
 lated grievances was followed in 1807 by an embargo.
 By this method the pacific President hoped to avoid
 trouble and to bring the warring opponents to make con-
 cessions. The device failed because of the cupidity of
 American traders; they were determined to make war-
 time profits even if they had to take war-time risks. In
 1809 a non-intercourse law was passed with little effect.
 It was withdrawn in the next year with the provision that
 it would be reimposed on Britain if France relaxed her com-
 mercial system, or on France if Britain gave more privileges
 to neutrals.

The warring Titans were not much concerned with Amer-
 ican feeling; for them it was a life-and-death struggle. As
 The War American irritations and grudges were not ad-
 of 1812 equately nursed, the resulting accumulation of
 inconveniences and mistreatment gradually gendered a war
 feeling. After Napoleon appeared to repeal the trouble-
 some decrees of 1810, non-intercourse was reëstablished by
 the United States against Britain in 1811. The English by
 that time were in dire need of American products even if
 brought in American vessels. And they saw at last the wis-
 dom of placating the feverish demands of the war party in
 the United States. On June 16, 1812, Great Britain an-
 nounced that it would repeal the obnoxious orders-in-
 council. Two days later — not knowing that this step had
 been taken — the United States declared war.

This unfortunate extension of the European broil
 seemed certain as resentments were recalled and new griev-
 ances arose. Napoleon was no more tender to neutrals
 than Britain, but there were naturally more contacts be-

tween the dominating master of the sea and the chief neutral trader. The belief that entangling alliances should be avoided had been Washington's word to his country at the close of the previous century; it brought the United States in alone and hopelessly weak as compared to Britain, even though Britain was decidedly hard put to it in 1812. The younger element in the United States, especially in the South and the West, formed a militant war party to whom the conquest of Canada seemed especially easy. Henry Clay declared that country could be taken by a thousand Kentucky riflemen.

American
desire for
war

The general course of the struggle came as a disillusionment. Canada did not prove an easy prey. The Canadians under General Brock captured Detroit early in the war. In 1813, however, Perry, the American naval leader on Lake Erie, won the command of the water and freed Detroit from British control. Lake Ontario was also the scene of military activity. The Americans captured York (now Toronto) and burned the capitol and other buildings. But this expedition was largely fruitless, because the Americans were not masters of Lake Ontario. The last possibility of penetrating Canada ended for the armies of the United States at the drawn battle of Lundy's Lane (near Niagara) in July of 1814. On the sea the British found American vessels uncommonly troublesome to commerce and distressingly successful in the numerous duels between the battleships of the two countries. The activity of American privateers resulted in the loss of over thirteen hundred British vessels in the short war. In 1814, when British forces could be spared from the Peninsular armies, an attack was made at the heart of the United States. Baltimore, a center of activity for privateers, and Washington were the objectives. The public buildings of the capital were burned as a reprisal for the burning of York. The troops were then moved to the gulf coast of the United States to coöperate in an attack on New Orleans. The decisive failure of the

Character
of the war

British efforts to win New Orleans came after peace was declared.¹

THE REWARDS OF VICTORY

In the colonial field Britain repeated the achievements of the first war against France on an even larger scale, inas-
 much as the monopoly of the seas was certain
 British colonial acquisitions and the allies of Napoleon included all the
 colonizing European states, save Portugal and Spain (during the latter part of the war). It was, therefore, largely a matter of pick and choose. In the West Indies, only the flags of Spain and Britain were to be seen by the end of the war. The Dutch holding of Cape Colony was retaken in 1806. An attempt to reoccupy Egypt in 1807, interesting in view of Britain's later relation to the country, was unsuccessful despite the capture of Alexandria. In that same year another interesting effort failed in South America. After taking the Cape the British commander crossed the southern Atlantic and captured Buenos Aires, though later it was lost. An attempt to recapture Buenos Aires was a disastrous failure, and the precarious hold on what might have been a promising addition to the Empire slipped out of British hands. The blame-worthy commander, General Whitelocke, was dismissed from the army because he had shown the "white feather." To the east of Africa several important additions were made during the Napoleonic war. Expeditions from India seized various Dutch colonies; Malacca was taken in 1806 and Java in 1811. The French island of Mauritius was added to the Empire in 1810.

The Congress of Vienna, which attempted the reorganization of an upset world, made many important readjustments in Europe, to which attention need not here be given. The British ruler received back Hanover some-

¹ An important result of the peace — remarkable, in fact — was the agreement made between the two countries in 1817 for disarmament along the common boundary of the United States and Canada. The dismantling of warships and fortifications on Lakes Erie and Ontario was to be a momentous step toward the subsequent preservation of peace between the two neighbors.





EMPIRE

After 1783
underlined

what enlarged. The island of Heligoland was retained to aid in the protection of the Electorate. The value of Malta in the Mediterranean was also sufficiently patent, and Britain kept it as a naval station. The protectorship of the Ionian islands was also turned over to Great Britain. In all these cases the value of the holdings as naval ports controlled British action. In the West Indies France received again most of her islands, only Saint Lucia and Tobago staying in the British Empire. The route to India seemed of such great importance that the Cape was not handed back to Holland, nor Mauritius to France. The captured Dutch possessions in the East, Java, Amboina, and Malacca, were returned. The British were not primarily concerned in acquiring colonies at this time, or certainly such a valuable tropical possession as Java would not have been relinquished. What Britain wanted was protection for trade along the routes of commerce. The additions to the Empire were certainly not in proportion to the efforts that Britain had put forth during two decades of war. Cupidity is not so evident as moderation and the wish for peace.

The Congress of Vienna

The legacy of the long war consisted not only of islands. Britain also inherited leanings toward conservatism, a timidity toward reform, an embittered proletariat, an immense national debt, and decided financial stringency. Fortunately a long peace was to follow, in which many of the evils with which war has always dowered the world could be counteracted.

Effects of the war

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CHAPTER XXXV

BRITAIN AFTER WATERLOO

THE close of the great war in 1815 opened a long period of peace for Britain. It was badly needed after the quarter century of fighting, for heavy drains had weakened the man-power and the material resources of the islands. In addition, domestic advance had been halted by a surge of conservative feeling blinded by patriotism — too frequently the adjunct of war. The generation following Waterloo faced the double task, therefore, of ridding the country of war-time scars and of the war-time spirit. That done, it would be possible to compass the long overdue reform of the Government and the removal of the outworn restraints upon the lower and unfortunate classes.

Beginning of
the long
peace

In the present chapter it seems wise to confine our attention to the national conditions just subsequent to the war. This will require an examination of the general evil results of the conflict on the life of the country. At the same time, the survey of the social and economic status of Britain will help to make more understandable the amazing transformations that were coming as the nineteenth century wore on.

THE POST-WAR GOVERNMENT

The Tory government had been in power with one slight interruption since William Pitt assumed office at the close of the American Revolution. Pitt's death in the course of the Napoleonic wars left no great leader for the party. Lord Liverpool, the Prime Minister in 1815, continued to hold the office until his physical breakdown in 1827. He was not a distinguished statesman, but businesslike and steady, and a respectable leader for a time when it appeared needful to keep the usual course. A prominent member of the cabinet

The post-war
Government

was Eldon, the Lord Chancellor, the perfect example of an unbending and precedent-worshipping Tory. Though, like Burke, he arose from humble circumstances, he was as determined as Burke to preserve things as they were. Eldon conducted prosecutions of radicals in 1794; later he became Lord Chancellor and seemed irremovable as the defender of the existing legal system. Of the same general school of Toryism was the Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth, who is already known to us under the name of Henry Addington. It fell to Sidmouth to face the discontent and unrest within the country both before and after Waterloo; he was a very cordially hated man in consequence.

The person of most prominence was Lord Castlereagh, to whom fell the conduct of foreign affairs in these crucial years. Like most of his colleagues he was lacking in qualities sufficiently attractive to bring good will to the Government. He was seemingly devoid of emotion, a type of diplomat well fitted to fence with the Talleyrands and Metternichs of the Continent. Lord Castlereagh did not possess oratorical gifts, even though he was leader of the House of Commons.¹ The storm of criticism and abuse that raged about his head had something to do, undoubtedly, with his mental breakdown and suicide in 1822. Lord Byron said of him: "As a minister, I, for one of millions, looked upon him as the most despotic in intention, and the weakest in intellect, that ever tyrannized over a country." This extreme judgment is expressive of an attitude very widely held.

One of the chief tasks of the Government lay in the foreign field. Castlereagh's skillful negotiations at Vienna were successful in part because of his general sympathy with reaction. Britain was, without doubt, the strongest power in the world after 1815 and inevitably shared in the effort to insure the peace by means of a quadruple alliance with Austria, Prussia, and

The Quad-
ruple
Alliance

¹ He was the butt of much sarcasm for ending one of his speeches with the word "its."

Russia. This league for keeping the peace was enlarged three years later to include France, since by that time the conservative character of its Government was apparent. At the same time the Allies felt justified in accepting Wellington's recommendation for the withdrawal of the last of the allied troops from French territory.

Yet the English Foreign Minister differed from Metternich and his satellites in one important regard; he did not look upon the system of alliances as a means for interfering with the internal affairs of other countries, even if by so doing liberalism might be suppressed. Britain's leader was willing to league with European states to keep the peace, but did not wish to make the engagements too binding. He opposed the famous Carlsbad Decrees for stifling liberty of speech in the Germanies. Nor was he willing that Britain should be more than an observer at the conferences of Troppau, Laibach, and Verona, conferences at which the European powers determined to intervene in Italy and Spain. Yet Castlereagh's negative position simply kept Britain aloof and disentangled from the effort to enforce a reactionary program. Liberals naturally identified Castlereagh and the Government with the continental policy of repression because they felt similar effects in the home policy of the Tory leaders. It was only when Canning, Castlereagh's successor, expressed vigorously the policy of non-intervention and acted upon it that Britain's foreign relations won more general approval at home.

The financial heritage of the war proved a grievous burden. Pitt, as we have found, dreaded the approach of fighting in 1793, for he knew it would end his dreams of a prosperous country made confident by his magic sinking fund. The long war years certainly did saddle the nation as it had never been saddled before with a debt that seemed too heavy to bear. Valiant efforts were made to raise by taxation the monies that were needed. In 1792 Pitt collected in revenue less than £20,000,000, half of which was used for paying the charge on

Castlereagh's
foreign
policy

War
finance

the debt. By 1815 the Government was raising more than four times that sum by revenue, through the increase of old, and the imposition of new, taxes. The most interesting innovation was the ten per-cent levy on incomes; this emergency tax was so unpopular that it had to be repealed at the close of the war.

And yet despite the increase in revenue, the expenditures exceeded the supply. The war proved so expensive that numerous loans had to be negotiated, and the debt grew apace. In 1792 it was £240,000,000; in 1816 it had nearly quadrupled. To the thinkers of the time this seemed amazing and menacing, since heavy arrears were piled up for future generations to work off as best they could. As late as 1688 the country had been practically free from debt. The burden in 1815 was even heavier than the figures indicate, for the Bank of England had been forced to suspend cash payments as far back as 1797. The paper currency in circulation did not depreciate to a great degree, but it tended to fluctuate with the success or failure of allied armies and with the conditions of the crops and of trade. Not until 1821 did the Government feel that the Bank of England could resume payments in cash.

If there was need for a careful watch over the outflow of funds, such does not seem to have been the case as the peace approached. The habit of using money freely to win the war bred a recklessness in the ministry hard to curb when the justification for extravagance no longer existed. It furnished another cause for ill feeling. The temper is well phrased in a petition presented to the Prince Regent in 1816 by the Corporation of London. The petition declared, in part, that "our grievances are the natural result of rash and ruinous wars, unjustly commenced and pertinaciously persisted in, where no rational object was to be attained; of immense subsidies to foreign powers; of a delusive paper currency; . . . and of a long course of the most lavish and improvident expenditure of the public money."

The post-war debt

Administrative extravagance

TORY REPRESSION

Not less unfortunate than the financial mismanagement were the rigorous measures of repression practiced by the Liverpool Government. They seem not to have realized that the war was over, for during those seven years, from 1815 to 1822, there was, according to an eminent historian, "less real liberty than at any time since 1688." The panic fear that was so rampant during the dark days of the first war left its mark on the character of the governing class. They could not free their minds of the Jacobin menace, especially since the industrial changes going on made the workers restless and bold. The rulers had lost faith in the people, and the people, likewise, were losing faith in the Government.

The depression of 1815 and 1816, for example, caused many bank failures and widespread discomfort among the lower classes. Riots in town and country were the result. There was even a large meeting in Spa Fields, London, though it proved harmless enough. But government spies were actively at work as provocative agents in order to create a cause for repression. The Government was led to panicky measures in 1817. Habeas corpus was suspended, seditious meetings were forbidden, and additional protection was given to the Prince Regent who had been insulted in the streets. The Government even instituted trials for libel, but they, fortunately, were no more successful than those of 1794. In 1818 the Government passed an Alien Act to keep out suspicious persons and to expel foreigners who were Jacobinical in temperament.

As Waterloo receded the conditions did not much improve. In 1819 there was another bad year for crops with discontent a consequence. The desire for a reform of Parliament was growing stronger, especially in the great industrial centers. The workmen of Birmingham selected a representative who stood for their rights, even though he had no recognition in Parliament. Manchester and its neighborhood also de-

Continued
repressionGovern-
mental
provocative
agentsThe Peter-
loo Massa-
cre, 1819

terminated to select their "legislatorial" representative by a great public meeting. It is said that with this in view eighty thousand unarmed people gathered in orderly fashion in Saint Peter's Fields in Manchester. The Government, however, was fearful of the consequences and determined to arrest "Orator" Hunt, the leader for the occasion. In an effort to capture him hussars charged on the massed crowd; in consequence hundreds were wounded and a dozen unfortunates were killed. It became the "Peterloo Massacre" to the enraged populace. Yet the unwise use of the military forces against an unarmed assembly was defended by the Government. Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, on hearing of the "massacre," remarked that he "trusted the proceedings at Manchester would prove a salutary lesson to modern reformers."

The authorities burked inquiry into the matter, held a special session of Parliament, and passed further measures for suppressing any expressions of "contempt and hatred of the Government and Constitution of the Realm." The notorious Six Acts of that session prevented "more effectually" the holding of seditious meetings, forbade the training of persons in the use of arms and in "military evolutions," provided for the seizure of arms in disturbed districts, and by imposing stamp duties on newspapers restrained the publication of libels. It is little wonder that the stifled demands grew stronger and stronger as repression was made more repressive. The Manchester clash served its purpose, for such a blatant use of military force would not long be acceptable to people who did not find the memory of the recent war pleasant. Peterloo in its way was as decisive as Waterloo; it was the "moral death-blow of the old Toryism." Three years later Castlereagh committed suicide and Sidmouth retired from office. Their places were taken by Tories, it is true, but Canning and Peel were not willing to be embodiments of anti-Jacobinism. After '22 the strain was relaxed, and the impossible task of repression gave way to the more useful work of reform.

The lamentable domestic condition of these years might have been less troublesome had the royal family challenged the loyalty of the people. But such was hardly possible. The King had lost his mind completely and finally in 1810. Blindness and deafness added to the burden of his faithful wife during the ten years of existence that remained for George III. His eldest son was made Prince Regent.

But the Prince Regent was not a man to win respect. He had long been a debauchee, recklessly extravagant, selfish, hypocritical, unfilial, anything but the "first gentleman of Europe." His wife, Queen Caroline, had lived away from him and on the Continent since 1814. Their only daughter, the Princess Charlotte, died in 1817, three years before her father became King in his own right. When the Prince Regent mounted the throne as George IV, his petty spirit would not permit any recognition of Queen Caroline; she was excluded from foreign courts and her name was omitted from the Liturgy. A woman of spirit and indiscretion, the Queen returned to demand her rights. The result was a trial before the Lords to dissolve the marriage on the ground of the Queen's adultery. The disgusting affair only aroused a torrent of public feeling.

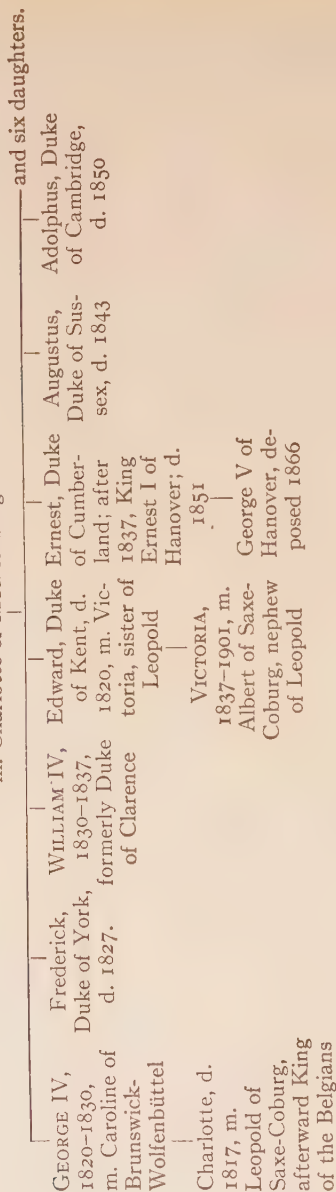
When the only child of the Prince Regent died in 1817, the royal succession seemed in danger. George III had a large family; at the time there were still living seven sons and five daughters.¹ But none of the twelve had legitimate offspring. Two of the daughters were married and childless; three were unmarried. Of his ducal sons, besides the Prince Regent, York and the hated Cumberland were childless, the Duke of Clarence had lived for many years with an actress, Sussex had marriedmorganatically, and the Dukes of Cambridge and Kent were unmarried. In order that the virtues of the Hanoverian line should not be lost to an England that certainly was unappreciative, some ducal marriages became imperative. Accordingly, the Dukes of Clarence, Cambridge, and Kent

¹ See page 722 for the family of George III.

THE FAMILY OF GEORGE III

GEORGE III, 1760-1820,

m. Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz



married German princesses in 1818. In the next year, there was born to the Duke of Kent a daughter who was named Victoria. To her the throne was to come in 1837, after her uncles, the Prince Regent and the Duke of Clarence, had reigned and died childless. The later popularity of Victoria was in marked contrast to that of her father and uncles in the year of their marriages. The Commons flatly refused to grant them allowances befitting their station, for they were regarded in the words of Wellington, as but "millstones about the neck of the government." In 1819, Shelley wrote these caustic lines about the royal family and the Tory "rulers":

An old, mad, blind, despised, and dying king, —
Princes, the dregs of their dull race, who flow
Through public scorn, — mud from a muddy spring, —
Rulers who neither see, nor feel, nor know,
But leech-like to their fainting country cling.

What was the condition of the people and the land that were so egregiously misruled by unbending Tories and a decadent royal family?

RURAL CONDITIONS

The population grew with startling rapidity between 1760 and 1820.¹ In England and Wales the increase was from 6,000,000 to 13,000,000 of people; in Scotland from 1,250,000 to 1,800,000; in Ireland from 2,500,000 to 6,800,000. The total for the United Kingdom in 1820 was, therefore, well over 20,000,000. In sixty years the population of England and Wales had more than doubled and that of Ireland had nearly tripled. There is little wonder that unrest grew, for prices were rising and there was no adequate way of providing for so startling an advance. The conditions were bad enough in Great Britain; in Ireland, where the potato was the means of subsistence for a population greater than the island now possesses, poverty was even more widespread and inevitable.

Rapid
increase of
population

¹ An accurate decennial census began to be taken in 1801 in Great Britain. The first complete census of Ireland was made in 1821.

The overpeopling of the British Isles so suddenly was the more critical because the movement toward urban centers made the cities and towns grow much faster than the country as a whole. We found that in 1760 few of the towns, apart from London, had reached the fifty thousand mark.¹ In 1820 London still remained far in the lead with 1,250,000 people crowded within its limits. The growth of other municipalities was astonishing. Of the English towns, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Bristol followed London in that order with over 100,000 inhabitants each. In England nearly a quarter of the population was living in towns of 8000 or more. In Scotland, Glasgow and Edinburgh had grown so rapidly as to exceed even the expansion of Manchester, Glasgow having 147,000 people, and Edinburgh, 138,000 inhabitants. The second city of the United Kingdom was Dublin with 168,000 residents.

The growing industrial and commercial activity gave opportunities for work such as had never occurred before. Freedom of trade for Ireland, and the spread of the cotton, woolen, and hardware manufactures in Great Britain helped to support the growing population. An additional encouragement was the famous Speenhamland system of relief for the underpaid. This mischievous arrangement originated in a meeting of Berkshire Justices at Speenhamland in 1795. The day laborers were not receiving a living wage that kept pace with the rising price of bread. The justices, therefore, arranged a scale of doles from the poor rates. If the "gallon loaf" (weighing nearly nine pounds) cost a shilling, the man was to receive in pay or by addition from the rates a wage of three shillings weekly, and an addition of half that amount for his wife and each member of his family. Threepence for the man and one penny for every other member of the family were to be added for each additional penny the loaf cost above a shilling.

The effect of this measure was to pauperize labor. As the

¹ See above, p. 595.

justices were unwilling to put a "burthen on the occupiers of the land," they adopted a system that kept the laborers underpaid. It seemed to fit so nicely into the current ideas of the value of the landed interests that the device soon spread throughout England and remained a dominant factor in the life of the lower classes until the poor law was revised in the thirties.¹ Its effect on population will be evident. A heavy birth-rate was given a factitious stimulus, for the landlords would prefer a married laborer to a bachelor, a married man would want as many children as possible, and he, when marrying, might even prefer to marry a woman with several children, even if they were illegitimate. Moreover, children could add conveniently to the income by working in the factories and in the mines. There was every encouragement to improvident youth to marry early. The laboring classes in country and town degenerated.

The critical plight of the great bulk of the population had little chance of relief because of the upper-class attitude toward the problem. It was taken for granted that the poor were destined to be poor, and that the best they could expect was a certain amount of distant sympathy for the unfortunate way they were serving the essential interests of the country as a whole. Enclosures, therefore, went merrily on, though men like Arthur Young were beginning to doubt the wisdom of a movement that drove the squatter from the common, the small yeomen to the town, and left not even a garden plot to those able to remain in the villages.

Britain, it was widely thought, would be made prosperous and capable of resistance to Napoleon by having more grain to furnish the sinews of war. There was, as a result, a great extension of grain-farming on larger farms. The price of corn rose and rose during the wars.² Many a farmer made his fortune and

Effects of
pauperiza-
tion

Hopeless
outlook of
the poor

Legislation
for landlords

¹ See below, p. 763.

² The word "corn," of course, was and is used in Britain for the cereal grains generally. Indian corn is known as "maize."

raised his standard of living to a luxurious level at a time that Want and its comrade, Crime, found their way to the hovels of the workmen. Legislation during the period was almost wholly in the interests of the landlords. As early as 1791 Pitt had permitted an act that was intended to keep the price of grain high. Prohibitory duties were placed on imported wheat unless the price was at least 54s. a quarter.¹ The wars raised prices until wheat in 1801 was worth 80s. a quarter. Two years later the amended law prohibited importation without heavy duties when the price was below 66s. With the approach of victory the value of grain fell, and there was a chance of relief for the workers, whose wages had not risen in proportion to the rise in prices. But the landlords again obtained legislation to stave off the decline. A law was passed in 1815 that prevented grain importation if the price was below 80s. a quarter. The essential monopoly of the landed interests was not to be broken until parliamentary reform shifted the control.

The growing chasm between the rich and the poor is illustrated by the revenge that the unfortunate under-
 "Bread or
 blood" lings took on their oppressors. Houses, barns, and ricks were burned. Riots in 1815 and 1816 in the country districts made some observers feel that the good old days were rapidly going. In 1819, Lord Grey wrote: "Everything is tending, and has for some time been tending, to a complete separation between the higher and the lower orders of society, a state of things which can only end in the destruction of liberty." Well might he think so when riotous laborers carried flags inscribed with the words, "Bread or blood." The keen eyes and pens of Byron and Shelley likewise preserve for us the state of things. Byron wrote:

Alas, the country! how shall tongue or pen
 Bewail her now *un-country* gentlemen?
 The last to bid the cry of warfare cease,
 The first to make a malady of peace.

¹ The quarter was the equivalent of eight bushels or a quarter of a ton.

For what were all these country patriots born?
To hunt, and vote, and raise the price of corn.¹

The people found a brilliant champion in William Cobbett. As a result of wide experience both in England and in America, and of a controversial mind that sought the relief of the lower classes, he became a vigorous political advocate of parliamentary reform.

William
Cobbett
(1762-1835)

At the same time he was keenly interested in agriculture. His *Weekly Political Register* proved, even before the coming of peace, a powerful organ of opinion because of its homely, vigorous style and its forthright manner of treating every abuse that came to view. In 1816 his influence became prodigious as the result of his cutting the price of the paper from a shilling to twopence. Thereupon, the publication entered the homes of the humble. To his opponents this was unfortunate, for they regarded the *Register* as the "most mischievous publication ever put into the hands of man." Cobbett became the leader of the masses. He traveled back and forth in England observing conditions, and made them known in his *Rural Rides*, a piquant travel diary full of valuable observations on the conditions of the country in the twenties. In Gloucester, for example, he found laborers, "who were miserably poor. Their dwellings are little better than pig-beds, and their looks indicate that their food is not nearly equal to that of a pig. . . . In my whole life I never saw human wretchedness equal to this, not even amongst the free negroes in America. These, O Pitt, are the fruits of thy hellish system." Cobbett ridiculed the luxury of the monopolizing farmers and the "glorious" way they were producing national wealth at the expense of the half-starved laborers. Even though he tended to exaggerate for purposes of effect, and to see but one side of every situation, Cobbett voiced a needed protest.

¹ *The Age of Bronze*, XIV. Shelley's *Song to the Men of England* is another bitter expression of scorn for the "tyrants" who ruled the country for the interests of a class in the year 1819.

FACTORIES AND MINES

The transformation of industry, to which attention was given in an earlier chapter, had much the same baneful effect on the town dwellers. The overcrowding of ill-prepared municipalities brought little pleasure to those forced to work long hours in the factories at a pittance. Town governments were in as much need of reform as the Parliament at Westminster. The war greatly stimulated the new textile industries; the efficiency of the navy and the merchant marine made possible the disposal of the ever increasing production of the factories. The crushing of neutral trade aided this movement. In 1813 a further stimulus came with the opening of the Indian peninsula to British merchants who were not members of the East India Company. The value of the exports of cotton had increased sixteen times between 1793 and 1820 — a cause for satisfaction that must be surveyed with mixed feelings. The workers were inadequately housed, the factories were insanitary as a rule, the hours of labor were excessive. Women and children worked twelve or more hours a day under a discipline that was deadening. Orphans and children of the poor were let out practically as slaves, to lead a brief and unrelieved life of servitude. Children from congested London were sent to the cotton manufacturers, for the law permitted the parishes to apprentice children of poor parents to any trade, and they could be sent to any part of the kingdom. The parishes even worked off to the millowners one idiot for every nineteen sane children.

The wages for the operatives in the mills were so low as to make their lot not much, if any, better than that of the rural workers. In 1811 the wages were as small as seven shillings and sixpence a week. Nor were the operatives in the factories the only ones to suffer. The hand-loom weavers, whose work was done in the home, were beginning to feel keenly by the close of the Napoleonic war the competition of Cartwright's power loom. It tended to lower the price of pieces woven by either the old

Housing
conditions
of the urban
workers

The Ludd-
ite riots

or the new way. The rewards of hand-loom weaving thus became smaller and the demand lighter. Bitterness against the "frames," or machines, led naturally to rioting and destructiveness. Around Nottingham, the discontented, under the name of "Luddites," destroyed the stocking frames.¹ The wrecking of machinery in the closing years of the war extended to Lancashire and Yorkshire as well. In 1812 Parliament felt it necessary to make frame-breaking a capital offence.

The laborers often tried the strike, though with little effect. The economic conditions would have made it practically useless as a weapon even if the law had not prevented its legal use. Back in 1799 and 1800 Pitt's Combination Acts made any conspiracy to raise wages illegal because it would "restrain trade"; trade unions were unlawful. The helpless workers sought to improve their conditions in the worst years of the continental blockade by appealing to the old Elizabethan statutes that required assessments in order to make the wages meet the cost of living. Again the workers were frustrated by the repeal of these measures in 1813. Not until after the years now under review was any successful attempt made to unfetter the workmen.

Attempts to regulate the factories began during this time. In the crusade the most conspicuous place was taken by Robert Owen, an owner of cotton mills at New Lanark, Scotland. During the first fifteen years of the century Owen made his mills what all the factories should have been, clean and wholesome places for work, with good pay for the workers and provision for the education of their children. His success led him to urge the general adoption of his philanthropic measures. But millowners were too intent on gains. Owen and Sir Robert Peel sought vainly in 1815 to pass an adequate law forbidding the employment of children under ten years of age. In 1802 Peel had succeeded in reducing the

The Anti-Combination Acts

Difficulties of factory regulation

¹ Ludd was the name of a half-witted lad who had destroyed stocking frames years before.

working hours of parish apprentices to twelve a day. Not until the end of George III's reign was the first factory act passed. Peel again was largely responsible for a law that forbade the employment of children under nine and the use of those from nine to sixteen years of age for more than twelve hours a day. But this law applied only to cotton mills, and even there it was a dead letter because of the lack of efficient measures for inspection and enforcement. To the operatives the remedy seemed to rest in parliamentary reform. Cobbett was already pointing the way.

Mining was growing apace during these years. Suction pumps opened up mines that had been abandoned, and the demands of the growing factories for fuel led to a constant expansion. South Wales, Durham, and Northumberland were especially important in this industry. The population connected with mining seems to have been cut off very distinctly from the other laboring groups and to have been on a decidedly lower level of existence. The lot of the underground worker became very much worse as a result of the growing demand for coal. Longer hours were demanded and more constant attention to the work was required. Boys and even women and girls were used underground under the most revolting conditions. Women led the horses that drew the trucks, and children cared for the gates, which were necessary to keep the air currents to the front of the working places so that the coal gas would be swept off. Deaths by explosions in the mines were so frequent that there was a society formed in 1813 for Preventing Accidents in Coal Mines. A principal result was the invention in 1815 by Humphry Davy of a safety lamp; a wire gauze of a certain mesh was found capable of preventing the ignition of coal gas from the lamp flame.¹

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

The hard lot of the lower classes was increased by the exceeding severity of the game laws. The nobility regarded

¹ Its importance seems to have been exaggerated, since fatalities in mines were not appreciably lessened after 1815.

the killing of game as their peculiar sport. One is reminded of the forest laws of earlier centuries. Hunting had been changing considerably in the eighteenth century, for with the disappearance of hawking, the following of hounds grew commoner. Stags were no longer sought for slaughter. Hare-coursing was probably the most popular form of hunting at this time, though fox-hunting was becoming more and more attractive. The shooting of game birds was jealously preserved by the upper class. Already birds, such as pheasants, were being bred to be killed. The woods of great lords were replete with a supply that required armies of keepers for their care. The *battue*, in which the game were driven to the place where the sportsman awaited their appearance, was already prominent. In 1816 the Duke of Gloucester was able to kill 254 half-wild birds in one day's sport. In the twenties the bloodthirstiness so increased that Lord Eldon declared that "every plantation was turned into a poultry yard, and a sportsman was thought nothing of unless he could kill his thousand birds a day." By the law a hunter was a *rara avis*; he must be a landowner or the eldest son of the owner before he could hunt. Strictly speaking, even guests were forbidden shooting unless they had the privilege in their own right. Persons not allowed to hunt could not keep hunting dogs, as a certain farmer renting five hundred acres of land found to his sorrow in 1821. Moreover, game could not by law be sold.

Restrictions
on shooting
game

This outrageous system was but a red rag to the villagers. One is not surprised to learn that poaching was very common during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, that in some cases practically all the inhabitants of a village were poachers. The game was killed not only for private use, but was sold in an underground way to the poulterers. Valiant efforts were made by the privileged class to prevent the infringement of their pleasures; the series of laws passed to that end were savage, to say the least. In 1816, for example, transportation for seven years was made the lot of those caught at

Poaching
and its at-
tempted
suppression

night in open or enclosed ground with nets or other means of taking game. The landlords found the practice of poaching impossible to curb. The horrible mantraps, or spring guns, were used to uphold the arm of the law. These instruments of death were common by the opening of George IV's reign. But their presence in every wooded plot became a menace to those for whom they were not intended; they were forbidden by law in 1827.¹

If the punishments meted out to poachers seem overly severe, they were not more harsh than the rewards of law-breaking in general. The rich were preoccupied with the efficacy of punishment. Social rebels must be treated with sufficient severity to deter others. No less than two hundred felonies were punishable by death in the decade following Waterloo; the list included stealing goods worth five shillings from a shop, taking forty shillings from a house, and stealing a horse. Sir Samuel Romilly was making his name famous during these years for his efforts to lessen the severity of the penal code. He succeeded in 1808 in causing the repeal of a law that made picking a pocket a capital offense. Though largely unsuccessful in his mission, he at least opened the eyes of his contemporaries to the need of reform.

Britain was still a land of the old régime. The French peasant had won untold gains by the Revolution. The old hunting monopolies disappeared, the land was redivided, the criminal code humanized, arbitrary government outlawed. But in England, where the advance was evolutionary, the death throes of the old system were long drawn out. The French Revolution even slowed up the movement by steeling the minds of the governing class against any recognition of "revolutionary" principles.

Lest the shades of the picture seem too dark, it is well to remember that advances were being made. The standard of comfort was rising rapidly for the more fortunate. De-

¹ Readers of Thomas Hardy's *Woodlanders* will recall the misuse to which a mantrap was put by Tim Tangs.

spite the chasm between the upper and the lower classes, it was possible for an enterprising person of low ^{Educational conditions} estate to rise to a place of honor and wealth. The father of Sir Robert Peel was the son of a yeoman, Romilly came from the home of a London tradesman, Brindley was a mechanic, and Telford was the product of a Scottish village school. Davy developed from a humble chemist's assistant, and even Lord Eldon—a bulwark of the old order—should have remembered that he was but the younger son of a Newcastle tradesman. It is well known that the inventor of the railway engine taught himself to read and write at the age of seventeen. That very feat brings another indictment against the existing system. No national provision for educating the lower classes as yet existed. A slight beginning had been made by Robert Raikes in his Sunday-School project, and Joseph Lancaster had instituted the monitorial system of education. But the use of pupil teachers was a boon only in the absence of adequate funds and government assistance. A select committee reporting in 1818 on the condition of the poor declared that hardly more than a quarter of the children were attending school. And this in the face of Scottish practice, where educational facilities in every parish had been the law for over a century.

Shelley wrote in 1820, "England yet sleeps." The review of the outworn legal system, of the degradation of the workmen in the town, on the land, in the mine is but ^{"England yet sleeps"} a commentary on the poet's words. Possibly most decrepit of all was the representation in Parliament, a senate that was "Time's worst statute unrepealed." Here seems to have been the key to the difficulty, for the reformation and liberalizing of the Government must come before the islands could free themselves from many of their obsolescent trappings.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

THE END OF THE OLD RÉGIME

WHEN Castlereagh committed suicide in 1822, he unwittingly opened the way for a decade of remarkable changes in British internal affairs and of unwonted vigor in Britain's foreign activities. His rival of many years, Canning, was at the time preparing to leave for India, there to become Governor-General for the East India Company. The opening made by Castlereagh's death was too alluring to so ardent a public servant as Canning, and he remained in Britain.

Suicide of
Castlereagh,
1822

During most of the decade the Tories continued to govern the country. But the party itself was in a way of change. Canning was more liberal in his outlook than Castlereagh, Peel who succeeded Sidmouth as Home Secretary about the same time was not a static Tory, and Huskisson, who became President of the Board of Trade, infused a new spirit into British commerce. The revamped Tory cabinet of Lord Liverpool continued until the Prime Minister's retirement early in 1827. The logical successor to Liverpool was Canning. His ministry made one further step toward liberalism by not including such extreme Tories as Eldon and Wellington, and by a conscious effort to come to some sort of an understanding with the Whigs. Had Canning lived long enough — his death came in the fall of 1827 — further advance might have been made within the Tory Party.

The Tory
liberals

In the next year the war-scarred Duke of Wellington became Prime Minister. Again the Cabinet was reactionary. But Wellington found the two years during which he guided the ship of state so turbulent that twice at least he was forced to accept reform measures to which he was averse. The death of George IV in 1830 led, of necessity, to a general election. Under much excitement the electorate returned so liberal a House of

Wellington
(1769-1852)
as Prime
Minister

Commons that Wellington had to resign. His successor, Earl Grey, had for years advocated parliamentary reform. It was a foregone conclusion, therefore, that his ministry of Whigs and Canningites should propose and pass the reform acts of 1832.

Such, in bare outline, were the chief governmental changes of the decade. We are now in a position to examine more carefully the achievements, foreign and domestic, that mark these years as the end of the old régime in Britain.

CANNING'S FOREIGN POLICY

British foreign policy, when it fell into Canning's care in 1822, centered on several different questions of considerable moment. There was, for one thing, the matter of Spain's internal well-being and of the disposition of its American colonies. So far as the mother country was concerned the continental powers were agreed on intervention in order to insure the security of reaction under the pitiless Ferdinand VII. He had not played a noble part during the Napoleonic domination, though his distracted country tried, by the Constitution of 1812, to bring order and liberalism into the Government. The King, on his return after the Vienna Congress, repudiated the liberal constitution. The people rose in 1820, restored the Constitution of 1812, and put Ferdinand under duress. The European powers saw this dangerous precedent with concern. The French Government was especially eager to prove a worthy member of the league to enforce a sound peace by restoring Ferdinand. As we have already found, Castlereagh and Wellington were opposed to intervention in Spanish domestic matters. Canning took the same position in vain. The French invaded the Iberian peninsula, restored Ferdinand to his throne, and remained to assist the venomous monarch in wreaking vengeance.

The British found compensation, however, in the western hemisphere. There the colonies of Spain had long been practically independent. From Mexico in the north to

Chile and Argentina in the south, the bonds with the parent land had grown weaker and weaker in the past fifteen years. To Britain the severance of Spain from its colonies proved a boon, for trade relations were made possible on a scale before unknown. Naturally, the British favored colonial independence and even assisted in winning it on both land and sea. When the French invasion of Spain occurred in 1820, the colonies were essentially free, though the recognition of their freedom was yet to be made.

Canning
and the
Spanish
colonies

Canning was alarmed lest France, backed by her continental allies, should proceed to restore the colonies to the mother country. The American minister at London was approached with a view to common action in favor of the colonies, and the European powers were told plainly that Britain would not countenance any attempt to subjugate them. Positive steps were soon taken by both Britain and America. Consuls were sent to the principal ports, and recognition followed not long afterward. President Monroe of the United States and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, were not inclined to make the United States a cockboat in the wake of a British man-of-war, but they were as keenly interested as Canning that the powers should not "extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere." Russia's menacing attitude was an additional incentive to the famous doctrine stated by Monroe in his message to Congress in December of 1823. Although the British and the Americans did not work together, they were one on the end in view. A few years later the British minister was able to boast that he had "called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old," an expression that referred primarily to the economic advantages that Britain won by Canning's firm stand.

The Monroe
Doctrine

A somewhat similar condition developed in Portugal and in the Portuguese Empire. When Napoleon's armies invaded the peninsula the ruler of Portugal fled to the colony of Brazil, nor did he return until

Portugal

after 1815. It was but a short time before Brazil imitated the Spanish colonies in declaring its independence. France was eager at the time to intervene in favor of reaction as impersonated in John VI's son, Miguel. But Canning took so firm a stand that it was prevented.

In the Near East the relations of Turkey and a rebellious Greece were also demanding delicate treatment. In 1821 the Greeks rose in determined revolt against their Mohammedan masters; Greek atrocities were answered by Turkish massacres. Nor was there much to choose between the barbarians of the peninsula and their savage oppressors, save possibly that the Greeks bore a name to conjure with as they appealed for assistance in their fight for freedom. The Greeks were successful for a time on land and sea. The agility of their vessels and the familiarity of the Greeks with the Ægean added much to the discomfiture of the Turks. But the vessels of the rebels too easily became piratical, and intervention seemed inevitable on the part of those nations whose commerce suffered from the uncertain character of the eastern Mediterranean. In 1823 the Sultan received the aid of his vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, and the scales rapidly sank in favor of the Turks. Mehemet Ali possessed not only a good navy but a well-disciplined army. It was with the latter that he began a successful reconquest of the Morea as a preliminary to the complete suppression of the Greek rebellion.

In the meantime, intervention became more and more of a certainty. The western world was greatly aroused over the rise of a "Christian" people against their "infidel" rulers. Probably even more influential in calling forth philhellenism was the romantic idealization of the living Hellenes into a people akin to the Greeks of antiquity. Education for the upper and governing classes of western Europe was still almost exclusively a classical education.¹ It was natural and easy to

¹ Not many years before the Greek rising Lord Elgin industriously transferred the friezes of the Parthenon from Athens to Britain where they form one

think that Odysseus of Ithaka was a reincarnation of his famous namesake of ancient times. Western enthusiasm sent aid in men and money to the eastern Mediterranean. Colonel Gordon and Lord Byron were as interested in the Greek rising as was Admiral Cochrane in the struggle for South American independence. It is well known that Byron gave his life for the Greek cause.¹

Canning's attitude was characteristic. His classical training, his interest in liberal movements, the commercial and political prestige of his country, all led to a concern with the Greek question. He cared little for the opinions of the powers on the Continent whose sympathies were all for the *status quo*. Thus in 1823 Great Britain recognized Greece as a belligerent in order to "bring within the bonds of civilized war a contest which had been marked at the outset by disgusting barbarities." When the Czar Nicholas succeeded Alexander in 1825, Wellington went to Russia as a special envoy; the result was an agreement between the two nations that they would offer their mediation to the Porte and would not seek for themselves any advantages whatsoever. Naturally Turkey spurned a mediation intended to better the position of the Greeks. In 1827 France joined with Britain and Russia in demanding of the opposing forces an immediate armistice. The result was the annihilation of the recalcitrant Turkish fleet in the Bay of Navarino.

Canning was dead when this startling occurrence upset the diplomatic game of balance. The conservative Tory Government in power after Canning's death desired a strong Turkey rather than an autonomous Greece. It was left to Russia, as a result, to war on the Porte and force it, at the end of the twenties, to submit to the Treaty of Adrianople. The Greek question

of the greatest attractions of the British Museum. Lord Byron bitterly execrated the Scot whose misguided classical interests led him to "plunder" the Acropolis.

¹ He died in 1824 at Missolonghi in western Greece while "engaged in the glorious attempt to restore that country to her ancient freedom" (according to the epitaph on his tomb.)

was settled only after the Liberals came into office. The independence of the peninsula was guaranteed by the three powers that from the start had shown the keenest interest. The outcome of the eastern, as of the American, question was the appearance of independent states contrary to the wishes of the continental powers whom Canning defied. If the British minister aided in the break-up of the old system, he was not altogether altruistic; his attitude was epitomized in the famous epigram: "Everybody for himself, and God for us all."

PEEL AND HUSKISSON

The domestic changes after 1822 were noteworthy even under the Tory ministers because the liberal section of the party began to gain more power as Lord Liverpool strengthened his enfeebled ministerial forces by the addition of such men as Canning, Peel, and Huskisson. The work of Peel, to whom we next turn, was wrought of necessity within the country, for he held the office of Home Secretary. He changed the whole spirit of the department by ending the galling spy system and the government prosecutions that had followed its use. He did more by further abating the rigor of the criminal code. Hundreds of acts were repealed to make way for a thorough overhauling of the law in this respect. The death penalty as the punishment for over one hundred offenses was removed. He also improved the conditions of the prisons and of criminal procedure.

One of Peel's most conspicuous steps was the establishment of a new and more efficient police system in London.

His work in the metropolis was antedated by a similar achievement in Ireland. There he naturally upheld the idea of rigid coercion and won the name of "Orange Peel." And his new Irish police were known as "Peelers." Just at the end of the twenties he fathered an Act "for Improving the Police in and near the Metropolis." The decrepit watchmen, the infrequent patrols, and the Bow Street runners were replaced in 1829

by some 3600 husky and efficient police. They were known as "Bobbies" or "Peelers," and the author of the bill was none too well liked by the rowdies who found the new arrangement as surprising a success as his police in Ireland, even though the Bobbies were armed only with clubs.

Another distinguished co-worker of Canning and Peel was William Huskisson. As Secretary for the Board of Trade this member for Liverpool changed the whole commercial policy of the country in the interests of freer trade. ^{Huskisson and trade} The doctrines made prominent by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* (1776) lay dormant for many years save for slight efforts on the part of Pitt in the peaceful years of his ministry to allow greater commercial freedom. Then came the war and the wave of conservatism that swept away all chance of reform. We have already seen how restrictive and narrow were the laws regarding the importation and the exportation of grain. Even before the twenties Huskisson was an ardent advocate of the relaxation of the corn laws. When his chance came he took advantage of it. Huskisson's efforts were aided by the growth of outside competition and by the retaliation that trade rivals made against the navigation laws of Great Britain.¹ The growing United States, in particular, was beginning to raise its tariff bars. The British were also led to see the need of relaxation by comparing the slight value of their colonial monopoly with the constantly developing commerce in South America and in other opening markets.

It was not surprising, therefore, that Huskisson was able to put through Parliament a law that fitted in with his free-trade principles. The Reciprocity of Duties ^{Lowering of tariffs} Bill of 1823 put British and foreign ships on an equal footing, provided the other nation concerned took the same steps. Many countries accepted the British offer of reciprocity. It was not until 1830, however, that the United States took action that led to such an agreement. Huskisson's judgment was vindicated against the violent

¹ See p. 537.

opposition of British shipowners, for the increase in shipping was rapid and substantial. A beginning was thus made in doing away with the Navigation Laws so characteristic of the economic thinking of two centuries.

The President of the Board of Trade also tried to apply his principles to the various important articles of commerce.

Growth of
commerce

He faced much opposition in his attempt to lessen duties on wool and silk that they might have the same stimulus that the cotton trade enjoyed. The woolen manufacturers, for example, wanted raw wool imported freely but its exportation hindered. He finally succeeded in lowering the duties on imported and exported wool, to the remarkable stimulus of the woolen industry and to the advantage of the growers. In the silk industry, likewise, Huskisson effected a weakening of the vexatious hindrances to expanding trade. The lessening of duties on many other articles of commerce actually increased the revenue collected, for smuggling became a dwindling business when it was attended with less profit than risk.

THE RELIEF OF DISSENTERS

Two of the most conspicuous reforms of the decade came just at the end of the Tory lease of power, during the premiership of Wellington. It was despite the

Dissenters

Tory opposition that the Dissenters were free from the restrictions of the Test and Corporation Acts, and that the Catholics were emancipated. Nothing showed better the flood tide of feeling than the forcing of these measures despite a ministry under the lead of one of the staunchest and most hidebound of Tories.

The Test and Corporation Acts were relics of seventeenth-century religious bitterness.¹ To "preserve public

Test and
Corporation
Acts

peace both in church and state" these measures prevented those who were not members of the Established Church from holding any governmental office or being a magistrate in a town. This had not been enforced for years; annually an Indemnity Act was

¹ See pp. 473, 484.

passed in favor of those who had by common consent violated the Test and Corporation Acts. This amusing procedure was tolerated by the Dissenters because they as well as the Established Church feared that concession here would lead to the emancipation of the Catholics. In 1828, however, the liberal Lord John Russell proposed the relief of the Dissenters by the repeal of the antiquated measures. Peel, who was opposed to the measure, saw the way the wind was blowing, and suggested an amendment that made the act less obnoxious; in place of the test, office-holders were to make a declaration never to take measures which would injure the Established Church. The bill passed the Lords despite Eldon's vigorous opposition to an arrangement which he declared "bad, mischievous, and revolutionary."

It was indeed mischievous, since it reopened the matter of Catholic emancipation. The claims of the Catholics had not lain dormant much of the time since Pitt failed to keep faith in 1800. Emancipation was incessantly urged by Grattan until his death in 1820. As the result of one of his greatest speeches in 1819 the bill to relieve the Catholics was lost by only two votes. When a similar measure was brought up two years later by Grattan's successor, Plunkett, it actually passed the Commons, to be lost in the House of Lords.

The efforts of the Irish became more determined as opposition seemed to weaken. In the year 1821, when Plunkett's motion was successful, terrible outrages in Ireland made the situation more than ever a disgrace. And the chaotic condition of the island was rendered worse in 1822 by a terrible famine. In 1823 a real leader for his people appeared in the person of Daniel O'Connell, a devout Catholic.¹ He determined to bring pressure on the Government by a Catholic Association, since agrarian crime seemed only to arouse greater bitterness and stubbornness. The Association was formed in 1823 as a non-secret, thoroughly legal society for direct-

Catholic
emancipa-
tion

Daniel
O'Connell
(1775-1847)

¹ Grattan and Plunkett were Protestants.

ing and enforcing public opinion and petitioning Parliament.

When Wellington formed his ministry it was a signal for renewed agitation in Ireland. But the efforts of O'Connell's followers were carefully directed into channels that would effectively bring the desired result. It became necessary for Fitzgerald, the new President of the Board of Trade in Wellington's Cabinet, to stand for reëlection. Since he represented an Irish constituency, the election made it possible for the Catholics to bring their forces against the hostile Wellington Cabinet. Instead of putting up a Protestant to oppose Fitzgerald, a bolder step was taken; O'Connell became the contestant. He won despite the influence of the landlords, but could not sit in Parliament because of his Catholic faith. The Association immediately took steps to practice similar tactics in the other constituencies. The result, it appeared, would soon be an unrepresented Ireland.

Wellington, though slow to come to a conclusion, finally determined on retreat when Peel declared himself in favor of the inevitable. Peel's conversion to emancipation was startling and seemingly inconsistent. But he bravely faced the unmeasured vituperation slung at him. His enemies spoke of the "contemptible apostasy" of one who had been nicknamed "Orange Peel" because of his strong anti-Catholicism. Wellington defended his position on the ground of his horror for civil war: "There is nothing," he declared, "which disturbs property and well-being so much, which so deteriorates character, as civil war, and that would have been the event to which we must have looked." The atmosphere of "calumny," of which the Duke complained, was made so unbearable by the insulting letter of an unbending Tory that Wellington challenged his detractor to a duel.¹ It resulted in no

¹ Dueling was becoming less and less popular as a means of settling disputes between "gentlemen." In the first third of the century the duel was as common in upper-class English society as in America. Pitt, when Prime Minister, fought a duel with a political opponent. Canning and Castlereagh met in 1809, Peel was in several duels, and O'Connell had killed his man.

physical harm but did much to clear the air. Not long afterward the measure for Catholic enfranchisement was presented to the Houses; it passed by comfortable majorities in the spring of 1829.

The Act "for the relief of His Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects" was a noble step in the movement toward religious liberty. Persons of the Catholic faith, save priests, were eligible to all offices except those of Regent, Lord High Chancellor, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the High Commissioner of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. The oath to which Catholics subscribed simply declared a willingness to support the Established Church and the State by loyally accepting the Protestant reigning house and by denying any one else's claims to the throne or to temporal power in Britain.

Coupled with this Act was one that shows only too well the grudging spirit in which the relief was granted. The forty-shilling freeholders of Ireland who had begun to show an independent spirit were disfranchised by raising the requirement for voting in Ireland to ten pounds. The Government also needlessly compelled O'Connell to stand again for the constituency of Clare. In fact, the attitude of the Tories during the years 1828 and 1829 would seem to justify the famous dictum ascribed to Disraeli that the Conservative Party is, historically, the stupid party. The Catholics of Ireland were not mollified by the petty way in which Tory spite was exhibited. O'Connell began immediately and boldly to demand the repeal of the Union.

STATE OF THE REPRESENTATION

Parliamentary reform came next. For at least half a century intermittent efforts expressed the desire of Whigs and radicals and popular agitators for mending or ending the imperfect structure. But even such leaders as Pitt, who sponsored the presentation of moderate reform measures in 1783 and 1785, were opposed to the imputation that the work of the Revolution

of '88 was not perfect. He said in Parliament at the time: "No man sees the glorious fabric, the constitution of this country, with more admiration or with more reverence than myself. . . . Indeed, there is no form of government on the known surface of the globe, that is so nearly allied to perfect freedom." But the American Revolution and the ideas that were spreading from France after 1789 set people to thinking. If the efforts at reform were too feeble during Pitt's peace ministry, they were futile after the opening of the war against the French Revolution. Those in care of the ship of state had no desire to overhaul the vessel while high seas were running. It became sedition to find fault.

The agitation revived about the time of Pitt's death. Cobbett's work from that time on was unremitting both with voice and with pen. Popular societies were reappearing as the result of agitation by orators like Hunt of Peterloo fame and Major Cartwright. In 1812 Hampden Clubs were started among the aristocratic radicals, revivals, as it were, of the older Constitutional Societies.

The movement first began to win concessions about 1820. In the previous year the reform of some of the Scottish burghs was demanded and won. In 1821 nineteen petitions in favor of reform were presented to Parliament with the disfranchisement of one corrupt Cornish borough as the solitary reward. The year 1823 witnessed even more petitions with no appreciable result. The Tory Government, whether reactionary or liberal, was against reform. Peel and Canning were at one with Wellington and Castlereagh on this question. Canning even admitted that the people were beginning "to suspect something rotten in the British constitution." But he, as a typical Tory, preferred to leave the constitution untouched: "Let us guard with pious gratitude the flame of genuine liberty, that fire from heaven of which our constitution is the holy depository; and let us not, for the chance of rendering it more intense, impair its purity or hazard its extinction."

Tory re-
sistance to
parliamen-
tary reform

This exaggerated worship of a government hardly modified since 1688 seemed to the Philosophical Radicals like Bentham, to the remnant of the liberal Whigs, ^{Reform} to the popular leaders, ^{leaders} altogether unjustified. Certainly to any one believing that the Government should even approximately reflect the will of the people, the constitution was notoriously lacking in the fire of "genuine liberty." In Tudor times new boroughs were given representation in considerable numbers. James I had enfranchised four more, and Charles II two, but no change of importance in the franchise or in the distribution of seats took place between 1688 and 1832. And yet there was constant change in the population; it was concentrating as well as increasing, and in the eighteenth century the agricultural and industrial revolutions were remaking the face of the country. The evident need was not met because the governing class conceived its monopoly as a kind of property to which it had a perfect right.

The result was an astounding and increasing conglomeration of anomalies. The House of Commons had 658 members, of whom 489 represented English ^{Absurdities} boroughs and counties. ^{of the repre-} Yet half of these Eng- ^{sensation} lish members came from the southern counties where not more than a fourth of the population was to be found in 1832. A most absurd situation held in Cornwall; with a population of 250,000 it returned forty-four members, while Scotland sent the same number for a population four times that of the southern county. The county franchise in England was enjoyed by forty-shilling freeholders. In Ireland the limitation was raised in 1828 to ten pounds. From this point of view, Scotland was in the worst condition. There landowning had nothing to do with the vote. A person must own a superiority — a direct grant from the Crown — of the value of £400 a year, and reside in the county where the land was held, if he was to vote. The result was that the electors of all the counties in Scotland actually numbered less than three thousand persons. The county of Roxburgh, with a population of forty thousand,

returned a member in 1831 with a poll totaling fifty-nine votes. The most outrageous case was the well-known one of the county of Bute; its population was fourteen thousand, but since there was only one resident elector in the county in 1831, he was able to elect himself with cordial unanimity.

The vote in the numerous boroughs was held under a variety of conditions. The corporation, a self-perpetuating body, was the electoral college in some boroughs. The vote in the boroughs In others, the taxpayers had the vote. The liberal arrangement of a vote for every householder was also to be found here and there. Yet the boroughs possessing the franchise remained almost unchanged after the reign of Elizabeth. In consequence, many places that had practically disappeared were still entitled to send members. Old Sarum was without a resident, Gatton was a park, Dunwich was beneath the North Sea. Tavistock had ten electors. The thirteen men composing the electorate of Malmesbury in 1815 were all illiterate. The great industrial centers were without votes. It is no wonder that such hives of industry as Birmingham and Manchester were electing "legislatorial" representatives out of protest.

The franchise and the distribution of the seats were bad enough. What made the need of reform more insistent was Borough-mongers the control of a large share of the seats by the landed magnates. Boroughs were owned, regarded as property subject to sale, and manipulated at will in the interests of the boroughmonger. The Duke of Newcastle, for example, had eleven seats at his disposal, and many others possessed almost as many. According to a petition of 1817, they were bought and sold as freely as theater tickets. Seats had a regular market price, and the market was improving in the years before 1832 because of the desire of the nabobs and the new merchant princes to share in the Government. Many of the most distinguished of the parliamentarians entered public life from a close, or pocket, borough, that is, one completely under the control of one man. This was even used as an argument by the opponents of reform for the continuance of the system un-

changed. Lord Brougham replied in 1831 to such an argument as follows: "Are we, because the only road to a place is unclean, not to travel it? If I cannot get into Parliament by any other means, I will go that way, defiling myself as little as I can, either with the filth of the passage, or the indifferent company I may travel with." Even if there was the semblance of an election, bribery usually stultified the process. This was made more possible by the long time for polling and by the *viva voce* method of voting. Often the poll was open for weeks. One of the worst cases on record was the six weeks' orgy of bribery and drunkenness in the borough of Westminster in 1784. It was so scandalous that a law was passed soon after limiting the polling to fifteen days!

Such was the constitution that Pitt and Canning lauded as perfect, that Lord Braxfield, in 1793, declared to be the "best that ever was since the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better." And Wellington reëchoed these judgments in the early thirties; he averred that if he had the task of forming a legislature for Great Britain at the moment it would be similar to the one then possessed, but he doubted whether such a task could be accomplished by any one, "for the nature of man was incapable of reaching such an excellence at once."

Tory con-
ceptions of
the system

THE REFORM OF PARLIAMENT

Unusual excitement accompanied the general election of 1830, made necessary by the death of George IV. The nation was worked up over the reluctant attitude of the Wellington ministry to reform, and by the recurrence of hard times. And in that very year, as luck would have it, France staged a revolution which replaced the reactionary Charles X and his minister, Polignac, with the bourgeois government of Louis Philippe. Why could not Great Britain do as much? If reform did not come by legislation, possibly a revolution would be necessary in Britain also. In the election the Government

Ministry of
Lord Grey

the dark days of the First French War. He was well supported. His foreign and home secretaries were Palmerston and Melbourne respectively. Brougham became Lord Chancellor, Durham, another prominent and ardent reformer, was Lord Privy Seal, and the rising Lord John Russell, though not a member of the Cabinet, occupied a conspicuous place in the councils of the party. Nor must it be forgotten that Macaulay was beginning his public life in this year.¹ Grey's following included the remnant of the Whigs who had so long been "in the wilderness," and the followers of Canning. The radicals, from whom the aristocratic reformers seemed so far removed, were sympathetic to a step that was at least in the right direction.

Earl Grey realized clearly the mandate that was growing more and more insistent. From the people came numerous petitions for the measure. In such towns as Birmingham political unions were formed for aiding the cause. Mammoth meetings were held in the various unreformed boroughs. Nor did the country stop with peaceful demonstrations. Machine-breaking again occurred and rick-burning reddened the skies of the southern counties as unrest found bitter expression among the laboring classes. The Government proved equal to the emergency. When the Reform Bill was presented by Lord John Russell, the nation found it more sweeping than was expected. It was intended to satisfy the demand for reform and to bring quiet to the kingdom.

The Bill passed its second reading in the Commons by a majority of only one vote. The "going" became more difficult when the Bill went into committee. Thereupon Earl Grey determined to go to the country on this one issue. As a result of the election there was a majority of 136 for the measure when it came to the decisive second reading in the new Parliament. The Lords, nevertheless, refused to pass the measure, throwing it out

¹ Huskisson would probably have taken charge of finance in the ministry had he not been a victim of one of Stephenson's new railway engines in 1830. See below, p. 759.

by a majority of 41. This act of the upper house produced a crisis. Numerous riots betokened the public feeling. In Bristol the rioters controlled the town for two days, and a portion of it was burned. The political unions became more menacing; they drilled and made preparations to march on London to bring by coercion if necessary what the Tory Lords were unwilling to concede. The universal cry was "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."

Under such conditions a third measure was introduced at the end of 1831. It succeeded in passing the second reading in the House of Lords by nine votes, but seemed doomed to emasculation in committee. Thereupon, the ministry resigned because the King seemed unwilling to create enough new peers to insure the passage of the whole Bill. Wellington tried to form a ministry and failed. And then Earl Grey was recalled and promised any number of peers necessary to pass the measure. The threat proved sufficient, as Wellington and his adherents voluntarily left the House in order to allow the fateful measure to become law. Thus ended one of the greatest crises in the parliamentary history of England.

The Reform Acts — there were separate bills for England, Scotland, and Ireland — provided in the first place for the disfranchisement of fifty-six English boroughs with less than two thousand inhabitants, and the loss of one of two seats by thirty more with a population of less than four thousand. Since the size of the Commons remained unchanged, these seats were redistributed to satisfy the most urgent needs. The larger unrepresented towns received two members each. Thirteen of the reassigned seats went to Ireland and Scotland. The right to vote was also extended in the counties to long-time leaseholders and copyholders as well as to tenants paying fifty pounds a year in rent; in the boroughs, to all those owning or occupying property of the yearly value of ten pounds.

The great reform of 1832 is important because it opened a new epoch. The electorate was quadrupled, though even after 1832 the voters did not number more than one for

every thirty-seven of the population. The laboring class in the country and nearly all the workingmen in the towns were excluded. The upper half of the middle class were the real gainers by the extension of the suffrage, a result strikingly like that following the Revolution of 1830 in France. Nor did it succeed in cleansing elections altogether. The time for voting was cut down to two days, but there was still plenty of chance for intimidation and bribery. The proposal of vote by ballot was at first included and later dropped. And the measure of redistribution, while drastic in its way, was bound to become antiquated in time, since no provision for an automatic rearrangement had yet been conceived. But the acts of 1832 were more than measures of reform; they were symptoms of a new force coming to bear on the government of the country. The popular will had brought the measure to pass, even if the conservative advance of 1832 made it clear that for some time the rulers of Britain would be more or less aristocratic. It was to be not a revolution but an evolution toward a "broad and level democracy, inlaid (for ornament sake) with a peerage, and topped (by sufferance) with a Crown."¹

Consequences of reform

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CHAPTER XXXVII

THE HARVEST OF REFORM

THE Reform Bill of 1832 opened a window of desire for thousands. The lower classes, who had been largely voiceless, found their insistent demands met by a measure that made possible the crushing of ancient abuses, even if the vote was not extended very far down the social scale. The demand for relief, long overdue, spurred the triumphant Whigs to a task that was the more congenial because of the long interim since a Whig government had presided at Westminster. The influential group of Philosophical Radicals hailed the opportunity to put into practice some of their cherished dreams. Even the Tories were chastened by the great Act of 1832 to assist in correcting the abuses of the state and of society.

The impetus
to general
reform

It is not surprising that the years from 1832 to the mid-century were more fruitful of reform than any previous period in the history of the islands. Britain seemed entering on a new era. Change was in the air. The population of Great Britain increased during the fifteen years after Waterloo over twenty-five per cent, from nineteen to nearly twenty-five millions. The rapid accumulation of the people of Great Britain in the towns and industrial centers raised, as we have learned, an insistent demand for recognition. It also required a regulation of the multifarious types of industrial activity. The accumulation of wealth was even more rapid during these years than the growth in population. The inhabitants had increased by a quarter but the wealth by a half. The demand for freedom from hoary monopolies and galling restrictions was a natural consequence.

Growth of
national
wealth and
population

THE COMING OF THE RAILWAY

The amazing improvement in transportation was possibly the most picturesque indication of the new era. The net-

work of canals, begun in the eighteenth century and continually extended during the Industrial Revolution, was a valuable asset to commercial expansion. But canals were a slow means of transportation at best, and were restricted to a considerable degree by the lay of the land. Better roads, fathered by Telford and MacAdam, were also of decided value in bringing the country into a smaller compass. Since 1784 the mail had been conveyed by rapid coaches. Roads of fine quality interlaced the land, and furnished such expeditious opportunities for travel that even gentlemen were finding the coach more useful than their own conveyances. It undoubtedly served to educate the upper classes into greater recognition of their "inferiors," and to prepare unwieldy minds for reform.

The rate of travel and the amount were amazing to the people of the time. In 1828, for example, Richard Cobden rode from London to Manchester on the coach, Peveril of the Peak, in twenty hours. In 1832 young Gladstone at Torquay was in urgent need of addressing the electors of Newark, whom he was about to represent in Parliament. He went by the Exeter mail to London, and thence by a "High Flyer" to Newark in the space of forty hours. One of the busiest thoroughfares of the island was the Great North Road; over one hundred and twenty coaches a day hastened north and south along this artery of travel.

But the glory was soon to depart from the old coach roads.¹ The diligence and the mail were to hurl themselves along the highways for some time, but already by 1832 the railway was a proven success. It was soon to distance both canal and highway as a means of travel. The application of steam to transportation was first made successfully on the water. In 1807 Robert Fulton's Clermont belched its way up the Hudson, and five years later Henry Bell, a Scottish inventor, sent his twenty-five-ton Comet down

¹ For a description of travel in 1832, see the introductory chapter of George Eliot's *Felix Holt*.

Though steam engines pumped water from mines and turned machinery, they were but slowly adapted to locomotion on land. As early as 1802 a steam coach was patented, but it seemed to be too expensive and slow for practical use. Even by the end of the twenties they were not sufficiently perfected to go more than ten miles an hour. The steam engine was destined to develop first on rails. The credit for this particular application of steam belongs to a mechanical genius of northern England, George Stephenson. In spite of his inability to read and write until he was seventeen, Stephenson's intimate acquaintance with machinery in one of the Tyneside collieries led to various applications of the engine to the needs of the miners. By 1812 he had made an engine that would draw coal wagons on rails at a slow rate of speed.¹ The next step occurred when a colliery proprietor of Durham decided on a railway between Stockton and Darlington (in the valley of the Tees). Stephenson persuaded the projector to try steam engines in place of horses. And in 1825 this, the longest line of railway yet constructed, was formally opened.

About that time the manufacturers of Liverpool and Manchester determined to have a railway connect those two busy centers and assist the canal in expediting traffic. Stephenson was appointed engineer of the line. The promoters of the road were, however, still doubtful as to the use of steam power in the place of horses. At Stephenson's suggestion, a reward was offered for the best locomotive. Of the four competitors only Stephenson's Rocket succeeded; it went thirty-five miles an hour. The directors decided that a formal opening should be held, for men were already realizing the great importance of the railway engine. Much was made of the

¹ Stephenson's invention, like Watt's, was successful because it economized the power others had not been able to harness. Watt made his steam engine powerful by keeping the cylinder always hot. Stephenson sent the hissing steam up the smokestack, thereby obtaining a forced draught and better combustion. His engine also gained in power by having smooth wheels that ran on smooth rails; earlier efforts were hampered by the use of a cogwheel working on a rack rail.

occasion in September of 1830. The visitors included the Duke of Wellington, who attended as Prime Minister despite his dislike of inventions. Another was the well-known Huskisson, the member for Liverpool. As the seven trainloads of people were carried past the Duke's carriage a distressing accident occurred. Mr. Huskisson was struck by the Rocket, and died a few days afterward. The loss of his keen and forward-looking mind was keenly felt in the Reform Parliament. Opponents of change declared it God's judgment on innovation. It at least served to emphasize to a wondering public the presence of a new power.

THE PRESS

Back of the reforming activity of the thirties and forties there were important intellectual influences that must not be forgotten. In 1815 London had six dailies The great newspapers despite a stamp tax of fourpence per paper. Of these, the *Post*, the *Times*, and the *Chronicle* were the most important. The *Times*, founded in 1785, led in circulation and in progressiveness, for it was printed by steam as early as 1814.¹ The influence of the press was growing by leaps and bounds after the Napoleonic wars. To unprogressive minds it seemed as great a menace as had the less important sheets of the previous century.² The danger appeared the greater after Cobbett reduced the price of his *Register* in 1816. Southey even told Lord Liverpool in the next year that the press must be curbed or it would destroy the constitution of the country. In 1821 another famous paper, the *Manchester Guardian*, came into existence, very largely as a protest against the enormities of the Peterloo Massacre. The founder and first editor, J. E. Taylor, consciously sought to make the *Guardian* an aid in "fixing on a broader and more impregnable basis the fabric of our liberties."

¹ The editor of the *Chronicle* was also enterprising, as he was the first to send shorthand reporters to Parliament.

² See p. 607.

The magazine was a product of the eighteenth century.¹ But such a collection of trifles and fancies as confused the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* was not likely to stir up much thinking. It was otherwise with a number of reviews that began their lives after the new century opened. The first was the famous *Edinburgh Review*, established in 1802 by an acute group of forward-looking thinkers, who had been accustomed to meet in a famous Speculative Society for the discussion of current topics. Its appearance renewed a keen interest in the discussion of politics, and its editor, Jeffrey, at once made the *Edinburgh* a magazine that was perused with avidity. Its "deepening Whiggery" offended men like Walter Scott, and led to the founding of a rival. The *Quarterly Review* appeared for the first time in 1809 under the able editorship of Gifford. It at once became a successful organ of the Tories. Seven years later, *Blackwood's Magazine* with "Christopher North" (Wilson) as editor added a third to the growing list. In the next decade the Radicals became more insistent on presenting their views to the public, and the result was the appearance of the *Westminster Review* in 1824.

Jeremy Bentham, who projected the *Westminster Review*, was a veteran thinker who had been of no slight influence.

He was already a septuagenarian when the radical review appeared. In 1776 he made a sharp criticism of the famous Blackstone in his *Fragment on Government*, questioning the right of the supreme power to make law. To Bentham government rested only on utility. His famous utilitarianism was later re-defined as being that "which taking all things and all persons into consideration leaves a balance of happiness." But the principle of the greatest happiness for the greatest number was just the principle upon which British legislation and law was not at that time based. It led Bentham, in consequence, to crusade vigorously with his pen for the improvement of the law code. He also keenly urged popular

¹ See p. 607.

education, a public health service, and better representation. Though he died just as the Reform Bill became law, his spirit lived on in the breasts of his followers and found abundant expression in the thirties and forties.

Philosophical radicalism was largely an outgrowth of his thought. James Mill and his more famous son, John Stuart Mill, Francis Place, J. A. Roebuck, ^{Philosophical} William Molesworth, Edwin Chadwick, Lord ^{Radicals} Durham, were all prominent exponents of this type of thinking. In 1835 they brought out the *London Review*, but it was soon combined with the *Westminster Review* as a medium for the Radicals. There were over seventy Radicals in the Reform Parliament that convened in 1833.

THE GREAT DOMESTIC REFORMS

To the work of that body and its successors we now turn. The Whig government was not a unit as to the character of the reforms to be enacted. Earl Grey himself ^{Era of} had no sympathy with the Radicals, although ^{reform} he found his position too advanced for many of his party. From the first this led to weakness. The Whigs were able, however, to continue in power with but a slight break from 1833 to 1841. After Earl Grey's retirement in 1834, they were led by Viscount Melbourne. Early in the forties Sir Robert Peel and the Conservatives assumed office, to be replaced after five memorable years by another liberal administration under Lord John Russell. It was to last beyond the mid-century.¹

Every department of interest was touched in one way or another during these years. Often an important problem was rehandled again and again. It seems better, consequently, to think of the legislative results of the time as they naturally are grouped around certain interests. If this violates somewhat a chronological treatment, the topical handling of these "fat" years should minister to clearness.

¹ In October, 1834, the buildings where Parliament met were destroyed by fire. Curiously enough, the fire seems to have been caused by the overheating of a flue while some workmen were burning a quantity of exchequer tallies. The present buildings were completed about 1850.

One of the most salutary of the domestic reforms was the reorganization of the municipal government in the British Isles. The Scottish needs were first met in the Burgh Act for Scotland, 1833. The Burgh Act of 1833. Previously, the town councils had not been composed, as a rule, of "honest and substantial burgesses." A new spirit of emancipation came to the towns of Scotland when the town councils could no longer elect themselves, but were dependent on the selection by burgesses who owned or occupied property of the annual value of ten pounds.

The Municipal Corporations Act for England and Wales was passed two years later. The reform of the English boroughs was preceded by a thorough investigation of conditions. The report was so damaging that the relief granted to the English towns was somewhat more drastic than the Burgh Act of 1833. Municipal councils in England were in the control of freemen whose ancestors may have been qualified for their responsibilities. But the report of the commission revealed some places where freemen were actually receiving poor relief. And the disparity between the freemen and the non-freemen in an English borough was often more glaring than in Scotland because of the greater increase and concentration of the population in England. "At Cambridge, out of twenty thousand inhabitants, only 118 were freemen, while of the property which was valued at £25,000 only £2100 was the property of freemen."¹

The remedy was one of the chief fruits of the radical agitation. One hundred and seventy-eight boroughs were treated in a uniform manner. The citizenship was established upon the basis of three years' residence and the payment during that time of poor rates. This was a decided break with a past which had tended to group people by occupations. The electors chose the representative councils to whom the various duties of local government were entrusted. They were to care for the policing of the communities, the public health,

¹ Bright, *A History of England*, III, 1460.

the collection and expenditure of funds for local purposes, etc. And the borough funds were to receive a periodical and independent audit.¹

An adequate organization of poor relief was badly needed. Ever since the series of laws in the reign of Elizabeth, the relief of the poor had remained much the same. State of the poor relief But in the course of time, especially after the industrial changes of the eighteenth century began, the problem became much more serious. Great carelessness grew up as to the difference between a deserving poor person and one who was being pauperized. The vicious principle of Speenhamland only made matters worse; patently inadequate wages were not raised, as they should have been, but were increased by doles from the poor rates.² The rising cost of poor relief became alarming in the years after Waterloo. By the time the reform actually arrived the country was paying for poor relief between eight and nine millions of pounds annually, or about twelve shillings per head of the total population.

After the report of a commission a severe Poor Law Amendment Act was put on the books in 1834. Again uniformity was obtained, but this time by centralization of power. Three Poor Law Commissioners were to carry out the new policy through boards of guardians. Henceforth the parishes were combined into unions, and there was to be a workhouse for each union. The so-called "Workhouse Test" was reimposed in order to prevent laxity, that is, outdoor relief was not to be indiscriminately given. In the workhouse all the able-bodied were compelled to labor, and the standard of maintenance was such as to discourage life in the workhouse as a mere means of obtaining care. There was every intention to help genuine need and to limit needless assistance. Yet hardship was certain to come as this severe system replaced the lax conditions of the past half-century. It

Poor Law
Amendment
Act, 1834

¹ The reform of Irish boroughs was not made until 1840. A franchise similar to that of Scotland then became law.

² See p. 724.

was unfortunate, also, that a period of business depression in the latter part of the thirties contributed to the deep hatred with which the poor man regarded this "Robbery Bill." Though the severe conditions of the measure were later somewhat mollified, the lower classes were bitterly disabused of the belief that after 1832 a millennium was to come. Yet it brought the population as a whole back to self-respect. The Poor Law Board was erected into a ministerial department in 1847.

An outgrowth of the work of the commission was the regulation of sanitary conditions. Edwin Chadwick was deeply impressed by the squalor and filth in the midst of which so many of the poor lived. Forthwith, he began an ardent crusade for better conditions from his strategic post as secretary of the new Poor Law Board. An act of 1837 requiring for the first time official registration of births, marriages, and deaths soon gave a body of information that was used with telling effect. In 1842 Chadwick published a revealing report on the "Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Classes in Great Britain." It was followed two years later by the appointment of a Commission on the Health of Towns. The picture that they painted was truly Hogarthian in its exactitude; it made clear the absolute need of some central control of sanitation that houses might be habitable, streets clean, and sewers in effective use. In 1847 a European visitation of cholera helped to impress the legislators with the need of heeding Chadwick's facts and figures. As a result, the Public Health Act of 1848 began another important activity. It was the first compulsory measure of the kind. A General Board of Health was set up, something like the Poor Law Board in its relation to the local communities.

Numerous measures of real value dealt with the industries growing so rapidly during these decades, industries that too frequently paid exclusive attention to large profits. The first and greatest need was the regulation of the multiplying factories. Laws

Sanitation
and public
health

Early at-
tempts to
regulate
factories

to that end had been largely valueless because there was no way to enforce their provisions. The Acts of 1802, 1819, and 1825 referred only to cotton factories, nor did they prevent the cruel treatment of children by the "overlookers." As the decade closed Richard Oastler vainly sought to end "Yorkshire slavery" by requiring a ten-hour day.

In the thirties the burden of factory legislation was shouldered by Lord Ashley, better known by his later title, Earl of Shaftesbury. Action was precipitated by a commission of investigation that revealed Factory Act of 1833 conditions almost unbelievable in their sordidness. Lord Althorp's Bill, as the Factory Act of 1833 is called, was a step in advance even if it failed to meet Ashley's wishes in every particular. Workers under eighteen were not to labor at night or more than twelve hours a day. Children under nine could not work in any factories save silk mills; those from nine to twelve were to work no more than nine hours a day. The measure applied to all sorts of factories. Best of all, at Chadwick's suggestion inspectors were appointed to see that the law was enforced.

Lord Ashley continued his efforts to improve conditions that remained shockingly bad. Not until 1840 was he able to obtain another investigating commission. At last, in 1844, Peel's government passed an Later efforts at factory reform act that improved somewhat on the measure of eleven years earlier. Children from eight to thirteen were still allowed to work, but only for half-time in order that they might attend school during the remainder of the day. The ten-hour day, however, was not yet attained. The depression of 1846 and 1847 helped in the last step taken during this period, for the manufacturers were not averse to shortened hours at the time. The Ten-Hours Bill of 1847 seems little enough won after so much agitation. "The Cry of the Children," so feelingly phrased by Elizabeth Barrett (Browning) in 1841, had received only a partial answer.¹

¹ For, all day, we drag our burden tiring
Through the coal-dark, underground —
Or, all day, we drive the wheels of iron
In the factories, round and round.

The first act for the regulation of the mines came in 1842, again at Lord Ashley's instance. The reports that were made of conditions showed an appalling situation. Women and children were frequently employed underground, and the children were sometimes not more than six years of age. Often women on all fours dragged carts of coal through low and dangerous passages. The conditions were so terrible that Parliament passed almost by acclamation a measure that forbade for the future underground work for women and for children under ten years of age. Even this halting measure aroused some opposition by Lords who declared that it interfered with the freedom of employment and with those fine economic laws which governed the labor market.

Humanitarianism found other wholesome expressions as well, for a kindlier spirit was pervading the body of the people. This is shown by a number of significant measures. The penal code had been somewhat humanized in the twenties. In 1832 Parliament lessened the list of crimes punishable by death by exempting housebreakers, horse and sheep stealers, and coiners of false money from capital punishment. In the late thirties Lord John Russell purged the criminal code of many capital offenses, saw to the better regulation of prisons, and carried the first measure of its kind through Parliament for the treatment of juvenile offenders in a reformatory. At about this same time feeling developed against the cruelties connected with the transportation of criminals to Australia. Not the least of the many beneficent acts of Lord Ashley was a law of 1840 preventing the cleaning (sweeping) of chimneys by little children.

Humane feeling found expression not only in behalf of factory workers, women, chimney sweepers, and criminals, but also in behalf of the lower animals. The sensitive pens of such poets as Burns, Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Byron pleaded for humanity to animals. But it was an Irish member of Parliament, Richard Martin, who did the most at this time to forward

the cause. In 1823 he won parliamentary assent to a law preventing the cruel treatment of cattle and the merciless flogging of horses. But his annual advocacy of a bill to stop the fighting of bulls, dogs, and cocks only gained for him the derisive name of "Cruelty" Martin. His efforts were greatly aided toward the end of the decade by the report of Peel's police committee. This report proved that bulls were actually baited to death in the streets of London, and that bear-gardens and cockpits were anything but centers of refinement. As a result, a law of 1833 prevented henceforth the baiting of bulls, bears, or other animals, and cockfighting in London. With the extension of this law to the country as a whole two years later, time-honored sports were outlawed by a public that was finding amusement possible without the deliberate infliction of suffering. About the same time the game laws were so modified that the right to kill half-wild pheasants and other game animals was allowed to those who procured a license. But the upper classes were yet too fond of slaughter to allow any restriction on their "shooting." Nor has a great deal of progress been made since.

Some steps of significance were making possible a gradual spread of knowledge. In the thirties the stamp duty on newspapers was reduced to a penny. If this ^{Penny} made possible the wider reading of papers, the ^{postage} introduction of penny postage in 1840 was an even greater stimulus to the spread of information. Previously letters were paid for on delivery, and the amount varied with the distance, the weight, and the mode of conveyance. This cumbersome system was somewhat like the old and complicated tariff arrangements. Rowland Hill suggested a change on the principle that was already being applied to taxation — a lower rate of postage would so increase business that no loss would be felt. The result was the uniform charge to the sender of a letter of one penny for a half-ounce. The value of the reform soon became so self-evident that it spread rapidly to other countries.

Space does not permit the itemizing of many other salu-

tary measures that helped to make over the British Isles during the thirties and forties. There was a whole group of measures that dealt with the oversea possessions, of which the emancipation of the slaves was but the most arresting. They can be considered best when the colonies are studied in a subsequent chapter.¹ And there were some modifications in the ecclesiastical monopoly of the State Church in England and Ireland. They, too, will receive later treatment.

Two movements of this epoch, on the contrary, cannot be postponed: the great fight for free trade waged by Richard Cobden and John Bright, and the Chartist agitation for a more democratic constitution.

FREE TRADE

The laws respecting the importation of foreign grain became decidedly objectionable as Waterloo brought peace but not plenty. The laws of 1815 and 1822 made importation practically prohibitive in order that home-grown wheat might sell at a satisfactory price. The Wellington Corn Law of 1828 varied the import duty in accordance with the price of grain, aiming to keep wheat at least as high as 70s. a quarter. After 1832 the Whigs feared to touch the problem for fear of evil consequences to the party, and because the ministry was cursed by an absence of fiscal skill.

As early as 1836 an organized move was made against the Wellington Corn Law then in force. In London the Radicals formed an Anti-Corn-Law Association. It was soon superseded, however, by a more active organization in Manchester. Feeling ran high at the hard-heartedness of the landed aristocracy. To bring prosperity both to manufacturer and to worker it seemed absolutely essential to "untax the people's bread."²

From the first the movement was fortunate in having the

¹ See Chapter XXXIX.

² The panic of 1837 in the United States was closely related to the British financial crisis of the same time. Rapid expansion, especially of railway building in both countries, combined with bad harvests, was partially to blame.

matchless leadership of Richard Cobden and the loyal and effective work of John Bright. Cobden was a modest cloth manufacturer. He saw the needs of the middle class answered only by greater freedom of trade. If wheat was allowed entry from foreign countries it would help pay for increased exports of manufactured goods. If the laborer had a cheaper loaf, he would not need such high wages, or at least he would exist in greater comfort and be more efficient. But the call to repeal the corn laws was not wholly a middle-class agitation. Cobden had come from a farm home over which poverty "hung like a dull cloak." He was prompted by a deep interest in the workers both in town and in country. The issue became one of high moral quality — whether it was good, as Bright put it, for a man to have half a loaf or a whole loaf. These leaders were also deeply concerned in furthering the cause of peace and retrenchment by lessening the possible opportunities of disagreement between the nations. Cobden and Bright were careful, therefore, to keep free from political and theoretical radicalism. They fought their cause on the field of common sense.

Richard
Cobden
(1804-65)

It was hard to deny that something was badly wrong when wheat rose to 80s. in 1839, and not a war in sight to justify such a top price. Peel, on his assumption of office two years later, was not inclined to take the free-trade route, although his father had been a "cotton lord." His attention was first given to the fiscal question, for the state was in the financial doldrums. Though he made practically no change in the Corn Laws, Peel modified the remnants of the protective system radically. In his great budget of 1842 the tariff was reduced on over 750 articles, and an income tax was imposed — for the first time since 1816 — to make up for loss in revenue. To Cobden and the League it seemed an insult to a suffering nation to take the duty off dried fruits, cosmetics, and caviar, and leave corn and sugar as before. The League's activities, in consequence, were incessant and nation-wide. Effective speakers stumped the country in a great campaign

Peel's
budget of
1842

of education. By 1843 over five million tracts had been distributed. In 1845 and 1846 Peel took further steps toward free trade in his budgets of those years; in 1845 nearly five hundred articles were put on the free list, and in the next year customs duties of over a million sterling were legislated out of existence. But grain remained a protected product.

Peel, however, was weakening before Cobden's powerful arguments in the House of Commons. It was in 1845, as the Prime Minister listened to one of Cobden's speeches, to which a reply soon must be made, that he crumpled up the paper on which he was taking notes and whispered to a friend at his side, "You must answer this, I cannot." The trouble for Peel lay in his party; he felt only too sure that his espousal of free trade in grain would be greeted as treason.

The crisis came in the autumn of '45, "the wettest autumn in the memory of man." In England the conditions were bad enough. But the ruin of the potato crop in Ireland meant famine to an agricultural population always on the verge of want. According to the Devon Commission of 1845 the Irish were the "worst housed, the worst fed, and the worst clothed peasantry in Europe." The repeal of the Corn Laws became inevitable. Lord John Russell, the Liberal leader, came out for total repeal. The Prime Minister could not induce his Cabinet to follow him in taking the necessary step. But Russell could not form a ministry and Peel returned to do what he felt was right. By June of 1846, Cobden could write to his wife: "Hurrah, hurrah! The Corn Bill is law, and now my work is done." Though Cobden's work was by no means ended, he had won the fight. Not long after, the Anti-Corn-Law League disbanded.

The famine was met by various expedients. Grain was imported from America. Relief works were opened. Voluntary subscriptions poured in, and the poor law restrictions on outdoor relief were disregarded. Some relief came from emigration. The

population of Ireland was 8,500,000 when the famine began its course; at the census of 1851 it was 6,500,000.

The defeat of Robert Peel, almost immediately following the passage of a law for free trade in grain, opened the way for another Liberal administration under Lord John Russell (1846-52).¹ It fittingly added to the free-trade achievements of the decade by

An end of
the Naviga-
tion Laws

two measures of first-rate importance. Colonial-grown sugar had been left untouched in its monopoly by the Peelite free-trade budgets, although the duty on foreign sugar, which was the product of free labor, was somewhat lowered in 1845. But foreign-grown sugar, which was the product of slave labor, still entered under a duty five times as great as that on colonial sugar. The Sugar Duties Bill of 1848 provided for equalization by lowering immediately the duty on all foreign sugar to one and a half times that on the colonial product, and by providing for the same duty after a few years. In the next year the venerable Navigation Acts went the way of the Corn Laws and the sugar duties. In 1849 the shipowners were bitterly opposed to the loss of their monopoly, but there was no gainsaying the demands of the colonists that they should have greater freedom for the disposal of their products, or the contentions of the free traders that Britain's merchant marine was no longer an infant industry.

CHARTISM

The desire for a reform of the political constitution of the country naturally arose among the working classes after 1832. Taught, as they put it, "to regard the Act as a wise means to a worthy end," the workers found that the Reform Act "has effected a transfer of power from one domineering faction to another, and left the people as helpless as before. Our slavery has been exchanged for an apprenticeship to liberty."² By 1836 the London Workingmen's Association considered that the

Rise of
Chartism

¹ An accident while riding brought Peel's premature death in 1850.

² The "National Petition" in Rosenblatt, *The Chartist Movement*, p. 235.

apprenticeship to liberty had lasted long enough, and that they should "seek by every legal means to place all classes of society in possession of their equal political and social rights." At the suggestion of Francis Place and other prominent Radicals, the Association drew up, in the form of a parliamentary bill, what they called the "People's Charter." The gist of their demands is found in the famous Six Points — equal representation, universal suffrage, annual parliaments, no property qualifications for members, vote by ballot, and the payment of members.

Recruits came to the movement in great numbers during the distressful years from 1837 to 1840, especially in the manufacturing towns of the Midlands and the north. Feargus O'Connor Attwood in Birmingham stirred up much interest in a Political Union for Chartist ends. In the region of Newcastle the radical feeling was focussed by Feargus O'Connor. He was of a family of famous Irish patriots. O'Connor had represented Cork in Parliament, but on disagreeing with O'Connell settled in England, where he formed political unions to work for better factory legislation and a more suitable poor law. In 1836 he founded a Central Committee of radical unions. Of commanding appearance, unbounded energy and boldness, and distinct ability as a speaker, O'Connor rapidly became the leader of the Chartists.

From the first there was no unanimity as to the method to be employed to win the Six Points. A physical-force group found a wide support, especially in the north. Chartist agitation Attwood of Birmingham was in favor of a general strike of all workers — the "sacred month" — if the Government should refuse to heed petitions to Parliament. In 1839 a petition containing over 1,200,000 signatures was overwhelmingly rejected by the House of Commons. Repression followed this demonstration. Processions were stopped, mobs dispersed, and the leaders imprisoned or transported. On the failure of another monster petition in 1842 — there were over three million signatures — the movement went into a decline.

A revival came in the revolutionary year, 1848. Republicanism was openly discussed, and a revolution plainly foretold if the petition of that year was rejected. ^{Chartism in 1848} One speaker even suggested that the Commons be given but one hour to decide on granting the Charter. On April 10th the petitioners were to meet on Kennington Common, whence 200,000 men were to accompany the petition to Westminster. The Government took precautions by enrolling 170,000 special constables. But the meeting on Kennington Common proved comparatively small, and the preparations of the Government prevented the intended march to overawe the House. The petition was found to contain but two, instead of the boasted five, million names; some names were fictitious and others patent forgeries.¹ This last effort of the Chartists was made a laughingstock by those who were relieved when the rumored rising proved a fiasco. Chartism failed, but most of the demands have been granted since that time.

Such in summary were some of the most striking measures of reform by which Britain partially outlawed the old régime. Much remained that should have gone, ^{End of the reform era} and many regulations were but slight steps in advance. Political reform, elementary education, and the Irish problem were left almost untouched when the reform wave had spent itself by 1850. New interests supervened at about that time, especially in foreign affairs. And at home a confused period resulted in the reorganization of parties, largely because Peel had turned his political coat inside out. Not until after the close of the American Civil War were domestic concerns again successfully confronted.

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¹ "Queen Victoria" and "Punch," as well as numerous characters in popular novels, were "signers" of the petition.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

PALMERSTON AND FOREIGN POLICY

THE wave of internal reform that was traced in the previous chapter brought the narrative to the middle of the century. In allowing this dominating interest to take exclusive attention, other important concerns of the British people were, for the time, left to one side. Foreign affairs and colonial developments, for example, are sufficiently vital to receive a careful and separate study. The former, though not the most arresting work of the Government during those years, became more and more engrossing as the reforming efforts of the middle-class era began to weaken. The year of European revolutions, 1848, awakened Britishers anew to the affairs of the near-by Continent. In the fifties the island kingdom even went to war over a European issue. Not until after the close of the American Civil War in 1865 did foreign affairs again become secondary.

Foreign
affairs after
the Reform
Bill

VICTORIA

Queen Victoria, whose name at least dominates nineteenth-century England, came to the throne in 1837. This "little girl-queen, innocent, modest, with fair hair and pink cheeks," was slightly over eighteen when she succeeded her uncle William IV. No greater contrast was possible than that between the two rulers. William IV, who was known as the Duke of Clarence before his accession in 1830, was one of a very unsavory family. The preposterous claims on the public purse of the numerous children of George III, as well as their almost complete unfitness to lead the state in ways of sobriety and decency, had brought the reputation of the family very low. If William IV was not the finished rake that his brother, George IV, had been, he was no particular

King William
IV, born
1765,
reigned
1830-37

credit to the state that began to cleanse the dark spots of the old régime during his reign. As a monarch he was neither great nor wise, and he constantly thwarted his ministers in their work of reform. The judgment of an eminent historian is that he "would have passed in private life for a good-natured sailor."¹

Victoria was educated with the greatest care by her mother, the Duchess of Kent. Her life had been one of seclusion. The ability with which she adapted herself to the position of queen was as surprising as it was successful. The fact that the political point of view of the new Queen was Whig but added to her popularity. Parliament promptly settled on her an exceedingly liberal Civil List of £385,000. The annuity was actually smaller than that of William IV, but it was relieved of many of the charges which formerly had been a part of the Civil List, though they were not directly connected with the support of the Crown. From the first the young Queen entered with zest into the matter of government. The Whig Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, proved to be quite the master of her mind, for he aroused the deepest admiration in the new ruler. Nevertheless, Victoria proved to have a mind and will of her own despite the care she took to be a constitutional monarch. So long as Lord Melbourne was the Prime Minister all went well. When the Whig majority became so slight (in 1839) that Melbourne and his ministry resigned, the Queen's position proved difficult. She disliked the prospect of a Tory ministry under Sir Robert Peel. When Peel called on the Queen, he found her haughty and hostile. To his suggestion that some change was necessary in the make-up of the royal household, she proved obstinate; none of her Whig ladies of the bedchamber would be sacrificed to party demands. Peel thereupon refused to form a ministry. The equally stubborn Queen appealed to Lord Melbourne

Queen
Victoria,
born 1819,
reigned
1837-1901

Lord Mel-
bourne
(1779-1848)

¹ Walpole, *History of England from 1815*, IV, 96. In 1827 the future King had been appointed Lord High Admiral.

and he returned to office, feeling that "it was impossible to abandon such a Queen and such a woman." Though Victoria's act was of doubtful constitutionality, it showed the new ruler's determination. Melbourne, as we have found, gave up office finally two years later, and the troublesome Sir Robert Peel and his party succeeded.¹

But before the death of the Whig ministry one other event of importance took place in the royal household. In 1840 the Queen married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.² Victoria, in Victoria's marriage taking this step, had not intended that her husband should play a political part. Indeed, his position seemed that of a nonentity, especially as Lord Melbourne was practically the Queen's private secretary. Gradually, however, the situation changed. The Prince proved to have good qualities of mind and judgment. An Act passed in the year of their marriage appointed him regent in case of Victoria's death. With the passing of Lord Melbourne in 1841, Albert's place in the Government became more definite. The Queen's deep affection for her husband gradually brought him to a position of great importance. The Prince was conscientious and hard-working, with a "head for politics." From becoming her adviser and confidant, he assumed, almost unnoticed, a leadership that the Queen gladly gave: "By the close of Peel's administration Albert had become in effect the King of England."³ Both the Queen and her husband proved eminently fitted to restore royalty to a high place in the estimation of the British people.

When Victoria became Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, an important consequence was the separation of the German State of Hanover from Britain. Ever since George I had been imported to succeed Queen Anne (1714) the ruler of the one had Separation of Hanover, 1837 been the governor of the other. But the crown of Han-

¹ See p. 761.

² Prince Albert is usually known as the "Prince Consort." But this formal title was not conferred on him until 1857.

³ Strachey, *Queen Victoria*, p. 189.

over could legally descend only to male members of the House of Brunswick. In 1837, perforce, the two holdings were separated. Victoria's uncle, the Duke of Cumberland, became ruler of Hanover. He signalized his accession by shelving a recently granted liberal constitution and by ruling his German State in a way that would have boded ill for British constitutional progress had fortune led him to the coronation chair in Westminster.

PALMERSTON AS FOREIGN MINISTER

Though the Hanoverian interest, which we have so often found of moment, ceased henceforth to complicate the work of the British Foreign Minister, the country proved to have a very keen interest in foreign affairs during the first thirty years of Victoria's reign. At times, especially during the revolutionary risings of 1848 and again when the Crimean War engrossed attention, foreign interests were so important that reforming instincts gave way. In order to realize the continuity of British foreign policy, it will be well to trace this concern of government in a more or less chronological way to the point in the sixties where it again subsided before the desire for internal betterment.

One name is more closely connected with British foreign policy than that of any other statesman of the time.

Lord Palmerston became Foreign Secretary in Earl Grey's ministry in 1830. He had been a Tory for many years, having entered Parliament in 1807, and from 1809 to 1828 was Secretary at War.¹ With his Canningite colleagues Palmerston joined the Whig ministry in 1830, and remained in charge of foreign affairs until 1841. Five years later he was again Foreign Secretary under Lord John Russell. With two very brief intermissions he remained in public life as a minister until his death in 1865 at the age of eighty-one.

¹ Palmerston was raised to the Irish peerage by the death of his father in 1802. Five years later he entered the House of Commons for a constituency in the Isle of Wight. For the provision of the Act of Union permitting this, see above, p. 691.

Public service of such a conspicuous character is to be accounted for by qualities that not only endeared him to the average Britisher but made him uncommonly successful in the field of governmental activity. Palmerston was personally very like-
Nature of Palmerston's public service
 able. Though he sometimes appeared to treat lightly matters of importance and seemed unnecessarily jaunty and self-confident, he was able to interpret public feeling with great accuracy. He was very bold, even outspoken, in his diplomacy, seeming to take much enjoyment in the adventurous elements of his position. This is reflected in his well-known statement: "England is strong enough to brave consequences." He was inclined to make much of seemingly little matters, and often drove perilously close to the precipice. His aggressive, "big-stick" policy was not always successful, but it pleased the people. To the end of his life Palmerston's immense popularity hardly waned. The great fault of his system, as we shall find, was its pugnacious, energetic, self-sufficient character, the attitude that took it for granted that John Bull must mix exasperatingly in every quarrel, whether domestic or foreign, of the other nations of the world.

When Palmerston entered Grey's Cabinet in 1830, it was to continue with unabated vigor the foreign policy of Mr. Canning.¹ One of the first problems he
Palmerston and Belgium
 faced grew out of the French Revolution of 1830. When Louis Philippe became King of the French, the Belgians rose in revolt against the arrangement made at Vienna by which their country became a part of Holland. Despite Dutch offers of greater recognition to Belgian nationality, the people demanded independence. This stand was agreeable to Louis Philippe, since a breach in the arrangements of 1815 would but strengthen his position. And, in addition, there was a chance that Belgium might be added to France. Palmerston saw this danger, that the Belgians would, if necessary, turn to France. As a result, he both advocated and obtained recognition of Bel-

¹ See pp. 736 ff.

gian independence at a conference in London. But then the new nation chose Louis Philippe's son as their King. This seemed to Palmerston like playing into French hands, and he checkmated the step. The Belgians, thereupon, selected Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. From the British point of view it was a happy choice, for he was the uncle and "second father" of Victoria. Before the end of the decade the powers all came around to Palmerston's point of view and guaranteed the neutrality of the new State.

Palmerston's interference in the affairs of the Near East was almost as brilliant. There Canning's vigorous policy had helped to bring a recognition of Greek independence — another breach in the settle-
 British diplomacy in the Near East
 ment of 1815. But a withdrawal of British influence after Canning's death had given the leading place in Turkish affairs to Russia. In the thirties a new menace to the Porte came from Mehemet Ali, the ambitious ruler of Egypt. In 1832 he conquered Syria and threatened Constantinople. Russia came to the aid of the Porte and by a treaty in 1833 (Unkiar Skelessi) became the virtual protector of the Turkish Empire — much to the chagrin of Palmerston, who saw the "principles of Mr. Canning" temporarily go by the board. Toward the end of the decade the ruler of Egypt was again on the warpath. It looked very much as though he would master the Turkish Empire, creating out of a weak government one of great strength, especially since he was backed by France. Palmerston, at this juncture, interfered to limit French ambitions; Russia, abandoning the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and also Prussia and Austria united with Great Britain to impose restraints on the upstart. France was bitterly indignant and made preparations for war. But "ce terrible milord Palmerston," as he was called in Paris, made it known that Britain would pick up the gauntlet were it thrown down. The French King dared not risk war, but accepted the situation by joining the four other powers in the Treaty of London of 1841. Russian and French efforts to gain prestige in the New East were defeated by the bold policy of the British Foreign Minister.

The next serious crisis in European affairs came in 1848. Two years earlier Peel's ministry had ended, and Palmerston was again at the Foreign Office in the Cabinet of Lord John Russell. The risings of 1848 affected France, Italy, the numerous German states, Austria and its subordinate Slavic, Hungarian, and Italian holdings. There was also trouble between Denmark and the territories of Slesvig and Holstein. If the settlement of 1815 was modified by the events of 1830, it was definitely endangered by the numerous risings of 1848. In Britain the political cyclone was without serious effect. The Chartist outburst of that year and an abortive revolt in Ireland only showed the comparative soundness of insular conditions. But the continental storms gave Palmerston the joyful opportunity of asserting himself with his customary vigor and jingoism. Though he was moved by an honest interest in good government, his energy is to be admired more as action than for its results. Peace-loving men like Cobden and Bright were particularly opposed to an activity that kept the country on the verge of war and diverted attention from needed internal improvements to questionable tactics abroad.

Palmerston anticipated the approaching revolutions of 1848 by sending an agent on a mission to Italy to advise the Italian sovereigns not to obstruct reasonable progress. And when the Italian revolutions drove the Austrians temporarily out of the peninsula he was undisguisedly glad. When Austria recovered some of her former power during the reaction of 1849, Palmerston advised the British representative "to maintain the honor and dignity of England by expressing openly" the conviction that the "Austrians were really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilized men."

His colleagues began to question the swashbuckling policy of their Foreign Minister. When Russia and Austria demanded the Hungarian refugees who had fled for asylum to Turkey, a British fleet under Palmerston's orders

Palmerston
and Central
Europe

The Revolution
of 1848

promptly left for the Dardanelles, and even entered the Straits contrary to treaty arrangements made a decade earlier. On its return it was ordered to stop at Athens, where a commercial blockade was set up. The cause of this astonishing maneuver was a Gibraltar Jew, Don Pacifico by name, whose claims against the Greek Government had not been promptly settled. This dictatorial act precipitated a memorable debate in Parliament. Palmerston was condemned by vote in the House of Lords for his meddlesome methods, which "endangered the continuance of our friendly relations with other powers." In the Commons, however, he defended himself with success in a noteworthy review of his foreign activities by which he had made Britain "count for something in the transactions of the world." His interest in Don Pacifico was justified on the ground that the "strong arm of England" should protect British subjects in whatever land they might be. And he ventured to compare the British to the Roman citizen, who could feel safe anywhere because he could proudly and safely say, "Civis Romanus sum."

Despite the favorable vote for Palmerston after this famous speech, he was soon dismissed from office as incorrigible. When an Austrian general, notorious for his barbarities, came to England at this time, Palmerston could not refrain from expressing his disgust at the "wanton insult" to the country. On the other hand, he exuberantly welcomed the Hungarian patriot, Kossuth, when he paid England a visit in 1851. Victoria and Albert were also nettled by his attitude in the war of Slesvig-Holstein with Denmark, an attitude that seemed anti-German to the Queen and her husband. They believed sincerely that unification about Prussia was desirable. The Queen and her husband were especially put out by the Foreign Secretary's independence and lack of discretion. The galling attitude of the minister was particularly resented by Victoria when he sent dispatches written in her name but without her approval or know-

ledge. And frequently he allowed too brief a time for the Queen's acquiescence in some important matter, an acquiescence that he took for granted. At last patience was exhausted, and Palmerston was dismissed by Lord John Russell in 1851. The straw that broke the camel's back was his injudicious commendation of the outrageous *coup d'état* by which Louis Napoleon remodeled the French Republic to suit his own purposes. "Old Pam" was not yet through, however, despite Russell's statement that he was "too old to do much in the future."

THE CRIMEAN WAR

On the fall of the Russell administration in 1852, the Earl of Derby formed a short-lived Government. Before the end of the year, however, it was succeeded by a coalition of Liberals and Peelites, under the Earl of Aberdeen. In this Government Lord John Russell was Foreign Secretary, Palmerston in charge of home affairs, and Gladstone at the Exchequer. Its task was to prove heavy, for before the decade was half gone the long peace of nearly forty years was broken by the disastrous and humiliating Crimean War. The occasion for a revival of trouble in the Near East arose out of Russian interests in Turkey and out of a dispute between the Latin and Greek churches as to the care of the sacred places in the Holy Land. Napoleon III was eager to strengthen his position in France and Europe by championing the Western Church. The Franco-Russian tension was further strained by the Czar's belief that the Porte was a sick man nigh unto death, and that the arrangement of the moribund one's possessions might wisely take place before his demise. This immediately raised objection in terms of the old stereotyped phrases, "Integrity of the Ottoman Empire," and the "Balance of Power," conceptions which Canning had stressed and which Palmerston's opportunism had upheld.¹

Franco-Russian
tension in
the Near
East

¹ Russia, of course, had not yet become a serious menace to India, nor was the Suez Canal in existence, although British interest in a route through the Mediterranean to India had been displayed for two decades.

The danger of a British entry into a *mêlée* in which the nation had no real concern was rendered doubly serious by disagreement within the Cabinet. Palmerston's more vigorous viewpoint was opposed by Aberdeen's real desire for peace. The very division of opinion increased the danger, for the Czar believed that Aberdeen would not go to war. But more pugnacious views at last prevailed. There was a general desire for war, a "good war" as it was called. No better putting of the disgust with those who "prate of the blessings of Peace" is to be found than in Tennyson's *Maud*, a product of the war years:

The British
entry into
the contro-
versy

And now by the side of the Black and the Baltic deep,
And deathful-grinning mouths of the fortress, flames
The blood-red blossom of war with a heart of fire.
Let it flame and fade, and the war roll down like a wind,
We have proved we have hearts in a cause, we are noble still,
And myself have awaked, as it seems, to the better mind.

It was widely believed that the resistance to Russia was in the interests of all the European nations, that the war was one for liberty against oppression — even if Britain ranged itself on the side of Turkey.

The first serious step was the sending to Constantinople of a British envoy, Stratford de Redcliffe. Unfortunately he was possessed by a personal hatred of the Czar. In the diplomatic game at the eastern capital, Russia was worsted. Russian armies, thereupon, occupied the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (Rumania) as guarantees for the orthodox (Greek) Christians within the Turkish Empire. The British temper was up by this time to such an extent that there was no turning back. The fleet went with that of France to the Dardanelles and even into the Black Sea before the war began. It was not until March of 1854 that a joint declaration of war was issued by France and Britain when Russia refused to withdraw its troops from the Principalities. A nation without truly realizing the issues at stake had heedlessly ended the "great peace" by drifting into war.

Beginning
of the war,
1854

By June the Turks with allied assistance were pushing back the Russians along the Danube. Austria's determination to assist in propping up the Ottoman Empire aided the plans of the Allies. Indeed, the war seemed won. But the lust for battle was not sated, nor the desire to give Russia a sound beating. In order to serve both these ends Palmerston suggested that the most decisive blow against the overweening Russian Empire would be the destruction of Sebastopol, the chief naval base of Russia on the shores of the Black Sea. In the autumn of the year the Franco-British force of some fifty thousand men was transported to the Crimea. The Russians were well aware of the allied plans, and prepared the arsenal for a siege. Todleben, the great engineer, made the place almost impregnable as a result of expensive allied delays. Sickness among the French and British troops, lack of adequate supplies and transport, and friction between the British and French commanders prevented any effective attack on Sebastopol before October.

Attack on
Sebastopol

The position of the allied armies was deplorable. The British base at Balaklava where supplies were landed was some ten miles from the bulk of the army, and almost impassable roads intervened. To make matters worse, the Russians menaced the connecting roads again and again. It was in October that the famous charge of the Light Brigade proved futile in driving the Russians from their vantage-points. In November another disaster made the ensuing winter a truly terrible one for the army; a great hurricane destroyed immense supplies of stores on the ships in the harbor. Disease and death rode almost unchecked during the winter of 1854-55 as the allies remained before the well-defended arsenal. Inadequate hospital arrangements, curious errors of judgment in furnishing supplies, the cupidity of contractors, incompetence at home and in the field, made the situation pitiable.¹

Plight of
the British
in the
Crimea

¹ The Duke of Wellington had died in 1852. For many years he had used his immense influence against innovations of any sort. What was good enough at Waterloo was good enough for all the future. His gorgeous public funeral was responsible in part for a revival of militarism.

The rising indignation of the people resulted in a change of Government early in 1855. Palmerston replaced Aberdeen as Prime Minister and pledged himself to a vigorous war administration. A committee of inquiry reported on conditions, the army was strengthened, and adequate hospital facilities lowered the death rate among the wounded. A base hospital was established at Scutari, and women nurses, of whom the best known was Florence Nightingale, aided in making the hospitals a blessing instead of a curse. Not until September of 1855 was Sebastopol captured. The stubborn defense of nearly a year had nullified any value that might conceivably arise from its capture. Even the Russian garrison made good its retreat before blowing up the magazines in the beleaguered town.

In the meantime, Sardinia had joined the Allies for purposes of its own, the Czar Nicholas had died, and the Emperor Napoleon felt that his aims were attained. Palmerston continued stubbornly to want a decisive victory over Russia and to "finish strong." But as there was no real reason for continuing the war, peace was finally arranged. The Black Sea was neutralized, the Danube opened to trade, the conquests of the opposing nations restored, and the Porte admitted to the "concert of Europe" on a promise to better the conditions of its subjects. A more unfortunate, mortifying, and fruitless war from the British point of view, it would be hard to find. Some 23,000 men and £80,000,000 had been sacrificed.¹

PALMERSTON AS PRIME MINISTER

Palmerston suffered little if any in public opinion as a result of the Crimean War. Although he was defeated in 1858 on a measure of minor importance and resigned office,

¹ The conference by which peace was concluded was also the occasion for a formulation of the practice of war on the sea. A neutral flag was to cover all goods, and neutral goods under a hostile flag were immune from capture. Privateering was declared at an end, and a blockade, henceforth, to be binding must be effective.

the aged parliamentarian had become so popular that he returned to power in the next year, after another brief Conservative interlude under Derby's guidance. The second Palmerston ministry included Lord John Russell as Foreign Secretary and Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The triumvirate was able to carry Whig liberalism on successfully until Palmerston's death in 1865. The last six years of his more than eventful life were by no means the least important.

The second
Palmerston
ministry,
1859-65

The Franco-Italian war against Austria was already "on" before the new ministry was formed. Napoleon's sudden conclusion of the struggle in the summer of 1859 left Cavour and the Italians in a dangerous position. Napoleon feared to produce a strongly united Italy, and yet only by such means could Austria be kept from once again asserting an overmastering influence in the peninsula. The powers, as a whole, were opposed to Italian unification. But the British triumvirate were unitedly in favor of a single Italian state. Gladstone was particularly eager for this solution, for he had observed conditions at first hand some years before. Austria was disliked because of its inaction in the Crimean War as well as for the absolutist character of its Government. The result was a British insistence that Italy be allowed to settle its own affairs. The friendship of Britain for Italy at a crucial moment is a memory the Italians should not soon forget.

British
sympathy
for Italian
nationalism

The Government was not so successful in two other European matters. In 1863 Poland rose against Russian oppression. British protests in behalf of a burdened nationality received polite but definite rebuffs, since Russia was sure of its ground and knew that British expostulations would not be followed up by force. Bismarck, moreover, was in sympathy with Russian plans for prudential reasons; he wished Russian friendship when the time approached for Prussian expansion. Nor was that time far off. The other matter was the relation of the

Slesvig-
Holstein

duchies of Slesvig and Holstein to Denmark.¹ The Danes violated German national feeling by their desire to incorporate the duchies into the kingdom. Both Prussia and Austria were eager to take advantage of any opportunity for obtaining prestige and leadership within the Confederation. The Austro-Prussian demands on Denmark were rejected by that helpless country, partly on the ground of strong language in favor of Denmark by Lord John Russell, the British Foreign Secretary. A conference called in 1864 at London was unavailing before Prussian determination and British irresolution. The result was the loss by Denmark of the duchies and by Britain of its reputation as a powerful state. The policy of "meddle and muddle," as Lord Derby called it, seemed never more clearly illustrated.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

In this same decade an even more arresting issue arose on the other side of the Atlantic, for in 1861 the United States were torn into two mighty factions by a civil war. The issues at stake were of moment to Britain, for economically the Southern States of the Union were of vital importance to the cotton mills of Lancashire. The North, too, because of its great industrial development and its natural resources was a consideration in British foreign relations. Much English capital had found profitable investment there, and thousands of the lower classes of the British Isles had gone to the expanding Union to make new homes.

Since the War of 1812 few occasions for belligerence had arisen between the two great English-speaking nations. In 1817 Castlereagh arranged for an undefended frontier between Canada and the United States. Twenty-five years

¹ The problem of the Danish duchies of Lauenburg, Slesvig, and Holstein first came up for serious consideration in 1848. The duchies had been united for centuries with Denmark by a personal union. Lauenburg and Holstein were also members of the German Confederation. The Danes desired to incorporate the duchies into the kingdom. Though this was not done at the time, one of the three, Slesvig, was organically joined with Denmark before the issue again arose in 1863. On the accession of a new ruler to the Danish throne the country desired to complete the incorporation.

later, when Peel was Prime Minister, the boundary dispute at the eastern end of that frontier was settled by Ashburton and Webster. Before Peel went out of office in 1846 the question of the Pacific end of the boundary came up for somewhat more acrimonious handling. Both British and American settlers had penetrated the Oregon country. The representatives of the United States were for a time very bellicose. The well-known slogan was "Fifty-four forty or fight." This line, which was the southern point of Russian Alaska, would have prevented the Canadians from having a window on the Pacific had the Americans won it as their northern boundary. War seemed imminent for a time. But in neither country was there a real desire for conflict. Then, too, the Americans were somewhat sobered by the probability of war with Mexico, and the British by the crisis in Ireland. As a result, the forty-ninth parallel was agreed upon as the boundary from the Great Lakes to the Pacific. Had the settlement of these controversies fallen to Palmerston instead of Aberdeen, there might have been a greater pyrotechnical display.

Relations
between
Britain and
the United
States

In 1861 the American question found a British public none too well informed to make an intelligent decision. For some time the issue of slavery had deeply colored American political life. The Southern States tenaciously clung to the institution, since it seemed bound up with their economic and social conditions. In the North feeling had grown tense on the issue of the Union, and Lincoln but voiced the general conviction that the nation could not exist "half-slave and half-free." When the South seceded the issue became a double one, the question of slavery and the right of secession. In Britain the two points in question did not seem at first to be closely related. President Lincoln chose to make the Union the issue, and to every American that meant the slavery matter as well. Though the British Government from the outset declared itself strictly neutral, the ruling classes were largely in favor of the South. The Southern social structure was

British re-
action to
Southern
secession

more akin to that of upper-class Britain. Palmerston, Russell, and Gladstone, for example, seemed somewhat Southern in their sympathies. The North found its supporters in abundance, but more generally among the middle and lower classes. John Bright and Richard Cobden were whole-heartedly for the North, and the Lancashire cotton workers saw the issue the same way, despite the great hardships they endured following the practical stoppage of cotton shipments from the southern United States.

A serious wrangle took place early in the war between the North and Great Britain. The Trent, a British vessel, was stopped by an American warship, and two Southern commissioners on their way to Europe were forcibly removed and brought to the United States. As the Northern Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, was a "kind of American Palmerston" (in the words of Cobden), the assertiveness of the British ministry was well matched by American outspokenness. Lord Russell wrote to the British ambassador at Washington to grant a delay of no more than one week for the American Government to return the prisoners and make a "suitable apology for the aggression." The gravity of the crisis was made greater by the dispatch of the Guards and other troops to Halifax and of suitable instructions to the commander of the British fleet in American waters. Fortunately, pacific views prevailed in the American Cabinet; the men were restored and the act disavowed.

The ultimate success of the North was by no means clear in the war. In 1862 Gladstone felt justified in saying, "There is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army; they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation." About the same time Palmerston proposed to Russell that Britain and France mediate between the two groups of States "upon the basis of separation"; if it was refused by the North, the independence of the South was to be recognized. The Confederacy at this time was de-

The Trent
affair

Confederate
commerce-
destroyers

sperately endeavoring to "make a navy" by the purchase of ships abroad. A ship, later named the *Florida*, was equipped at Liverpool before beginning its destructive work. An even greater menace to American shipping was the famous *Alabama*. It was built by Laird's at Birkenhead with the manifest intention of its becoming a Southern commerce-destroyer. The American ambassador called Lord Russell's attention to the suspicious character of "Number 290," as the vessel was then known. The Government, however, did not see "sufficient ground to warrant the detention of the vessel" and it was allowed to get away. "When the horse had escaped, elaborate attempts were made to close the stable door."¹ The dilatoriness of Lord Russell was a bad blunder for which the British later paid handsomely when the *Alabama* claims were settled by arbitration.

In the fall of that fateful year, 1862, Lincoln at last made clear the relation of slavery to secession by his Emancipation Proclamation. In the next year the tide of victory began to turn to the Northern side, and peace finally came without any further serious causes for friction. Yet the memory of the British official attitude was to rankle for some time in the northern United States.

End of the
American
Civil War

THE END OF AN ERA

At last in the autumn of 1865 Lord Palmerston died at the ripe age of eighty-one after a career for which there are few parallels in British history. His passing marks the end of an era. Nor should we forget that in the year in which Palmerston died and Lincoln was assassinated, Richard Cobden also ended a noteworthy career. Cobden was a convinced opponent of hair-trigger diplomacy, the very antithesis of Palmerston. Nor did he believe that the best way to prepare for peace was to prepare for war. Both he and Bright bravely faced hostile public opinion in denouncing the Crimean War,

Deaths of
Palmerston
and Cobden,
1865

¹ Walpole, *Lord John Russell*, II, p. 367.

heedless of the greater pleasure of being patriotic and pugnacious. In spite of the loss of caste that followed, Cobden was offered a position in the Cabinet in 1859. He refused it because of the great difference between his views and those of the Prime Minister. Yet even though out of the Cabinet, he did a very worthy and seemingly impossible thing in bringing about a commercial treaty with France in 1860. He used his great persuasive powers on the French Emperor not only for better commercial interests, but in the cause of peace.

Four years before Cobden's death the country lost the services of another important figure, the Prince Consort.

The Prince
Consort
(1819-61) We have already seen the place he came to occupy. In his duties as the guide of the Queen he was a tireless worker. His interest in the cultural life of the nation was shown by his inception of the Great Exhibit of 1851 and of the South Kensington Museum. As Prince Consort — he was actually given that title in 1857 — his position became more and more unique and seemingly indispensable. Indeed, the strain of the duties which he took so seriously brought about his death in 1861.¹ The words of Disraeli aptly summarize his place: "With Prince Albert we have buried our sovereign. This German Prince has governed England for twenty-one years with a wisdom and energy such as none of our kings have ever shown."²

Palmerston was not interested in parliamentary reform or the extension of the suffrage. Had the Prince Consort lived on, his influence too might well have prevented a free development of the constitution. The rule of the middle classes was about over, however, for Gladstone and Disraeli were soon to vie with each other in really bringing to an end the lingering vestiges of the old régime.

¹ Albert's last memorandum was a suggestion to Russell that his tart note to Seward on the Trent affair be softened lest war seem to be invited. The Government accepted his suggestion.

² Strachey, *Queen Victoria*, pp. 299-300.

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CHAPTER XXXIX

THE RISE OF A NEW EMPIRE

THE half-century from the close of the Napoleonic wars to the end of Palmerstonian rule (1865) recorded some very

The colonies between 1815 and 1865 important changes in Britain's oversea possessions and in their relation to the motherland.

During this time a general and chilling indifference to colonial problems prevented the population of the British Isles from appreciating fully the conditions overseas. The Empire was very generally regarded as a burden, and an onerous one at that. Not until the beginning of the last quarter of the century was an imperial sense aroused that found the colonies worth keeping, fighting for, and enlarging. This came partly from the rise of ardent rivals intent on duplicating what seemed an imposing British achievement. And it resulted partly from the growth and maturity that the colonies attained between the years 1815 and 1865.

THE REMNANT OF EMPIRE

An earlier chapter considered the remnant of Empire remaining after the departure of the thirteen American colonies in 1776.¹ There were West Indian

Beginnings of the new Empire

holdings, including the Windward and Leeward Islands, Jamaica, and the logwood coast of Central America. North of the new United States lay the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. These and Canada and Newfoundland were but sparsely settled. The African continent was of but slight interest; only at Gambia and on the Gold Coast were there remnants of the old trading and slave ports; before the end of the century Sierra Leone was founded in the same region as a harbor for freed slaves.

¹ See p. 635 ff.

Beyond Africa lay by far the most important British holding, for the Indian possessions were beginning to expand territorially back of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. Not many years after the loss of the American colonies Australia became the receiving station for the criminal overflow of British prisons.

Following the Napoleonic downfall the "far-flung dominions" of Britain were somewhat enlarged. The French had relinquished Mauritius and other islands in the Indian Ocean as well as some in the West ^{Acquisitions in 1815} Indies. The Dutch Empire was more seriously affected by the transfer to Britain of Ceylon at the lower tip of India, and of Cape Colony at the southern end of Africa. A portion of Guiana also became British at that time. From the Spanish Empire came the valuable island of Trinidad. In the Mediterranean, Great Britain retained Malta in addition to Gibraltar and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands.¹

A cursory analysis of these possessions makes clear the great difference between the British Empire in 1815 and that of to-day. Only a few of the holdings were ^{Colonies of exploitation} the result of settlement. In this group could be included the maritime provinces in America, Newfoundland, some of the West Indies, and the beginnings already made in eastern Australia. The Empire was not to any degree a field for the settlement of British stock. Such stations as Saint Helena, Malta, Gibraltar, Mauritius, and the Bermudas were but fortified strongholds. The colonies as a whole, including India, were colonies of exploitation. Nothing seemed more unpromising than this heterogeneous collection. It was widely felt that they conferred no direct benefit on the mother country. During the American Revolution, but too late to help in the relations between the thirteen revolting colonies and the homeland, an Act was passed (1778) "to remove all doubts and apprehensions concerning taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, in any of the colonies, provinces, and plantations in North

¹ The Ionian Islands, at the wish of their inhabitants, were handed over to the Kingdom of Greece in 1863.

America and the West Indies." This measure was gradually extended to various dependencies, though, of course, it never affected the exploitation of India.

Another cause of dissatisfaction was the expenditure needed to protect the scattered possessions in all the seas and on all the continents. And there was the "logic of history." A belief generally prevailed that the colonies of settlement, as they became mature, would leave the mother country. And the *laissez-faire* economics, which was becoming more and more prevalent in the early nineteenth century, found profit no longer in a controlled and restricted trade but in a commerce that was independent of artificial bonds. The profitable commercial relations with the independent United States seemed a telling illustration of this conviction. Such was the outlook after 1815. As we examine briefly, one after another, the more important and typical colonies, we shall note that the discredited remnant of empire takes on greater importance.

INDIA AND CHINA

By far the most valued dependency was that part of India over which the East India Company held sway.

The East India Company Steady advances had been made in the Indian peninsula up to the time that Warren Hastings was recalled to be tried for his aggressiveness.

The Company's directors were usually opposed to feverish expansion because it interfered with the steady inflow of the rewards of trade, and for that the Company had gone to India. Cornwallis was sent out after the retirement of Hastings to insure the policy of non-expansion. But in time this attitude gave way before the impulses that swayed the Company's representatives in the peninsula.

When Lord Wellesley became Governor-General in 1798 another acquisitive stage began. Wellesley was an imperious personage, who expressed only disgust for the short views of the "pack of narrow-minded old women" at the India House in London. He waged wars to such good

effect against Mysore and the Marathas that he more than doubled British holdings in India. His imperial plans, however, had quadrupled the Company's debt. The "establishment of peace and good order among the native states" seemed to Wellesley "equally advantageous to our interests and our honour." The Company felt otherwise and recalled him in 1805; further extensions of territory were forbidden.

Lord Wellesley, Governor-General of India, 1798-1805

The next few governors sought to extricate the Company from its embarrassments. But the task seemed an impossible one. No sooner was a duly instructed viceroy on the ground than the desire for an imperial policy seemed overmastering. Lord

Expansionist policy in India, 1814-28

Moir, better known as the Marquess of Hastings, governed India from 1814 to 1823 in as aggressive a spirit as Wellesley. The Maratha tribes were finally subdued, and various other marauders and professional fighters felt the military hand of the British. The next Governor-General, Lord Amherst, even used the Company's forces and resources for a war with the Burmese to the east of the peninsula. The diplomatic activities of the Company extended far and wide, to the northwestern frontier of the peninsula, into Afghanistan, and even to Persia. The recall of Amherst in 1828 by a thoroughly alarmed Board of Directors really ended for a time the rapid extension of British power. By the end of the first quarter of the century the British had so consolidated their gains in India as to make the Company the paramount political force amongst a collection of peoples that outnumbered the population of the British Isles ten to one.

A pacific viceroy, Lord William Bentinck, became head of the Government in 1828, just at the time the reforming instincts were beginning to bear on the domestic problems of Great Britain. A sense of responsibility for the downtrodden found expression

The viceroyalty of Bentinck

in the colonies as well as at home. "For the first time the blessings of universal peace may be expected," so thought Bentinck, and proceeded to found "British Greatness upon

Indian Happiness." During the administration of Bentinck several decided social advances were made. He prohibited the burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband, suppressed the organized *thags*, or thugs, that acted as hired assassins, and did much to lessen the common practice of female infanticide.

At this time, also, the Company's charter, which was subject to parliamentary revision every twenty years, came up for its periodic treatment. In 1813 the Company had lost the monopoly of the Indian trade, though keeping its exclusive hold on that of China. In 1833 the Company lost not only the Chinese monopoly, but even the right to trade at all. Profit-sharing was henceforth separated from administration. Yet the British Government did not see fit to go the whole step of abolishing the Company's governmental machinery and of taking over the entire responsibility for Indian affairs. A Board of Control, whose chairman was in the Cabinet, co-operated with a secret committee of Directors in the guidance of the Indian administration from London. A fourth member was added to the Governor-General's Council. His particular business was the codification of Indian law with a due regard for the "rights, feelings, and usages of the people." Henceforth the natives were theoretically free to hold office in the Indian Government. British subjects, including missionaries, were in the future to have rights of residence in India. Macaulay, the first "legal" member of the Council, laid the foundation for an Indian code. To him is due, also, the famous minute on education in which English is declared preferable to Sanscrit as the language for education. At the same time the press was unlicensed. The reformers even looked ahead to the day when India would be granted self-government.

Territorial and commercial advance, however, seemed more congenial than reform. Interest in the northwest frontier region became especially keen in the forties and fifties. It was felt that on that vulnerable side something like a natural boundary should be established. But this

required advance in India and closer relations with the lands beyond the Indus. The Punjab and Afghanistan grew to be of great importance in the plans of British rulers. One of the principal causes for this concern lay in the expansive policy of Russia; that growing state was a serious menace, it was thought, because of its possible influence in Afghanistan. Early in the forties the British interfered in Afghan politics by placing a friendly ruler on the throne. But the result was disastrous; in 1842 an army of sixteen thousand was practically annihilated.

Expansion again during the middle of the century

The most vigorous of the Indian Governors of this time was Lord Dalhousie; he ruled from 1848 to 1856. The district of the Punjab was finally conquered and annexed in order that the natural boundary of the northwest might be reached. A second war was fought in Burma with the addition of Lower Burma to the Empire as a result. Dalhousie also used the so-called Doctrine of Lapse to add native territories within India to the British holdings. If the reigning ruler died without natural heirs, the State in question was taken over. He also discontinued pensions on the same ground. One of his most important steps was the annexation of that part of the Ganges valley known as Oudh — adjacent to Bengal on the northwest. In eight years Dalhousie had increased the size of British India by a half.

Lord Dalhousie, Viceroy of India, 1848-56

Hardly had his successor, Canning, assumed office before the calamitous Indian Mutiny of 1857 seriously endangered all the work that had been done.¹ Various provocations seem to have conspired to create the ill feeling in the native army and among the people. Dalhousie's introduction of the railway and the telegraph violated the natural conservatism of India. The annexations, particularly that of Oudh, caused much apprehension. The sepoys, as the natives in the British army were called, came largely from that disaffected State.

Causes of the Indian Mutiny, 1857

¹ Canning, the Governor-General of India at the time of the Mutiny, was a son of the statesman, George Canning, who succeeded Castlereagh as Foreign Secretary in 1822.

Moreover, the proportion of British soldiers to sepoys was smaller than ever before. Certain army regulations caused additional irritation. The sepoys, already ripe for revolt, found the occasion when a new weapon was introduced into the army. The recent Crimean War led the army officials to adopt a more efficient rifle, the Enfield. The cartridge to be used with it was greased in order that the bullet might be forced into the barrel. But the fat of cows would not be touched by a Hindu, nor that of pigs by a Mohammedan. The weapon and its cartridge seemed but a conspiracy to destroy the caste of the soldiers. The sepoy's fear for his position in this world and the next soon became a frenzy.

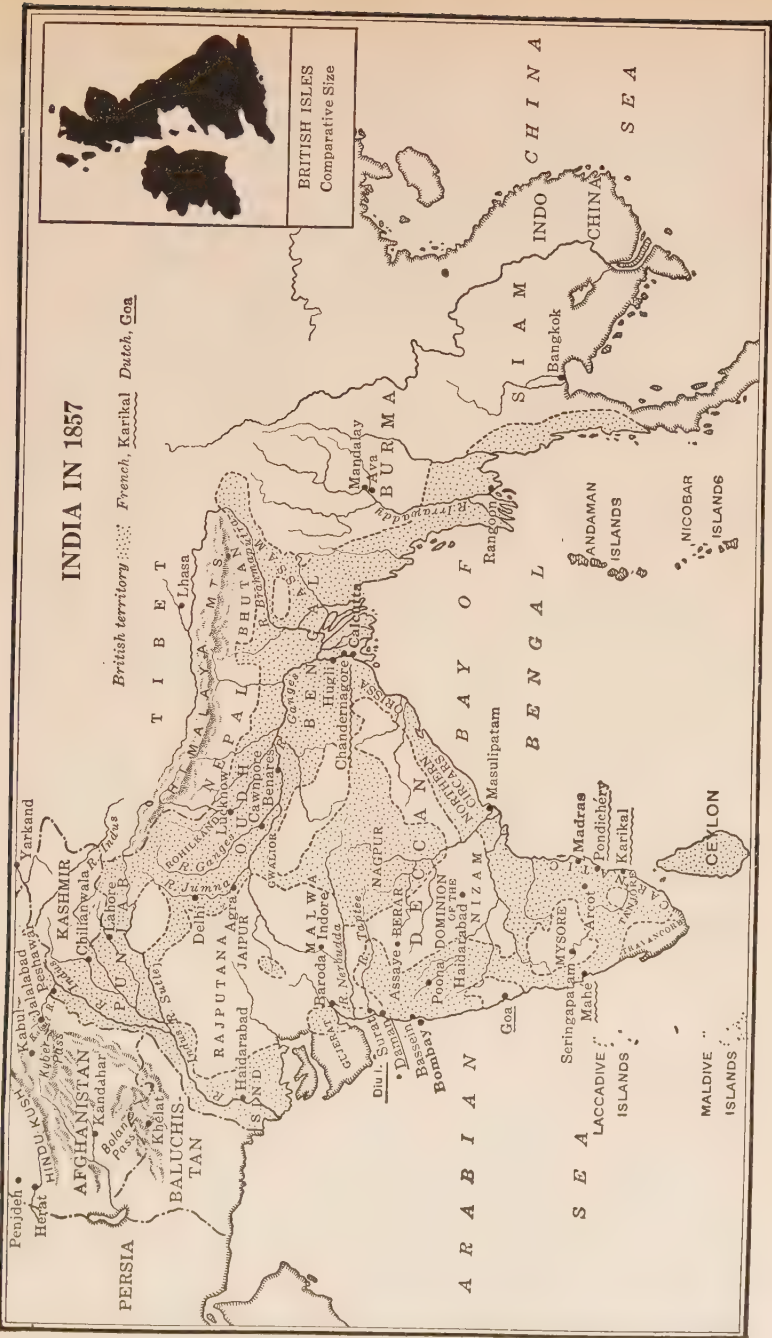
The first step of the mutineers was to capture Delhi, the ancient capital, and to proclaim the descendant of the Mogul emperors the ruler of India. In Oudh, the great city of Lucknow — next in size to Calcutta — was soon in the hands of the mutineers. South of Lucknow, at Cawnpore, a similar situation arose. The heir of one of the Indian rajahs — he had lost his pension by the Doctrine of Lapse — headed the malcontents. The British at Cawnpore trustingly surrendered, only to be butchered. The rising spread throughout the Ganges valley. The Punjab, however, remained quiet; it was from that region that a British army marched to the relief and reoccupation of Delhi. By the middle of the next year the country was again at peace. The lot of the revoltors was hard. Bloody vengeance was meted out liberally to those who had taken part in the rising, even to the blowing of sepoys from the mouths of cannon. And the bloody lust would have been greater had not Canning, the Governor-General, restrained the wrath of the British. Those who hated his policy and sought his recall nicknamed him Clemency Canning.

The Mutiny was a sad commentary on the effects of British rule. To the subjected races the sway of the foreigner seemed primarily aimed at exploitation. Nor could they be blamed for such an interpretation. The relaxation of the Company's commercial monopoly only made

INDIA IN 1857

British territory *French, Karikal Dutch, Goa*

BRITISH ISLES
Comparative Size



the expansion of British India more evidently a means of fostering the manufactures of Lancashire and Yorkshire. India seemed the keystone of the imperial structure. The suppression of the rising produced no great change except the clearer definition of the political relation of India to the home Government. The Indian dominions were transferred by act of Parliament in 1858 directly to the Crown. The President of the Board of Control no longer worked his will through a Board of Directors; a Secretary of State for India and his Council in Great Britain henceforth communicated their will directly to the Viceroy. The change should not be overstressed, although the step was valuable because it made clearer a responsibility that existed before as well as after the Mutiny. The Royal Proclamation announcing the disappearance of the Company declared explicitly that "we desire no extension of our present Indian possessions," that "we shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own," and that "all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law."

One unfortunate effect of the paramount concern with India was a constant necessity of adopting an aggressive foreign policy in the Far East. Aggression in the peninsula was no more inevitable than imperialism beyond. The relationship to Afghanistan and Burma has already been noticed. To the west of the Afghan region lay Persia; to the north of Persia the Russian Empire was finding regions for imperial treatment. Palmerston, always sensitive to Russian advance, felt it necessary to fight a war with Persia in 1857 to insure the Afghan barrier.

The Company had long carried on a profitable trade with China before it lost its commercial privileges in 1833. For years before that British Indian foreign policy was directed to the protection of the route through the Malay archipelago and into the China Sea. The Company had kept a factory at Canton for the disposal of its products, of which one of the most important was

Act for the
better gov-
ernment of
India

Aggressive
policy in the
Far East

The open-
ing-up of
China

Indian opium. After 1833 the trade seems to have developed very rapidly and to have produced considerable friction. The Chinese Government wished to stop the opium trade and the growing relations of the Celestial Empire with the western powers. The demands of the local Chinese Governor were resented, smuggling was carried on with impunity, and war followed (1840-42). It was a disgraceful and unjust affair, for (in Gladstone's words) "we the enlightened and civilized Christians are pursuing objects at variance both with justice and with religion." Britain won, of course. China was compelled to cede Hong Kong, to open several ports to foreign traders, and to pay an indemnity and ransom of about £6,000,000. Opium went into the country more freely than ever, even though the Chinese refused to legalize the traffic.

There was further friction in 1856. Out of a dispute over the Chinese declaration that a vessel falsely flying the British flag was carrying on piracy, a war ensued, in which Canton was sacked and the Chinese Government again coerced. More ports were opened, the right of sending embassies to Peking was obtained, and missionaries were to be allowed entry into the interior. When the Chinese Government objected to the embassies, the summer palace at Peking was destroyed in order to bring the orientals to time. China had at last been opened to the Western world in much the way that one opens an oyster.¹

A second
war with
China

THE SUGAR ISLANDS

In the old Empire the West Indian islands occupied an important place. They had been found of value as a source for tropical products even before India began to release much of its wealth to British adventurers. The capture of Jamaica in 1655 vastly increased the worth of the sugar islands. Their value under the mercantile system was so keenly

Importance
of the sugar
islands in
the old
Empire

¹ About the same time Japan received similar treatment. A short war occurred in 1862 because of the killing of a member of the British embassy. It led to the opening of several Japanese ports to trade.

realized that Pitt even seriously considered taking Guadeloupe instead of Canada from the French at the end of the Seven Years' War. The addition of British Guiana and Trinidad during the Napoleonic conflict added important units to that part of the Empire.

Yet the West Indies were already on the decline. Although they had been the favorites of the older mercantilism, the trade which they monopolized for long was suffering more severe competition. There was also in the eighteenth century a growing feeling against the iniquities of the slave trade and of slavery. The abolition of the trade in 1807 was hard enough on the planters, but the ending of slavery in the British colonies some thirty years later seemed the death-knell of West Indian prosperity. The strenuous opposition of the planters to the measure led to a liberal indemnity of £20,000,000 as compensation to the slave owners, and to the gradual emancipation of the workers. The result, nevertheless, was a certain weakening of the productive power of the islands, where over 700,000 blacks were freed from the need of doing more than was necessary for their own support. The step came at a time when the British home market was finding it easier to do without British-grown sugar. With the advent of free trade in the forties the plight of the one-time prosperous planters became worse.

The representative system had been introduced into the older islands at the same time that it found its way to the American mainland. But in the course of time representative government became little more than a cloak for the oligarchical sway of the planters. The Jamaica Assembly caused much trouble after the negroes were emancipated, refusing for a time to pass the necessary money bills. The trouble that the representative system caused led at last to the abolition of the forms under which the colony had long been governed. A negro insurrection in Jamaica in 1865 was brutally put down by the local government. The whites seem to have been led to extreme measures — the killing of nearly five hundred

Emancipation of the negroes

Political decline of the West Indies

negroes as retribution for the murder of eighteen whites — by a fear for their own safety. The blacks outnumbered the whites thirty to one. The home government as a result of the extreme action of the colony took over the responsibility of government directly; this was done much in the same way that it had been done in India in 1858. Jamaica lost its Assembly and became a Crown colony. Most of its neighbors were treated similarly.¹ The decline of the West Indies from their former high estate was both commercial and political.

COLONIES OF SETTLEMENT

Of the remaining colonial establishments the most valuable — from a later point of view — were the settlements on the mainland of North America and similar colonies south of the Equator. All of these, Colonies of settlement Canada, Cape Colony, Australia, New Zealand, are in the temperate zone and now the homes of British stock. To the Government at Westminster, nevertheless, there was little difference in the first quarter of the century between them and the declining West Indies. Their resources were small, the expense of their upkeep and defense added to the burdens of the home government. The distinguished economist, J. R. McCulloch, wrote in 1825: "The mere military expense attending the government of our West Indian and North American colonies costs the treasury of Great Britain, in times of peace, little less than a million a year. . . . We defy any one to point out a single benefit of any sort whatever, derived by us from the possession of Canada, and our other colonies in North America."² In 1826 Huskisson would have relinquished colonies to save expense, and a little later Wellington wanted to turn Ceylon over to the East India Company for a similar reason. In 1815 Java had been returned to the Netherlands at the time that Cape Colony was kept.

¹ Barbados, the Bahamas, and Bermuda retained their older and more liberal form of government.

² *Edinburgh Review*, XLII, p. 291.

But already the imperial territories in the north and south temperate zones were becoming colonies of settlement. In this fact lay the principal cause for the future change of view as to their value to the Empire. The population problem in the British Isles was growing more and more acute after Waterloo. The rapid overcrowding of the towns and factory centers and the increase of the amount for poor relief made it seem that England, in particular, was overpopulated. There was need for relieving the pressure, not only in the prisons, but in the towns. The economist Malthus had put the situation clearly and alarmingly as early as 1798 in his *Essay on Population*; the increase in population tended to outrun subsistence. By 1830 there were fourteen million people in the country; this was more than twice the population of 1750.

Emigration naturally became an outlet for excess population. Early in the century Lord Selkirk sent settlers to British North America. During the twenties repeated grants were made to assist emigrants who went to various points in the Empire. Frequently the emigration solution was considered as feasible only for paupers and criminals. In 1829, on the contrary, emigration was advocated on a systematic basis as a means not simply of relieving the conditions in England but of promoting the prosperity of the colonies. Gibbon Wakefield first advanced his fruitful theory in letters supposedly written from Sydney in the year 1829. New colonies, he declared, should be founded and old ones colonized by selected emigrants. They were to increase the needed labor supply as a means of developing markets for home manufacturers and sources of supply for raw materials. Emigration was to be assisted by means of land sales. Wakefield hoped to make colonies self-respecting in personnel. He also wanted to end the prevailing administrative corruption by lessening the power of the Colonial Office. The remote settlements were not to be afflicted with "government from a distance," but were to have the

Emigration
to the
colonies

Gibbon
Wakefield
(1796-1862)

right of ruling themselves in all matters of colonial concern. Wakefield's ideas found considerable response among the Philosophical Radicals even though the general indifference to colonies long remained. Systematic colonization was soon to find practical application within the Empire.

CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND

Among the colonies of settlement, British North America developed the most rapidly. The inflow of Loyalists from the United States¹ gave Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick a British stock which was gradually increased.

The Canadian Rebellion of 1837

Pitt in 1791 separated the two Canadas (later known as Ontario and Quebec) in the hope of solving the racial problem. But racial differences and the desire for a larger share in local self-government led to actual revolt in both Upper and Lower Canada in 1837. There was also unrest and criticism of the colonial administration in the other North American colonies. The rebellions were not very serious, yet they led to an important investigation in the hope that the interests of the mother country might be safeguarded. Lord Durham was sent out at the head of a mission; among his assistants was Gibbon Wakefield. Durham found and reported not only a contest between "a government and a people" but a "deadly animosity" between the French and the English. In his Report the reunion of Upper and Lower Canada was recommended as well as the grant of self-government in all colonial matters. By this he meant the Wakefield idea of the responsibility of the executive to the local legislature in matters of internal concern — responsible government, as it came to be called.

The Parliament at Westminster proceeded to reunite the Canadas by the Act of 1840. The matter of responsible government was left to the future. The first Governor of the reunited Canadas, Lord Sydenham, considered that he was "responsible to the Imperial authority alone."² The Canadian Assembly, on

Responsible government in Canada

¹ See p. 648.

² Scrope, *Life of Lord Sydenham*, p. 272.

the contrary, vigorously asserted the idea of home rule. Toward the end of the forties this position was accepted by a notable Governor, Lord Elgin, appropriately enough, the son-in-law of Lord Durham. Lord Elgin accepted a Rebellious Losses Bill in 1849 in spite of the fact that it appeared to indemnify the rebels of 1837. The step was strongly denounced in England, Gladstone among others opposing this recognition of the Assembly's position. To many in Great Britain it seemed but a step toward separation. Peel would have had a "friendly separation while there was yet time." Nor did this feeling soon die out. It was as late as 1852 that Disraeli made the famous statement that "these wretched colonies will all be independent, too, in a few years, and are a millstone around our necks." But the step taken with regard to Canada, that its own affairs were matters of colonial regulation, was soon to work a change in the general attitude as it was applied to other colonies where British settlers had made new homes.

The finishing touch to this period of Canadian development came in the sixties. Difficulties were arising again over racial problems. The constant addition of English-speaking people to the population increased the friction between the French and the English colonists. In the maritime provinces, too, constitutional matters were causing anxiety. Just as the American Civil War was concluding, the various colonies came to believe that a confederation of British North America would be worth while both in the relationship to the United States and as a solvent for internal strain. A conference at Quebec in 1864 formulated resolutions which later were worked over into the British North America Act and passed by the Westminster Parliament in 1867. By this step, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick joined to form the Dominion of Canada. Prince Edward Island entered the Dominion not long after. An amazing change had come. Canada with nearly four million people was no longer a convenient means of satisfying placemen and of obtaining the perquisites of office. With

The Con-
federation of
British
North
America,
1867

pardonable pride Sir John A. Macdonald, the leading Canadian statesman of the time, declared in the Canadian Parliament that "the colonies are now in a transitional state. . . . Instead of looking on us as a merely dependent colony, England will have in us a friendly nation — a subordinate but a powerful people."

Newfoundland never entered the Confederation. This island, which has always prided itself on being Britain's senior colony, became and remained of value because of its fisheries. It was not for centuries a colony of settlement. The west-country seamen of England went out for the fishing season and returned to England in the autumn. The French and Portuguese frequented the same banks for cod and used the shores and inlets of the island for seeking bait. In 1713 England's sovereignty was recognized by the Peace of Utrecht. Yet it was another century before the prejudice against colonists for Newfoundland began to die down. By 1800 about twenty thousand people lived on the island, and it was about that time that a resident governor was appointed. Formerly the governor was simply one of the captains appointed "admiral" for the fishing season. After Newfoundland received a representative assembly in 1832 the population grew rapidly. Constitutional problems similar to those on the neighboring mainland led in time to the demand for responsible government; it was granted in 1855.

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

In the meantime a similar governmental evolution took place among the British settlements in Australasia. The early life of the great continent was not auspicious. As the east coast of Australia became better and better known, convict settlements were established. Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) was also burdened with convicts. This practice tended so to restrict the emigration of free settlers that the continent of Australia had about the same British population in 1830 as that of Newfoundland. It was against this par-

Newfound-
land

The Aus-
tralian
colonies

alyzing practice that Wakefield wrote his *Letters from Sydney*.

Just at that time, too, interesting experiments in colonization were tried on the southern and western shores of the continent. A British settlement was started in Western Australia in 1829 partly because a syndicate thought the experiment a profitable venture and partly to forestall annexation by France. But the Swan River Colony, as it was called, did not prosper. It might have come to nought had not the settlers asked for and received convict labor in 1849. Henceforth the situation improved, though the price paid for prosperity was high. Another interesting experiment was made on the southern side of the continent in the mid-thirties. Care was taken to make the new colony of Adelaide prosperous by avoiding the Swan River mistakes. Nor were convicts ever received. By 1850 its population was over fifty thousand.

Meanwhile the east coast settlements were becoming restive under their continued use as penal stations. Prosperity had come in generous measure to New South Wales, not so much because of cheap labor, but through the fortunate discovery that the back country was an ideal grazing ground for sheep. The sheep population grew much faster than the human population, for by the middle of the nineteenth century there were over seven million sheep in the colony.

For a time New South Wales included all of the east coast and Van Diemen's Land as well. But both Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and what is now Victoria chafed under the connection with the government at Sydney. The former, indeed, was separated as early as 1825. In 1842 New South Wales was granted a Legislative Council, two thirds of whose members were elected by the inhabitants. But this measure of home rule was not satisfactory to the remote settlers of the later Victoria. A representative in the Council at Sydney seemed no representative at all. In very

Sources of
Australian
wealth

Beginning of
representa-
tive govern-
ment in
Australia

protest against the connection they elected (in 1842) the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies (in the Cabinet at Westminster) as their representative in the Council at Sydney. During the forties, also, the demand for the abolition of transportation became insistent. New South Wales ceased to be a convict colony in 1840, Van Diemen's Land in 1853, and Western Australia in 1867.

The necessity for dividing New South Wales, and the need for extending the representative government of that colony to its neighbors became more and more evident. The decisive step was taken in 1850 when an Australian Colonies Government Act became law. It was based on a report made by a committee of the Privy Council in 1849. Lord Grey, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, was deeply interested in it, and Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, aided greatly in its passage by a famous speech made in the House of Commons in 1850. The Act gave Tasmania, Victoria, and South Australia the same government enjoyed since 1842 by New South Wales, as well as the right to work out constitutions for themselves. By 1856 all four were living under colony-made constitutions in which the principle of responsible government was taken for granted. Queensland attained a similar status in 1859 and Western Australia in 1890. The discovery of extensive and easily worked gold deposits in New South Wales and Victoria in the early fifties greatly stimulated the growth of all the Australian settlements. Gold and sheep made the future of the continent secure.

The islands of New Zealand to the east of the continent did not become the home of British emigrants until a land company in which Wakefield was interested sent settlers there in 1840. There was some difficulty with the native Maoris. But the Government did what it could to protect them, and they themselves by their fighting qualities preserved some of their rights. New Zealand became one of the most attractive homes for British emigrants because of its similarity to the homeland. As

Full respon-
sible gov-
ernment for
Australian
colonies

New
Zealand

colonies grew there arose a need of local and centralized administration. Government from Sydney was as great a grievance for New Zealanders as it was for the colonists of Tasmania. In 1852 the New Zealand colonies were formed into a unit of six provinces, and four years later came responsible government.

SOUTH AFRICA

Cape Colony developed less rapidly than the settlements we have been examining. Its late addition to the Empire, the presence of Dutch settlers, and the abundant negro population were all in the way of effective British occupation. Then, too, the type of farming required an amount of capital of which the British emigrant was not usually in command. Nor was there a real demand for labor. In consequence, the British settlers were long confined to the official class and to the towns.

The Dutch farmers, or Boers, did not receive the British overlordship sympathetically. Their conservatism and tenacity hindered an amalgamation. Boers especially resented the criticisms of their use of the blacks, and disliked a missionary zeal that tended to make the "noble savage" something other than he seemed to be. Ill feeling became tense when the Emancipation Act of 1833 was made to apply to South Africa as well as to the West Indies. The more irreconcilable Boers migrated northward by thousands to seek homes where they could be free from the British overlordship. During the thirties they trekked beyond the Orange River, and even beyond the Vaal, into what became the Transvaal. In the meantime the British were also enlarging the limits of their control. Natal came under British rule in the forties, and just at the end of that decade the strong arm of Britain gathered in the Orange River Boer settlements. But there was not yet enough general interest in expansion beyond the normal, natural growth, and early in the fifties conventions were accordingly made with the Boers both north and south of the Vaal by which their independence was recognized.

They were again to become enmeshed in the British Empire when the discovery of diamonds and gold made them of interest to the outside world. But that is beyond the period with which we are now concerned.

The growth which has been reviewed in this chapter was in many ways remarkable. Without any keen effort at imperial expansion, there was a noteworthy growth, especially in the colonies, where settlement was possible. Many of the colonies received during this time a form of popular government which, in the words of Lord John Russell, was "analogous to the government of Great Britain." The bonds instead of loosening were growing stronger. The increasing importance of the oversea possessions is also shown by the establishment of a secretaryship for the colonies in the British Cabinet in 1854. Formerly attached to the War Office, they were henceforth regarded as something more than military outposts. A Greater Britain had come into being.

Formation
of a Greater
Britain

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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CHAPTER XL

THE LIBERAL STATE

(1865-1885)

QUEEN VICTORIA'S reign was almost half over in 1867. It happens that this was the year of the second great Reform Bill, beside which the timid advance of 1832 seemed halting enough. Yet in the thirty-^{The beginning of a new era, 1867} five years between these two measures, the middle-class rule had accomplished much of permanent worth. The reform zeal of the thirties and early forties was, however, pretty well exhausted by the time of the repeal of the corn laws. Thereupon a keen interest in external affairs ensued, with Palmerston and Russell as the leading spirits. But "those two dreadful old men," as Victoria dubbed them in one of her letters, ceased to worry the Queen or guide the state after the middle sixties. In Victoria's personal life as well, the decade was as the parting of the ways. The death of the Prince Consort left her inconsolable. For a time she persistently secluded herself that she might mourn her loss in private. But even after resuming her place as an active sovereign, the Queen never forgot to guide her thought and action by spiritual communion with her deceased husband.

THE SECOND REFORM BILL

The death of the willful Palmerston in 1865 and the retirement of Lord Russell in the next year and of Lord Derby in 1868 released the long pent-up reform inter-^{Desire for further parliamentary reform}ests, as younger leaders in both the parties took up the task of government. Disraeli had presented a reform bill in 1859, but it was so complicated that it "died of ingenuity." The Liberals in 1860 and again in 1866 offered measures for the reform of Parliament. The moderate measure of 1866 — it would have given the vote

to about four hundred thousand persons — was violently opposed by a group of the Liberals under the brilliant leadership of Robert Lowe. Bright nicknamed the malcontents “Adullamites” because he likened them to the discontented ones whom David called to himself in the cave of Adullam.¹ The Government was forced to resign by the Adullamite split.

The shuttle of office again went to the Conservative side. The ministry that governed the country from 1866 to 1868

The Derby-Disraeli Government, 1866-68 is known as the Derby-Disraeli Government. Parliamentary reform was the recognized issue. Throughout the country there was considerable excitement; in London a mob had invaded Hyde

Park despite the attempt to stop a meeting scheduled by the Reform League. Disraeli's way of satisfying the demand for reform was peculiar. Instead of presenting a bill upon whose future the ministry's life should depend, he first attempted to proceed by resolution. His opponents considered this method a party trick; to Disraeli it was a means of extending the franchise “without unduly disturbing the balance of political power.” The resolutions and a reform bill based upon them were so unfavorably received, even by Disraeli's own party, that they were withdrawn. He thereupon presented a more liberal measure, which became the basis of the Reform Act of 1867.

The proposals of the Conservative leader were intended to enlarge the voting population without giving to any one class dominant power. To this end the laborers were to be granted a share in the government at the same time that additional votes were accorded to the propertied and educated classes. These so-called “fancy” franchises were intended as a counterpoise. Nor was Disraeli willing that any borough be disfranchised. The Liberals under Gladstone vigorously attacked Disraeli's scheme. Amendment after amendment was carried in committee. There was seemingly limitless discussion as to how the franchise for the lower classes should be

The second Reform Bill, 1867

¹ I Samuel, XXII, 2.

stated. Not until August of 1867, after nine months of discussion, was the bill in shape to receive the royal assent. It established household suffrage in the boroughs, the vote going to all who paid the poor rate, and to all lodgers who paid an annual rental of ten pounds or more. The provisions for the counties were not so liberal; all owners of property worth an annual value of five pounds and all "occupiers" of lands with a ratable value of twelve pounds could vote. In 1868 similar measures revised the representation of Scotland and Ireland.

The reform included, as had that of 1832, a redistribution of members for Parliament. No change was made in the number of representatives, but eleven boroughs were completely disfranchised and thirty-five others lost one of their two members. The fifty-two seats were redistributed to the boroughs and counties as the last preceding census (1861) seemed to warrant. Henceforth, Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, and Birmingham were each to return three members to serve in Parliament. Additional borough subdivisions in the London and Manchester districts further added to the power of these great centers. Representation was also accorded London University and the Scottish Universities.

The second Reform Bill was a great advance even if the wish of such men as J. S. Mill and John Bright for the enfranchisement of women was not taken seriously by their fellow parliamentarians. The voting population before 1867 was about one and a quarter million. After the reform bill it was nearly doubled. It may be true that, in Disraeli's words, his "party had been educated by events." Yet "Dizzy's" unexpected willingness to outdo Gladstone and Bright in the bid for working-class votes appeared to Lord Derby as but "a leap in the dark." And a disastrous one it was going to prove to the Conservatives in the approaching election. To Carlyle it was "shooting Niagara," this "calling in of new supplies of blockheadism, gullibility, bribeability, amenability to beer and balderdash." In a less befuddled fashion Lowe de-

clared, "We shall be surrounded by a perpetual whirl of change, alteration, innovation, and revolution."¹

The alteration was certainly profound. The old régime, which had suffered modification in 1832, was ended in 1867.

Significance of the Reform Bill, 1867 The new spirit is indicated by a number of other changes. The entrance to Parliament was now practically unrestricted. Since 1833 Quakers had been allowed "to affirm and declare," in order not to violate their distaste for taking oaths. Not until 1858 did a Jewish Relief Act permit those "professing the Jewish religion" to enter Parliament without taking the oath "upon the true faith of a Christian." One interesting modification was made by the Reform Bill of 1867. Previously Parliament had dissolved within six months at most after the death of the monarch, no matter how brief the life of the Parliament. Henceforth the "demise of the Crown" was not to affect the duration of a Parliament. In the next year the two Houses agreed that election petitions for the Commons should be settled in the courts instead of within Parliament.² As far back as the thirties the Chartists sought to introduce voting by ballot, that is, by dropping a little ball in the box of one's favorite candidate. Disraeli had proposed it in 1867, but it was not included in the reform bill. In 1872 the step was finally taken and henceforth the ballot paper was used in place of open voting.

GLADSTONE'S GREAT MINISTRY

In the summer of 1868 the pressure on Disraeli and the Conservatives became so great that the new electorate was

William called upon to decide between the two parties.
Ewart The result was a considerable gain for the
Gladstone Liberals; their majority was over one hundred.
(1809-98) So comfortable a condition meant unhampered activity for the victors. The "Great Ministry" of Mr. Gladstone (1868-74) was led with seemingly irrepressible energy as it

¹ Quoted by Marriott, *England since Waterloo*, p. 354. Carlyle's strictures are to be found in the essay, *Shooting Niagara: and After*.

² See page 574 for an illustration of the older practice.

carried out the implications of the Reform Bill. The earnest effort to clean house both in Great Britain and in Ireland led to many notable acts. They will be examined in the succeeding paragraphs, with one exception. The burden of Ireland was keenly felt by the new ministry; especially insistent seemed the problems of the Irish Established Church and the state of the Irish land laws. The former were settled shortly after the new ministry entered on its work, but the agrarian issue did not resolve so easily. And the whole matter of Irish government became more insoluble, seemingly, as the western island took the attention of Parliament. We shall, in consequence, postpone Irish questions, save disestablishment, to a later time, when they can receive fuller attention and the work of these years be linked with the efforts made to quiet Irish discontent after the period now being studied.¹

The Premier, who entered on his first of four ministries, was not by any means new to public life. His first appearance in Parliament was as a nominee of the Duke of Newcastle in the first election following the Reform Bill of 1832. He began his public career as a Conservative who was opposed to negro emancipation and to the admission of Jews to Parliament and of Dissenters to the universities. Nor did his later intelligent and sympathetic attitude toward Ireland become clear for some time. The split of the Conservatives over free trade found him a Peelite. His political future seemed doubtful in the shifting of parties following 1846. In the early fifties he joined the coalition Government, became for the first time Chancellor of the Exchequer, and distinguished himself as one who knew the intricacies of finance, took long views, and could "talk shop like a tenth Muse." By the end of the fifties he was definitely a Liberal. The election of 1868 at last gave him the opportunity for reform.

Administrative regulation of various kinds was undertaken by the new ministry. One of the most needed steps was civil service reform. The first

¹ See Chapter XLII.

real restriction of patronage came in 1855 when the Civil Service Commission was appointed. In 1870 the work was extended by opening practically every department of the Government to free competitive examination. The various departments received reconstruction at different times. Palmerston had thoroughly overhauled the Foreign Office some years before. The Prince Consort had reformed the chaotic arrangements by which the royal household was administered.¹ The War Office was also in a parlous state. The bungling revealed by the Crimean War led to some reform, such, for example, as the separation of the colonies from the war department, and the abolition of the secretaryship at war. The army was also thoroughly reorganized. It was unified under the War Office, enlistment was shortened, and commissions were henceforth not to be obtained by purchase. The lessons of the Crimean War were at last applied at a time when the warlike successes of continental Prussia made military efficiency seem more necessary.

The reorganization of the courts was undertaken in 1873. There was much need for simplifying the extreme complexity within the judicial system. The accretions of centuries made the unreformed situation the nidus of many abuses. Procedure was unintelligible to the lay mind, cases were handled with exceptional deliberation, and lawyers and officials reaped a rich harvest from unfortunate litigants. There were eight separate superior courts to which cases could be taken, and they had separate staffs of judges. In 1873 they were combined into one Supreme Court of Judicature. Henceforth there were only two divisions of the Supreme Court, the High Court of Justice and the Court of Appeal. The jurisdictions of the various subdivisions became precise. At the time of this sweeping change and simplification, the venerable right of appeal to the House of Lords was abolished. Three years

¹ There was need, certainly, when he found that the insides of the palace windows were cleaned by the Department of the Lord Chamberlain and their outsides by the Office of Woods and Forests.

later, however, in Disraeli's ministry, this right was restored and was made more useful by the creation of life peers of pronounced legal experience. These Lords of Appeal in Ordinary took over the judicial work of the House of Lords.¹

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In the field of education there was much to be done. The grant of a vote to the workingmen made a more generous provision imperative. For long the lower classes were practically without educational opportunities. Indeed, it was the theory of the landlord aristocracy that education would only bring discontent. In the eighteenth century certain philanthropists began to provide privileges for the poor. John Wesley and his followers were indefatigable in producing cheap school-books and inexpensive editions of the classics. Toward the end of the century Robert Raikes of Gloucester popularized schools on Sunday for the children who were kept at work on the other days of the week. Early in the nineteenth century the Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, worked out a system of voluntary education, that is, of schools conducted through private or church patronage. A characteristic part of the scheme was the use of the monitor; the brighter pupils were taught the lesson before the others came, and then each retaught the lesson to a small group. Lancaster's efforts resulted in the British and Foreign School Society. Its Anglican rival was the National Society.

In 1833 the Government made its first grant in aid of elementary education — a paltry £20,000. This, moreover, was only for the erection of schoolhouses. Gradually the grant increased, the means of distributing it became more effectual, and the number of schools and teachers grew. By 1870, nevertheless, the system was still entirely voluntary. Though the annual grant had risen to half a million pounds, the accommodations were entirely inadequate.

Early attempts at popular education

Beginning of governmental grants for education

¹ Slightly different, but about the same in personnel, is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to whom appeals go from ecclesiastical and colonial courts.

The Education Bill of 1870, by which the situation was remodeled, was very largely the work of W. E. Forster, Forster Act, the vice-president of the Education Committee. 1870

A thorough canvass of the needs was made previous to preparing the bill. Wherever there was insufficient provision for elementary education, school boards, locally elected, were to supervise government schools. These board schools were to be supported by local rates, government grants, and fees from the parents. The local boards could make by-laws regarding attendance and establish schools where it seemed necessary. The teaching in the board schools was to be undenominational, though religious instruction was given. The Forster Bill was a great advance. A real basis was laid for the education of all the children of the land. The *laissez-faire* character of the measure was its greatest weakness. Ten years later, in 1880, the local boards were required to enforce attendance. By the end of the period we are now studying, well over three million children were attending the elementary schools and the pitiful grant of £20,000 had risen to £4,000,000.

Secondary education also needed attention. Grammar schools endowed for the training of the middle-class and upper-class children were comparatively numerous. The great grammar schools, known as the "Public" schools, were preparatory to entrance into the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Such schools as Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Westminster, the Charterhouse, and Shrewsbury had long been famous. Their educational standards were considerably raised by the work of Thomas Arnold, who was for many years previous to his death in 1842 the headmaster of Rugby. The old "rough-and-tumble" type of education was replaced by a strong emphasis on morals and religion and on the graces of gentlemanliness. The prefectorial system was also the result of his work.¹ He did not, however, modify to any

¹ The use of senior pupils (prefects or monitors) for the maintenance of discipline in the public schools.

extent the current emphasis on the teaching of Greek and Latin. A Public Schools Act of 1868 brought about some necessary reforms in the constitutions and curricula of the seven greater schools (those named above). In the next year a more comprehensive measure, the Endowed Schools Act, became law. Even so, it was the judgment of Thomas Arnold's son, Matthew Arnold, that despite these measures the bulk of the middle class was "worse educated than the corresponding class in Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, or even the United States."¹

Scotland was, on the whole, much better provided for than England. A school for every parish had been the ideal since late in the seventeenth century. The Scottish avidity for learning — for climbing Parnassus "by dint o' Greek" — produced a nation much better educated than its southern partner. The legislation of the Great Ministry also affected Scottish education; a measure of 1872 organized not only the elementary schools, but the grammar schools as well, and made the connection between the Scottish universities and the schools a close one.

Educational
reform in
Scotland

We have had occasion to notice the drawbacks in university training at Oxford and Cambridge.² Little could be expected where professors did not lecture, examinations were not given, and fellows were appointed while they were still in the cradle.

Oxford and
Cambridge
Universities

Posts were gained without exertion and held without public profit. Undergraduates at Oxford were compelled to subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. Cambridge was not quite so narrowly a Church of England seminary, for Non-conformists could matriculate even if they were debarred from a degree. In the first half of the nineteenth century the standard rose considerably by the establishment of real competitions for many fellowships and by the dignifying of the Honours List by basing it on merit.

After 1832 the demand for university reform became in-

¹ *The Reign of Queen Victoria*, ed. T. H. Ward, II, 277.

² See pp. 607-08.

sistent. Such anachronistic schools seemed not to fit in with the reforming temper. Not until 1850, nevertheless, was a thorough investigation made of the "state, discipline, studies, and revenues" of the two English universities. The legislation that followed made them into something like national universities. Besides important changes in the government of Oxford and Cambridge, greater opportunity was given for the entry of poor students. The religious tests for entrance to Oxford and those for the receiving of the degrees at Cambridge were abolished. Legislation in 1871 carried the work to the point where Oxford ignored religious tests. Henceforth all lay students were admitted to the two universities on precisely equal terms.

In the meantime, other schools for higher education had come into being. In 1828 an institution known as University College was opened in London for students in Arts, Law, and Medicine. The founders, of whom Lord Brougham was the chief, intended it to furnish education for Nonconformists and others excluded from the two older universities. This "Godless institution in Gower Street" sought to keep free from theological difficulties by having no instruction in theology, no religious tests for teachers or students, and no religious services. In the next year the Anglicans established King's College in London as a counterpoise. In the thirties these two became united in the University of London. Before the close of the period we are studying all its degrees were opened to women. About the same time women's colleges were established at the older seats of learning, and women were admitted to lectures though not to degrees.

In 1846 a merchant of Manchester, John Owens by name, bequeathed property for the endowment of a university college in that great urban center. Five years later Owens College was opened. Splendid new buildings were provided in the early seventies, and the rapidly developing institution received a university charter in 1880 under the name of the Victoria University.

Demand for
university
reform

University
of London

The Victoria
University
of Man-
chester

The University of Durham was also doing similar, if less important, work as an intellectual center in the north of England.

The need of higher education in Ireland was retarded by religious antagonism. During Peel's administration three Queen's Colleges were set up at Belfast, Dublin, and Cork, respectively. But these "Godless colleges" were looked at askance by both Angli-
Higher education in Ireland
 cans and Catholics. The latter even established a Catholic university in Dublin as an offset.

THE ESTABLISHED CHURCHES

No account of the conditions of these years would be complete without reference to matters ecclesiastical. In spite of the gradual secularization of life through
The Estab-
lished
Churches
 the centuries, the organized Church still exerted a widespread influence. The Established Churches of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland were centers of privilege. Not only did the effort to deprive them of their ancient practices arouse bitter opposition, but within the churches divisions of importance appeared during this time. The mid-Victorian age was deeply religious if the Queen, or Gladstone, or many another be thought typical. It was a time of strain and stress for the churches both as institutions and as guardians of a faith that was being called in question.

The Established Church of Ireland was the most glaring example of the reign of privilege. Although three fourths of the Irish were Catholics and one half of the
The Estab-
lished
Church in
Ireland
 Protestants were Nonconformists, the Established Anglican Church held a national position. It possessed large endowments and enjoyed the fruits of tithes collected in all the parishes of the island irrespective of the entire absence of Anglicans from many parts of the country. Twelve Protestant bishops cared for about one tenth of Ireland's population. The bitter feeling of the Catholics at this absurd monstrosity found vent again and again. Not long after the first Reform Bill some of the

worst evils were abolished. A little later the hated tithes were commuted into a rent charge. Disestablishment was brought up again and again after 1832, only to be met by the adamant opposition of the Anglicans of the two islands. In his earlier days Gladstone himself was opposed to it. In 1868, however, he believed that his great task was, if possible, to pacify Ireland. Disestablishment was the first step.

The bill that was presented in 1869 met the need squarely. The Church was to be disestablished, ecclesiastical courts and corporations abolished, the Irish episcopal membership in the House of Lords to cease.

Irish dis-
establishment,
1869

The wealth of the Church, estimated at £16,000,000, was to be taken over by the Government, partly to endow the new disestablished Anglican Church, and partly to serve charitable purposes in Ireland. The opposition was vitriolic. Disraeli called the act legalized confiscation. It seemed no less than sacrilegious to devout Anglicans for a Prime Minister, who for so long was the representative of conservative Oxford, to treat the Church so shabbily. Lord Derby declared the Queen could not assent without violating her coronation oath. Yet the measure, somewhat toned down, finally passed the House of Lords. Another ancient abuse of the most rankling type was at last corrected.

The Established Church of Scotland stood in a different relation to the inhabitants, for it was Presbyterian. Yet a lengthy and acrimonious struggle had existed almost from the time that the Treaty of Union in 1707 required the State to care for the national Church. The difficulty arose over the way the ministers were to be appointed to the parishes. In 1715 the Patronage Act deprived the elders of the right of choosing the minister; it passed to the chief landowner, or the Crown, or one of the universities, or a town council. So long as this right was not pressed, no great difficulty arose, for often the choice would be left to the elders. As evangelicalism penetrated Scotland in the eighteenth cen-

Split in the
Established
Church of
Scotland,
1843

ture the desire for popular election grew. The Church was rent by much disputation, and there were secessions. In the nineteenth century the question became more acute. After 1832, especially, the desire to end lay patronage revived under the democratic and reforming feeling that was abroad. It waxed more and more bitter as case after case fanned the desire for a Church free from the State. In 1842 the party opposed to patronage asked for its abolition by the Government. On its denial in 1843, some four hundred ministers, about one third of the total number, seceded from the Established Church under the lead of Dr. Chalmers. The result was an evangelical organization known as the Free Presbyterian Church.¹

The Established Church of England was in bad need of reform at the time the Parliament was overhauled in 1832. The great wealth of the establishment was unequally distributed, with bishops enjoying extravagant incomes. The highest offices of the Church went to men whose birth or influence made the appointment possible. The bishops were very apt to provide their connections with valuable preferments. It was not uncommon for one man to hold several positions which he could not administer conscientiously. A very common abuse was pluralism, the holding of two or more livings by one person. It naturally followed that many a rector could not live in his parish, and many would not.² Where the country clergyman did live in his parish, his interests were likely to be more with the hounds than with the parishioners.

State of the
Church in
England

The Church was very unpopular in the early part of the

¹ The matter came up again in Disraeli's ministry (1874) when it was proposed to do what the Free Kirk wanted in 1843, abolish patronage. The Free Kirk naturally objected to this on the ground that the endowments, which had been given up on account of the objection to lay patronage, should not in fairness remain with the Established Church. But their remonstrance was useless. The belated measure became law in 1874.

² In the diocese of Ely at the close of the Napoleonic War, for example, there were but forty-five resident rectors in one hundred and forty livings. The story is told by Spencer Walpole of one parish that completely lost track of its rector; in order to pay him his dues it was necessary to advertise for the missing clergyman; he proved to be a resident of Rome.

century because it was manifestly not fulfilling its duty. Evangelical feeling had found lodgment in many a layman's mind, but seldom did the clergy evince the enthusiasm of a Wilberforce or a Buxton. The bishops were much opposed to parliamentary reform, to the abolition of slavery, and to every intrenchment on privilege. And the dissenters were constantly irritated by their relationship to the establishment. All had to pay tithes to the Church, and they were often heartlessly collected in produce. Only Anglican clergymen could perform marriages or read funeral services.

A number of needed church reforms followed the parliamentary reorganization of 1832. Tithes were commuted into a rent charge, pluralism was abolished, and non-residence was mitigated. The wealth of the Church was redistributed and a permanent Ecclesiastical Commission came into being.

ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSY

To some of the churchmen the assault on authority was only to be met by a Church vitalized, not through the vulgar enthusiasm of the evangelical, but by a deeper consciousness of the historic past, by a reëmphasis on dogma and ceremonial. Such, in part at least, was the explanation of the Oxford Movement which arose in the thirties as the antidote to secular attitudes and the spread of infidelity. A number of devout Oxonians took upon themselves this task. John Keble sounded the first note in 1833 by a sermon on national apostasy. He was soon joined by Newman, Pusey, and others. They began issuing tracts — hence the name "Tractarian," often applied to the movement — in which they examined the history, especially the early history, of the Church. These pamphleteers were High-Churchmen, of the Archbishop Laud type. They believed that the Established Church was a middle way between Roman Catholicism on the one side and liberal Protestantism on the other. But such a doctrine had its dangers. In 1840 the most famous of the

The Tractarian Movement

Tracts, Number 90 — the product of Newman's pen — examined the similarities between the Anglican and Roman beliefs. Newman's studies finally (1845) led him into the Roman Catholic Church. It was a step that most of the Tractarians did not take.

The ferment that resulted brought the Church and its doctrines into greater and greater question. The High Church tendency seemed to be making the Church more and more an exclusive sect. Or-
Doctrinal strain in the Church
 thodoxy came to mean a revived mediævalism, a rebuilding of churches in bad Gothic, and a return to excessive ritualism. For example, a certain clergyman, Gorham by name, was refused a living in 1850 because the bishop believed him heretical on the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. When the case was appealed to the higher secular courts, Gorham was upheld, to the delight of the evangelicals.

The result of the wave of ecclesiasticism of which the Tractarian Movement was but a symptom appeared in a reaction that goes by the name of the Broad
Higher criticism
 Church Movement. The leaders of this phase of thought, especially Charles Kingsley and F. D. Maurice, expressed a new critical rationalistic attitude that greatly incensed the High Church group. A veritable storm was raised in 1860 by the publication of a mildly rationalistic collection of articles, the *Essays and Reviews*. The more "critical" view of the Bible and the history of religious thought contained in the volume seemed a concerted attack on the citadel of orthodoxy. Two of the writers were brought before the courts for calling in question Biblical inspiration and the eternal punishment of the wicked. Again the higher secular courts sustained the "heretics" — "by dismissing eternal punishment with costs." Two other books of the decade illustrate the important place of church controversy. In 1862, Dr. Colenso, Bishop of Natal in South Africa, published an exposition of the Pentateuch in which his criticism seemed destructive. Again "heresy" triumphed in the courts. In 1865 a remarkable volume,

Ecce Homo, appeared anonymously.¹ Its emphasis on the manhood of Jesus and its informal language shocked orthodoxy. Dr. Pusey wrote of it: "I have seldom been able to read much at a time, but shut the book for pain, as I used to do with Renan's."

THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

The vague religious disquiet of the time was one of the dominant issues. There was much about the spirit of the age that has been regarded contemptuously in later times. The respectability of thought, the smug complacency based on materialistic prosperity, the national assurance soon to find aggressive expression in expansion, may merit criticism. But there was abroad a searching, seeking earnestness that gives these years a peculiar value. A veritable revolution was sweeping over the better minds. The attack was not simply through historical and literary criticism of the Church and its creeds, but through a study of the meaning and place of natural science.

The conquests of science in earlier centuries were modest as compared with the advances in geology and biology during the Victorian era. Charles Lyell published in 1833 his famous *Principles of Geology*, in which he clearly set forth his belief in the gradual formation of the earth according to "causes now in operation." Its effect was revolutionary. Thirty years later, in the midst of the controversies that have just been recalled, he issued his *Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man*, an account of the remains of human activity in strata that were, geologically considered, at least tens of thousands of years old.

In the meantime biology was furnishing some startling conclusions regarding the natural development of the animal world. Charles Darwin and Alfred Wallace, alike influenced by Malthusian theories of population, conceived

¹ The author was John R. Seeley, later to acquire fame for his *Expansion of England*. See below, p. 849.

that the variations in animal forms might well be explained by a struggle for existence. Darwin's exposition of the theory appeared in 1859 under the title, *The Origin of Species*. To account for differences in animals "by means of natural selection" was bad enough, but Darwin's logic carried him farther; in 1871 appeared his *Descent of Man*, in which the life of the human animal was examined in an evolutionary way. Between the appearance of these two works came the sturdy defense of the new ideas by Thomas Huxley, *Man's Place in Nature*. And Herbert Spencer was setting out on his lifelong effort to construct a Synthetic Philosophy, based on the conception of progress.

Charles
Darwin
(1809-82)

Other books of the time that aided and abetted the break with a consecrated past were Mill's *On Liberty* (1859), and the first volume of Buckle's *History of Civilization* (1858). The latter inspired Lecky's *History of the Rise and Influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (1865) and his *History of European Morals* (1869). Liberalism was in the air. As Matthew Arnold put it: "There is not a creed which is not shaken, not an accredited dogma which is not shown to be questionable. . . . Our religion has realized itself in the supposed fact, and now the fact is failing it." Thought in all departments was being socialized and the belief in progress was affecting much more than parliamentary representation and outworn customs within the Church. It was an age in which the case of science versus religion received constant hearing. The logical outcome, so it seemed to lugubrious churchmen, appeared to find expression in the famous Bradlaugh case. Charles Bradlaugh was a pugnacious freethinker who, when elected to Parliament in 1880, refused to take the oath "on the faith of a Christian." The House denied him the right to affirm, and he was forcibly ejected. Not until eight years later was an affirmation law passed, the logical successor of that for Catholic relief and that for the grant of equality to Jews.

The scien-
tific method
and history

THE LOWER CLASSES

The lot of the lower classes during these eventful years continued to attract much attention. After the failure of the Chartist agitation, the workingmen turned from political action to the more prosaic work of building up their strength by organization. Coöperative societies appeared. And there even began in the early fifties a move toward the more inclusive general union. But efforts at the use of the strike failed. Unions had a status similar only to that of friendly societies. They could not even obtain legal redress for the misuse of their own funds.

The Reform Bill of 1867 led to a better position for the workingmen. There was greater sympathy for the lower classes.¹ Gladstone's ministry passed a Trade Union Act that protected the funds of the unions, but gave them no coercive power during a strike. The workingmen saw the need of further legislative action. In the general election of 1874, which brought Disraeli to power, a number of labor candidates stood for election and two were elected — the first to enter the House of Commons. In 1875 a Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act allowed peaceful picketing. In the same year an Artisan's Dwelling Act provided for better living conditions, and a Factory Act in 1878 helped in the further regulation of the factories.

Agriculture was prosperous during the decades immediately following the winning of free trade. Many improvements in machinery were introduced. The railway expansion gave greater and greater access to markets, and the demand of the growing urban centers made the products of the farm high in price. The prosperity of the sixties was to some extent the outcome of war conditions on the continent of Europe and in the United States. Wages kept up well, also, for the agricultural laborers because of the continual movement of workmen

¹ Charles Reade published his picture of working conditions in Sheffield, *Put Yourself in His Place*, in 1866.

from county to town, and the constant flow of emigration.

A downward trend began about the time that Disraeli came into office in 1874. For several years there were short harvests, with the climax in the disastrous year of 1879. Unfortunately for British agriculture, <sup>The collapse of agricul-
ture</sup> the United States had a large crop that season; prices fell as a result. Many tenant farmers were ruined, the emigration of labor was greater than ever, and a decreasing acreage provided less grain for British bread. Agriculture almost collapsed. A number of legislative measures attempted to better the evil days upon which agriculture had come. But nothing could prevent the growing dependence of a rapidly enlarging population on food supplies from over the seas.

It was altogether fitting that the plight of the rural districts should bring about the further and logical extension of the franchise to the rural householders. Gladstone, who returned to power in 1880, brought up the question of the franchise and of the redistribution of seats. In 1884 a Franchise <sup>The third
great parlia-
mentary
reform,
1884-85</sup> Bill was passed by the Commons, but it was held up in the House of Lords, where the Conservatives demanded the twin measure of redistribution before they would accept the Franchise Bill. The Conservatives feared that the change would be unfavorable to their party. During the summer there was a vigorous agitation in which the Liberals made the Upper House almost as much an issue as the rural householder. When Parliament reopened in the fall, a constitutional crisis was prevented by the good offices of the Queen. She brought together Gladstone and Salisbury — the leader of the Conservatives after Disraeli's death in 1881 — to such good effect that a satisfactory Franchise Bill passed in the latter part of the year, and a redistribution measure followed in 1885. The right to vote was made similar in the counties to that already won for the boroughs in 1867. It was a far-reaching step; the voters were increased by two million, four times as many as were added in 1832, and twice as many as were added in 1867. The

redistribution of seats was distinguished by the creation of single-member or "one-horse" constituencies. Boroughs of less than fifteen thousand were absorbed in the counties, and large boroughs were divided. The House of Commons was increased to 670, by the addition of twelve members.

Whether for good or for ill the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland became essentially a liberal state.

Many even of Gladstone's party doubted the wisdom of the step. Whether premature or dilatory, it appropriately concludes our survey of the social changes between two measures of reform.

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CHAPTER XLI

IMPERIALISM

THE momentous Reform Bill of 1867 began an interest in domestic conditions that was so important as to warrant exclusive attention. It carried the narrative through the two decades that ended with another reform in 1884 and 1885. But the ministry of internal advance was not all engrossing. Gladstone was able, during his first government (1868-74), to center attention very largely on the outlawry of old abuses. Disraeli, on the contrary, injected foreign interests very markedly into the limelight by certain gestures that remind one of the Palmerstonian delight in the bizarre. On Disraeli's retirement in 1880, Gladstone again returned to office, only to find that his second ministry (1880-85) was compelled to face pressing oversea problems. Unfortunate occurrences in Africa and Asia did much to bring the ministry to an end. But it was not ousted before the third great step in parliamentary reform made the state even more democratic.

But the year 1885 is not a natural point of division in the study of British foreign policy. The previous twenty years were only preliminary to a more vigorous imperialistic attitude. The Conservative Party inherited the leanings of Disraeli, and even within the Liberal group there developed a deeper concern with oversea questions. The other nations, moreover, awoke about this time to colonial values; the effect on Great Britain was natural. The next fifteen years mark a climax, in consequence, to the earlier interest and fittingly end with the Boer War. The ministries of the time were mostly Conservative, and were throughout led by the Marquess of Salisbury. His first ministry (1885-86) was followed by a third Gladstonian administration in 1886 that was even briefer. Thereupon Salisbury returned, and

Foreign
concerns of
the liberal
state

Character of
the new
imperialism

remained in office until his retirement in 1902 save for a three-year Liberal interlude from 1892 to 1895.

FOREIGN POLICY OF GLADSTONE AND OF DISRAELI

The death of Palmerston in 1865 concluded a picturesque era in British foreign relations. Had this energetic statesman survived six years longer he could have mixed delightedly in European concerns of exceeding moment. In 1866 the Austrian and Prussian states fought out their quarrel for the hegemony of Germany. Four years later Prussia and France locked in armed conflict over the hegemony of Europe. The result in each case was a notable Prussian victory. There was no particular occasion or opportunity for Britain to mix in the Austro-Prussian struggle. It was a German matter, and was settled in seven weeks. But the Franco-German war gave British minds much more pause.

The victorious wars of Prussia

British feeling was at first pro-German because the entry on war seemed plainly to arise from French aggressiveness. This conception was somewhat strengthened by Bismarck's communication to the *London Times* of a projected agreement with Napoleon III by which Belgium was to be added to France. British governmental efforts were at first directed to the isolation of the two combatants. Especial care was taken to insure the safety of Belgium by the renewal of the engagements of 1839 guaranteeing the integrity of that buffer land. At the time Luxemburg was also included. The rapid German successes in the fall of 1870 led to a veering of British feeling to the French side. The taking of Alsace and Lorraine "without reference to the populations," as Gladstone put it, was disapproved by the British Cabinet, although there was no formal protest. The war was momentous for the future, however, since it created a strong German state with which England was later to clash. Gladstone was a true prophet when he asserted that the transfer of Alsace and Lorraine to Germany would lead to a "new series of European complications."

The British and the Franco-Prussian War

Two troublesome matters occurring just after the close of the Franco-German War did not contribute to the reputation of Gladstone's foreign policy. The Russian Government felt that the war conditions in western Europe furnished an opportunity to denounce that part of the treaty of 1856 by which the Black Sea was closed to the war vessels of all nations. The British Government was not willing to go to war over the matter, and the Russian act was accepted as gracefully as possible by a conference of the powers held in London.

The insistent claims of the United States for compensation in view of the activity of British-built Confederate cruisers during the Civil War were unsettled until the early seventies. In 1871 this and a number of other points of difficulty were taken up in a conference at Washington. There the representatives of the two countries decided to arbitrate the Alabama claims. They were considered by five arbitrators at Geneva. The Americans made indirect as well as direct claims, and they were so high that it looked for a time as though the chance for agreement might pass. When the exorbitant indirect claims were at last ruled out, the result was an award of £3,250,000. Though but a third of the original American demands, the sum seemed large to the British public and impaired the popularity of Gladstone's Government. It was, indeed, a splendid example of the "noble art of preventive diplomacy."

Disraeli was back in power two years later with a comfortable majority behind him. A matchless opportunity, long sought, made it possible for the Conservative leader to enter on a frank and bold treatment of foreign affairs. The scintillating "Hebrew conjurer," as Carlyle dubbed him, accused the Liberals of weakness in foreign policy. It was his intention to correct this defect by asserting, as freely as had Palmerston, his country's right to mix in European matters, and by his determination to show plainly the imperial destiny of his country. The rapid rise of Prussia and the imperial ad-

vance of Russia came to the "alien patriot" as calls to action.

Erelong an opportunity arose to assert British ascendancy in Europe, for the Near-Eastern question was reopened to receive one of its numerous and indecisive answers. In 1875 insurrections broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, districts still under direct Turkish control. There was no doubt of the insincerity of the Porte in domestic matters, for the promised reforms of 1856 might about as well have not been put in the treaty. Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia sent a joint note to the Turkish Government protesting against the state of the revolting provinces — but to no avail. Soon Bulgaria also arose against misrule, only to be put down by atrocious reprisals, shocking to the peoples of western Europe. Gladstone voiced the popular demand that the Turks should be driven out of the province "bag and baggage."

Turkish
atrocities
condemned
by Glad-
stone, 1876

The Government's attitude, however, was equivocal. Jealousy of Russia seemed to overmaster zeal for reform in Turkey. Disraeli's Cabinet appeared sufficiently pro-Turkish to warrant the Porte in being obstinate. As in at least two earlier crises, Russia then took matters in its own hands. It declared war and proceeded to impose its will on the "unspeakable Turk." By the peace of San Stefano between the two combatants the Turks were almost cleared out of Europe "bag and baggage." A greater Bulgaria extending to the Ægean would have cut land communication between the Turkish capital and the non-autonomous territories to the west of Macedonia.

Russo-
Turkish
War,
1877-78

The outcome was unsatisfactory to Disraeli; he believed that the practical abolition of the Ottoman Empire in Europe only opened the way to a Russian administration of the Balkans. Despite the notorious misrule of an unrepentant Turkish Government, a misrule that could not have been reënacted in large sections of European Turkey had San Stefano

The Con-
gress of
Berlin, 1878

stood, the British Government was so obsessed by Russophobia that it demanded a revision of the treaty at a European congress. Accordingly, the peace of San Stefano was revised at Berlin with Disraeli playing the chief rôle. Bulgaria was cut down to a third of its size as defined in the earlier treaty, with the return, in consequence, of large territories to the Porte. Bosnia and Herzegovina were henceforth to be occupied by Austria, and Cyprus was to be held in similar fashion by Great Britain. The latter Government also undertook to protect the Porte in its Asiatic dominions in order to prevent "the advance of the Slavonic power," as Lord Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary, expressed it. "Peace with Honor" was Disraeli's gift to his country as he returned from Berlin. The wisdom of his position has been opened to grave doubt by later events. The unspeakable Turk did not mend; Bulgaria did not prove, even in its delimited form, the tool of Russia. If Disraeli had assumed the reverse position and joined Britain with Russia in creating Bulgaria, the policy of Canning toward Greece would have been repeated, probably without endangering either peace or honor.¹ As a matter of fact, Disraeli was not so much interested in the Near East as in India. The linking of the two worked no particular good to the oppressed nationalities of European Turkey.

DISRAELI AND THE COLONIES

The imperialism of Disraeli is better illustrated by his interest in the colonies, their protection and extension; there he was building for the future. His attitude in 1874 was far removed from that he held when he made the famous statement in 1852 that the colonies were millstones.² They were becoming more and more valuable for several reasons. The Dominions were increasingly the home of British emigrants. The attainment of home rule in Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, and New Zealand added to their dignity and standing. The hitherto unknown resources of wealth — grain

¹ See above, p. 739. ² See p. 808.

lands in Canada, grazing grounds and gold fields in Australasia, diamonds and gold in South Africa — made for the importance of the Dominions. The interest in India seldom lagged, since it had long been the home of seemingly inexhaustible resources. Nor was the value of the Empire lessened when it appeared at times to be endangered. The expansion of other empires only added to the British pride in possession and the insular desire to remain in the lead.

A colonial consciousness created, of course, more desire for a forward policy, that what was in hand might be assured by the addition of further territories. This, in turn, became an accelerating movement. Numerous expensive "little wars" were necessary, more friction followed with other nations also intent on enlarging their empires, and exploitation tended to become heartless and feverish. In short, imperialism proved to be the characteristic note in British foreign affairs and hardly less important in those of France, Germany, Russia, and Italy. The United States, in its own sphere, was not free from the virus.

Growth of a
colonial
conscious-
ness in
Europe

Two stages are distinctly visible in the growth of colonial interest in Britain between 1875 and 1900. The first decade might be described as a time of hesitant imperialism. The growing interest in the Empire had yet to master strong groups in both parties and make a general appeal to the public. Advance in the first decade was not steady, for surprising steps forward were followed by retreat. Not until after the mid-eighties did imperialism become decidedly self-conscious. Henceforth, it was a rushing stream that swept into its course many territories and peoples that were blissfully ignorant before 1885 of the blessings of European civilization.

Hesitant
and self-
conscious
imperialism

No part of Britain's Empire was more alluring to Disraeli than India. Its value in his eyes was responsible for several important decisions. The attitude toward the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 was prompted by thought of India. Two years earlier a startling *coup* expressed the same point of view, the pur-

Purchase of
Suez Canal
shares, 1875

chase of a large block of Suez Canal shares by the British Government in 1875. The canal had been completed by the Frenchman, De Lesseps, in 1869. From the first the traffic was very largely by British vessels, for the short route to India and the Far East was of inestimable value. The new waterway was in the hands of a French company, save that nearly half of the shares were held by Ismail, the Khedive of Egypt. Opportunities occurred before 1875 for the British to share in a canal that they had not built, and had not wished to see built by the representatives of any other nation. But the chances were let slip. In 1875, however, the Khedive was in bad need of ready money to meet the interest due on the public debt. Ismail even offered his shares to the French Government before Disraeli learned of the possibility of the purchase. Though his Cabinet unwillingly gave him free rein, the Prime Minister saw clearly enough the commercial and political value of the canal. The purchase came as a surprise to the British public, but when it became known that the Government had purchased for £4,000,000 nearly half of the shares of canal stock it appealed tremendously to the popular imagination. As a highroad to India the canal transaction served as a capital example of "Dizzy's" imaginative power.

Hardly less striking was the gift to Victoria of the title, Empress of India, in 1876. The purpose behind the act was the emphasis of the relations between the ruler of Britain and the Indian peninsula, a movement that would appeal, as Disraeli well foresaw, to the Oriental imagination. It also greatly pleased the Queen herself, so much so that Disraeli pushed the Royal Titles Bill through in a stormy session irrespective of considerable and bitter opposition.¹

Disraeli's policy in India itself was one of aggressiveness.

¹ In no part of his duties was Disraeli more fortunate than in his relations with the Queen. His adulation, unfailing courtesy and consideration, made their intercourse very pleasant. Much more so, indeed, than the relations between Victoria and Gladstone. The Queen is said to have complained that Gladstone talked to her always "as though she were a public meeting." Disraeli believed that in treating with royalty one should lay on flattery "with a trowel." He certainly could not have been more successful.

Basutoland at the request of the native chieftain. Two years later a large section known as Griqualand West, on the other side of the Free State, was also acquired. There the circumstances were less creditable to the British. Diamonds had been found in the region as early as 1867, and there was a rush to the lands of Waterboer, the Griqua chief. In 1871 an important town was founded as the center of the new interest and called Kimberley, the name of the British Colonial Secretary at the time. Though the land was presumably a part of the Orange Free State, the Griqua chief ceded the district to the British, and it became a Crown Colony. But the Orange Free State so strongly urged its right to Griqualand that the question of ownership was put before an arbitrator, the British Governor of Natal. Though he decided for Waterboer and the British, the whole transaction was so questionable that the Orange Free State later (1876) received a large compensation (£90,000). The forward policy of the decade did not permit of a return of the territory to the Boers.

Disraeli's Colonial Secretary was Lord Carnarvon. He had been at the Colonial Office when the Canadian confederation occurred in 1867. On his return to the same position in 1874, Carnarvon felt that a similar principle could well be applied to South Africa. His conception was an interesting illustration of an idea later to win large acceptance, that self-governing federations within the Empire were better than disunited units that might loosen or sever the bonds holding them to Britain. Although the time proved unripe for such a step in South Africa, it seemed to the growing imperialistic school worthy of all praise. The historian Froude was sent on a frankly imperialistic mission. Sir Bartle Frere became Governor of Cape Colony in 1877 with the hope in both his mind and Carnarvon's that he would soon be the first Governor General of South Africa. In anticipation of his success a Permissive Federation Act was passed at Westminster in 1876. In the meantime, another of Carnarvon's emissaries, Sir Theophilus Shep-

Carnarvon's
desire for
South
African
federation

stone, had gone to Natal as Commissioner of Native Affairs, to settle border troubles with the Kafir tribes and, if necessary, to annex the regions where trouble was rampant. In 1877 Shepstone annexed the Transvaal Republic, at the same time promising the inhabitants self-government within the Empire.

Complications soon arose. The Boers were not grateful. Kruger, the vice-president of the Republic, even went to Majuba Hill, 1881 London in the hope of persuading Carnarvon to release the Transvaal. The British soon found that they had annexed considerable trouble, for the militaristic Zulus needed a chastisement that proved costly.¹ Hardly had the trouble been cleared up before the Conservatives were driven from office. The victorious Liberals considered the annexation of the Transvaal a flagrant example of heartless imperialism. In the campaign resulting in Disraeli's defeat, Gladstone fulminated in no uncertain fashion against the enormous bloodshed in Zululand and the "invasion of a free people in the Transvaal." His "campaign of passion" resulted in the return of the Liberals to power. But the Transvaal was not immediately freed as the inhabitants had hoped. In consequence, they revolted in the fall of the year. Troops from Natal set about suppressing the revolt at the same time that the home government was slowly coming to the conclusion that the Boers should be allowed their freedom. The British troops suffered a disastrous and humiliating defeat at Majuba Hill in 1881. Not long after, the Boers were given complete self-government under the suzerainty of Britain. Even though this was only what had been promised by Carnarvon, it seemed to come at an unwise moment. To the Boers and the forward party in England it appeared as though concessions were wrested by force. Gladstone declared it the result of conviction and the consequence of a sincere desire to prevent further bloodshed. Three years later the Transvaal became a South African Republic without even the slender tie of suzerainty.

¹ Zululand was annexed in 1887.

A meaningful advance was made in Egypt during these same years; hesitant imperialism was again clearly illustrated. For some time the Egyptian Government had been sinking deeper and deeper in the mire of debt. English and French creditors, in particular, made large loans to extravagant khedives who used the money not only for westernizing their country but for personal extravagance. So fearful were the European creditors of the shifty Ismail that an international public debt office — the Caisse de la Dette Publique — with British and French membership took over the problem of the service on the debt. This soon led to a sort of dual Franco-British control of the Government. The growth of foreign interference aroused such intense dissatisfaction that a militaristic party led by Arabi Bey endeavored to assure Egypt for the Egyptians. In consequence, a combined British and French fleet anchored before Alexandria in 1882. Lawlessness in the city finally brought about the bombardment of Alexandria by the British vessels, after the French ships had withdrawn. The British had taken into their hands the matter of settling a Turkish problem, despite the French desire for a European congress. In other words, the British seemed to have adopted the very policy toward this part of the Sultan's dominions that they had denounced when Russia took matters into its own control in the Balkans a few years earlier.

The British
occupation
of Egypt,
1882

Military interference proved a necessary supplement to naval action before the rabble of armed men led by Arabi were brought into control. Thereupon the British undertook alone the reorganization of Egyptian finances and government. The Dual Control was replaced by a British occupation and supervision of Egypt under a pliant Khedive. Of necessity the occupation had to be militaristic or it would have been useless. The "sympathetic advice and assistance" rendered to Egypt touched not only the disposition of the finances. Irrigation, internal conditions in general, the army, practically every phase of the administration, were henceforth

The reform
of the
Egyptian
Government

supervised in order to create "a stable, a permanent, and a beneficial government."¹ The occupation was not intended to be permanent, but yet it was to be long enough for solid institutions to strike root.

This indecisive attitude is admirably shown in the relations of the British supervision to the Sudan region up the Nile. There the natives were out of hand. The task of subduing them seemed so necessary that an Egyptian army under a British officer, Colonel Hicks, was despatched northward in 1883, only to be exterminated by the tribal hordes. Their fanatical frenzy was the more menacing at the time because religious fervor was added to their hatred by the leadership of the Mahdi.² The British thereupon decided to evacuate the Sudan. The task of withdrawal was consigned in an unwise moment to Colonel Gordon, who had been Governor-General of the Sudan for the Egyptian Government from 1874 to 1879. His Christian zeal got the better of him when he went to Khartum to withdraw the garrisons. Instead he determined to "smash up the Mahdi." But Gordon and his forces were soon besieged by a great Arab host. For ten months the siege went on. Tardy assistance was at last sent, only to arrive two days late. Gordon's death seemed to the British a "stain left upon England." British expansion in the Nile valley suffered the fate of aggression in South Africa; the Sudan was abandoned after an humiliating defeat.

TRIUMPHANT IMPERIALISM

But a change was at hand. The incoherent imperialism of the years 1874-84 that we have noted in the Balkans, India, South Africa, and Egypt was replaced in the mid-eighties by a voracious appetite that engulfed many of the still unappropriated lands of Africa

¹ The British sent Sir Evelyn Baring — later Lord Cromer — to guide civil affairs. Sir Auckland Colvin became financial adviser. Both have written valuable accounts of the amazing reformation that British supervision brought to a backward land.

² This was the name of an expected Messiah, whom a religious teacher of the time was successfully personating.

and Asia in the maws of aggressive European states. The new imperialism, as it is usually called, had many stimuli. Disraeli's belief in the value of empire was becoming more general as the century wore on, and was even permeating the ranks of Gladstone's party. The Empire became something more than a despicable and troublesome wen as significant events in Canada, rapid growth in Australia, and advance elsewhere made the lands of settlement seem Britains beyond the seas. One of the most telling arguments for the new viewpoint was Sir John Seeley's *Expansion of England*, published in 1883.

The "boom" in imperialism at the time rose to a considerable degree from the comparatively sudden consciousness of the value of the great but relatively unknown African interior. Considerable exploration, principally by British adventurers and missionaries, was making many a hinterland known. David Livingstone, who began his work in Africa as a missionary and ended it as an ardent explorer of deeply religious interests, made known the country north of the Boer States and the interior lake region near the Equator. The European world awoke to the possibilities of the "dark" continent when it was found to be very largely a high and well-watered tableland. The successful search for the lost Livingstone by H. M. Stanley in the early seventies added to European knowledge of the continent. In 1876 Leopold of Belgium became so interested in African exploration that he employed Stanley to make known the Congo River system. Before the end of the decade Stanley had succeeded in crossing the center of the continent several times. The International African Association that grew out of Leopold's interest soon became more commercial than philanthropic.

The opening-up of Africa

Indeed national clashes seemed imminent. In the early eighties the young German Empire, France, and Italy awoke to colonial values. The British possessive instinct grew keener in the scramble. The clash of national desires led to an important conference at Berlin in the winter of 1884-85, in which

The Berlin Conference, 1884-85

ground rules were laid down for the partition of a continent. The conference defined the status of the Congo Free State and the way in which protectorates and spheres of influence were to be acquired. Unfortunately, nothing constructive prevented the growing economic competition and the development of exclusive and selfish policy; the subjected populations received little thought as the continent was staked out. What a change since the days when Palmerston indignantly spurned the suggestion that France and Britain partition Africa! To Palmerston in 1856 such a scheme was unprovoked aggression, "to imitate in Africa the partition of Poland."

The Conference of Berlin only began the process of defining the African territories claimed by the European states. In most cases the districts were annexed where a given country already possessed definite trading interests. In 1890 Germany and Britain came to an agreement defining the three German colonial districts already named. At the time, Britain obtained the protectorate of Zanzibar in exchange for a cession of Heligoland to Germany. In that year also France and Germany defined the limits of their adjacent holdings. French control of Madagascar was recognized as an offset to the recognition of British rights in the rich valley of the lower Niger. There was trouble with Portugal over its vague claims to the continent between its stations on the east and west coasts above South Africa. About the same time as the other agreements with France and Germany, Britain came to terms with a reluctant and helpless Portugal; as a result, the British thrust empire northward from South Africa in between Portuguese East and Portuguese West Africa.

This is not the place to relate in detail the record of the acquisitiveness of the last two decades of the century. Yet one aspect cannot be overlooked. A most effective means of acquiring valuable trading tracts was through the work of chartered companies. This device, disused largely since the early days of the old

British
interest in
the interior
of Africa

The work of
the chartered
companies

empire, was revived with effect. In 1885 a charter was granted to the Royal Niger Company to develop the valuable delta where British traders had long worked. This was preliminary to the taking over of Nigeria by the Government five years later. An East African Company began in 1888 to secure a hold on the coast and interior north of Zanzibar; these vast trading regions, likewise, were later taken over by the Government. In 1889 a South African Company pioneered north of the Boer States with telling effect. What is now Rhodesia was occupied in the nineties. Previously Nyasaland, first made known by Livingstone, was taken over, and the connection between the South African Company's territories and the Cape was assured by the addition of Bechuanaland above the diamond country.

Nor was imperialism confined to Africa. A final annexation of Burma to the northeast of India occurred in 1887. Some years later (1896) France and Britain came to an agreement over the Malay region and the status of Siam. In the Malay archipelago a British North Borneo Company added territories on that great island to those already under British protection. Germany became much attracted by New Guinea at this time, to the great nervousness of near-by Australia. The result was a partition of that enormous island, Britain receiving the southeast coast in 1884. Germany and France also sought additional islands in the thickly dotted South Pacific. Nor was Britain any more reluctant. The result was a partition of that backward part of the world between the interested bargainers. Britain during the last fifteen years of the century annexed over a hundred islands in the Pacific.

The scramble for distant lands also affected the unchanging China. In the Far East the tactics of the new imperialism found a delightful field for action. China had gone to war over Korea with westernized Japan in 1895, only to be soundly defeated.

Japan's desires were somewhat checkmated by a Russo-Franco-German combination. In turn, the "friends" of

Imperialism
in the
Pacific

China as a
field for
imperialism

China received concessions, and only awaited the opportunity for territorial aggrandizement. It was felt that China was the "sick man" of Asia. The killing of two German missionaries in 1897 furnished the needed "incident." Germany demanded redress; the Chinese Government was required not only to restore a German church destroyed by the rioters, but to lease the important port of Kiaochow for twenty years. A European scramble in China followed. Russia occupied Port Arthur, Britain took Wei-hai-wei, and France accepted Kwang-chow-wan as its share. Russia and Britain at the time agreed that Manchuria should be the sphere of the former and the Yang-tse Valley the sphere of the latter. The African story seemed in a fair way to be repeated. The Chinese, however, felt that they should have something to say in the matter; a serious agitation, the Boxer rising, attempted to drive out the "foreign devils." Though unsuccessful, it at least led the powers to agree to the integrity of the Chinese Empire. But a heavy indemnity was demanded, and China became the prey of an ever-broadening economic imperialism.

What a spectacle it is! Under the impulse of economic advance and lively competition, Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Italy, and the United States proceeded without serious account of native wishes to create great colonial empires. That of Britain was larger than any other when the game began. It still remained far in advance of its competitors in 1900, for over a million square miles of land were added to the Empire in two decades. Imperialism, conscious and grasping, added to the remnants of the old Empire and the group of self-governing Dominions immense tropical regions ripe for exploitation.

It would be unfair to lay all the emphasis on exploitation. If it did play a large part in "pegging out claims for posterity," there seems to have been a widespread belief that the partition of Africa was for the purpose of civilizing a continent. Chamberlain, Colonial Secretary at the close of the century, declared in 1897 that

British
acquisitions
by 1900

Causes for
imperialism

"in the dependent empire the sense of possession has given place to a sense of obligation. We feel that our rule over these territories can only be justified if we can show that it adds to the happiness and prosperity of the people, and I maintain that our rule does, and has, brought security and peace and comparative prosperity to countries that never knew these blessings before." ¹ The expansion of empire was certainly expensive; it meant that in order for the *pax Britannica* to be effective, the doors of the temple of Janus were never closed. As a business enterprise, it is doubtful if imperialism paid; in the balancing of the books, philanthropic interest and social pride perforce took a part.

THE SUDAN

Two of the districts particularly affected call for somewhat fuller attention. They mirror especially well the changed view after 1885. The Sudan, it will be remembered, was left to the Mahdi and his Arab followers. For a decade afterward no serious attack was made on the upper Nile country. Not until 1896 was a determined reoccupation undertaken. The Egyptian army by that time was thoroughly reorganized under Kitchener, and it was no longer feared that in battle the Egyptians would flee or tamely lie down and allow themselves to be killed. In 1898 the battle of Omdurman, near Khartum, proved decisive, for over twenty thousand Arabs were slaughtered. Two days after the battle Khartum was at last reoccupied, the British and Egyptian flags were hoisted side by side, and a memorial service was held for General Gordon. Sir Evelyn Baring became Viscount Cromer, and the victorious general Baron Kitchener of Khartum.

But a difficulty had arisen. While at Khartum Kitchener learned that a French force had reached Fashoda, four hundred miles farther up the Nile. Captain Marchand and his companions had penetrated the upper Nile Valley after a three-thousand-mile journey

¹ Chamberlain's *Speeches*, II, 3.

from the west coast in the hope of procuring for France the vast hinterland of Egypt. But the British already regarded the whole Nile waterway as in their sphere of influence. Kitchener faced the vexatious situation by continuing southward to Fashoda. The British and Egyptian colors were then hoisted, and the disputed region became the basis of claim and counterclaim. The comedy did not become a tragedy, despite the jingoistic feeling in England and France, for a convention in 1899 somewhat lessened the strained relations of the two countries. France was accorded a large region of Central Africa, and Britain was permitted to retain her anomalous position in the Nile Valley. The Sudan became an Anglo-Egyptian territory, although Egypt still remained a part of the Turkish Empire under an "advised" Khedive. Five years later the tension between France and Britain received further easement by a mutual recognition of British preëminence in Egypt and French dominance in Morocco. Both solemnly declared that they had no intention of altering the political status of the two regions.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR

It was a foregone conclusion that the relinquishment of the Boer sovereignties in the eighties would not settle the South African question. The South African Company staked out immense claims to the north of the Transvaal in the early nineties at the time that British annexations to the east and west of the two Boer States were hemming in the doomed trekkers on all sides. The fate of the Boers became certain when gold was found in the Transvaal as early as 1884. The diggings soon proved so rich that adventurers flocked to the gold country. The slow moving pastoral republic was in dire danger of being swamped. The Boers under their irreconcilable leader, President Kruger, refused to grant even reasonable privileges to the Uitlanders, as the foreigners were called. By 1895 the latter were so out of patience that a plot was hatched to overthrow the Transvaal Government.

The encirclement of the Boer States

The trend of events was not unwelcome to British expansionists in Cape Colony. At the time Cecil Rhodes was Prime Minister of the Cape Government. ^{The Jameson} Rhodes was a remarkable man who had gone to ^{Raid, 1895} Natal for his health just before diamonds were discovered in Griqualand. At Kimberley he laid the secure foundation for a princely fortune. He was a moving spirit in the South African Company that occupied the great region now known as Rhodesia. His desire for expansion under the British flag was a wish that seemed possible of fulfillment could the Uitlanders in the Transvaal but receive assistance. It was Kruger versus Rhodes. When the tension came to a breaking point in the Transvaal, Rhodes countenanced an expedition to assist the pending revolt. His friend, Dr. Jameson, led a raid into the Transvaal just at the end of the year 1895. But it failed, and Jameson surrendered to Kruger. The position of the Boers was stronger than ever. The British felt the situation the more keenly as the German Emperor went out of his way to congratulate Kruger by telegram for "repelling without the assistance of friendly powers the armed bands which had broken into your country."

The ignominious collapse of armed intervention led to the dismissal of Rhodes from the leadership of the Cape Government and from his position in the South African Company. Kruger, naturally, became <sup>The ap-
proach of
war</sup> more irreconcilable than ever. The Uitlanders were practically disfranchised and so discriminated against that their position seemed unbearable. In 1899 they petitioned Queen Victoria through the High Commissioner of South Africa, asking for a consideration of their "well-nigh intolerable grievances." The High Commissioner, Sir Alfred Milner, demanded enfranchisement for the Uitlanders. Kruger refused unless Britain promised not again to interfere in the internal affairs of his country. Technically the British were already exceeding their rights under the agreement of 1884. The Colonial Secretary in defending before Parliament the awkward turn in affairs

repudiated any conspiracy to bring about war but justified the governmental attitude on two grounds, that Great Britain was "willing and able to protect British subjects everywhere," and that "in the interests of South Africa and in the interests of the British Empire, Great Britain must remain the paramount power in South Africa."

The South African War, "that bad attack of scarlet fever,"¹ proved much more difficult than the British anticipated. The Boers were at first uniformly successful, even advancing into British territory. On the arrival of greater forces in 1900, and with the presence of Lord Roberts and of Kitchener, the tide turned. By the fall of the year British troops occupied the Boer capitals and annexed the two republics. The work was not yet done, however, for the Boers stubbornly persisted in waging a tantalizing guerrilla warfare. Kitchener found it necessary to round up the population in concentration camps, so as to deprive the Boer commanders of the help that came from every farmhouse. His methods were denounced at home as "barbaric" by those whose imaginations had not become imperialized. In 1902 the Boers at last gave in, after a struggle that cost Britain £200,000,000 of money and the lives of twenty-five thousand British troops. The reward was the addition to the Empire of territories larger than England, Scotland, and Ireland combined. The terms were not ungenerous. No indemnity was demanded; instead the British Government allotted £3,000,000 for reconstruction purposes in the war-scarred areas. The Dutch language was permitted, and the States were promised an early grant of self-government.

Before Kitchener completed his work of subjugation, Queen Victoria passed away (January, 1901). Her reign was an epoch replete with amazing changes, scientific, industrial, intellectual, and political. Of some of the forces that went to make up modern Britain she was somewhat unappreciative. But of the addition of a million square miles of territory to her

Death of
Queen Vic-
toria, 1901

¹ The phrase is Galsworthy's.

Empire in fifteen years she was not insensible. From the days when Victoria received the title of Empress of India until her death no one typified more aptly that glorified sense of property under stress of competition that goes by the name of the New Imperialism. The words of the Colonial Secretary, uttered shortly after her death and on the conclusion of the South African conflict, summarized for his day the significance of British imperialism: "The day of small kingdoms with their petty jealousies has passed. The future is with great empires, and there is no greater empire than the British Empire."¹

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CHAPTER XLII

THE BRITISH NATIONS

THE new tropical empire gleaned during the last decades of the century was not the only cause for British imperial satisfaction. When Lord Salisbury enjoined the British public to "use large maps," he had in mind also the expansion of the great colonies where British emigrants composed the backbone of the population. The enthusiasm might seem pardonable inasmuch as New Zealand was the size of the British Isles, the enlarged South African unit four times as large, and Australia and Canada each about thirty times the size of the mother country. The million square miles of tropical territory that came into the Empire in the latter part of the century were not a sixth of the size of the vast lands belonging to the colonies of settlement. The Dominions must now be examined, for their growth since 1850 has contributed much to British self-satisfaction and to the strength of empire.

Importance
of the self-
governing
Dominions

The systematic colonizers, of whom Wakefield was the leading spirit, saw a vision back in the thirties of self-respecting settlements based on intelligent immigration and the privilege of responsible government. The dream came to rapid fulfillment, as we have found — in the first instance in British North America.¹ There a "wholesome rebellion" led to the investigation of Lord Durham and to his epoch-making recommendations. Shortly after the mid-century the principle in which Canada pioneered was applied to the various Australian colonies as they matured, to Newfoundland and New Zealand, to Cape Colony and Natal. The next obvious step was the federation of groups of self-governing colonies as they naturally found a strength in union.

Extension of
responsible
government

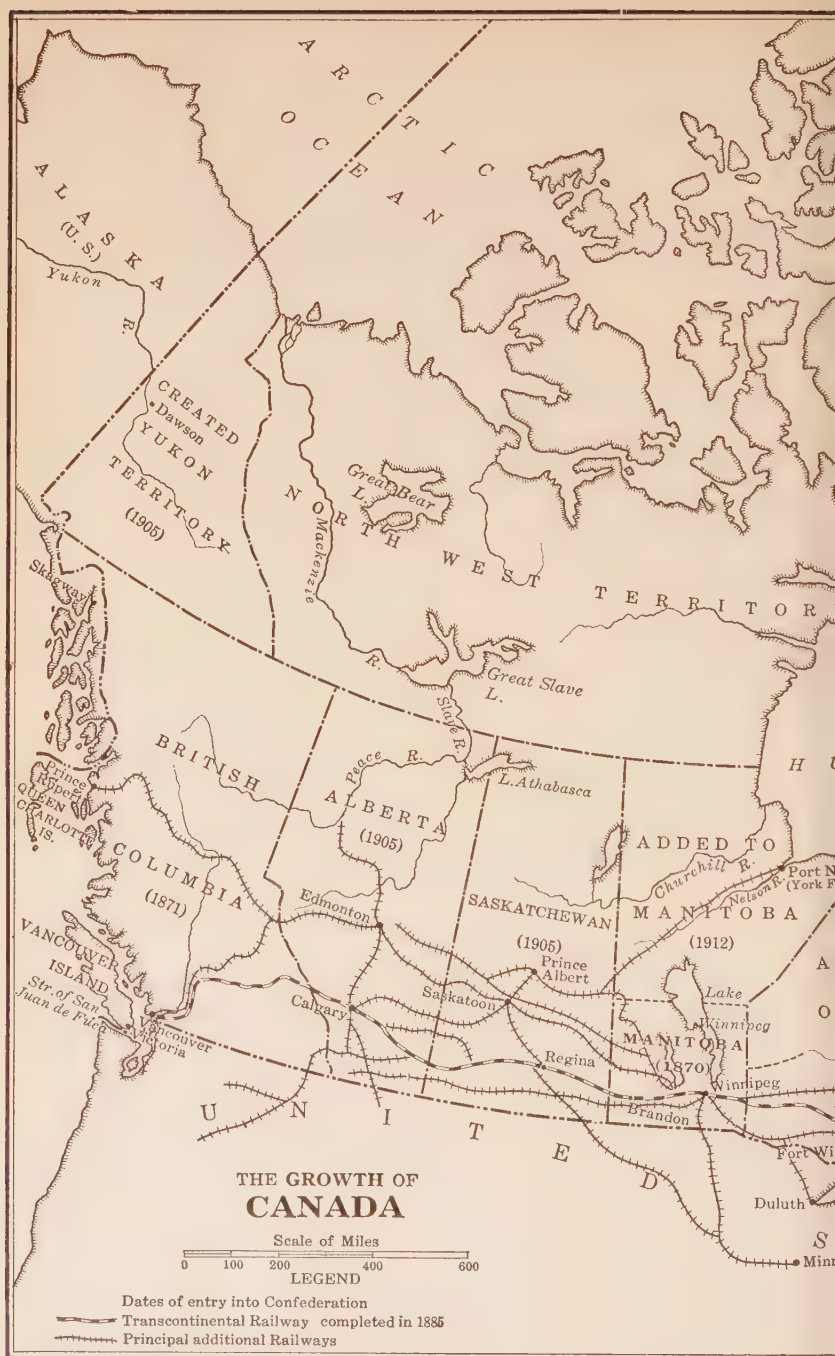
¹ See p. 807.

Canada had taken the step in 1867, and it was to be followed by other groups, as we shall soon find. In the present chapter we shall study briefly the growth of these Dominions, of their development of a nationalism and an imperialism of their own, and of the surprising position they attained while the European states were snatching at African lands, parcelling out islands in the Pacific, and contemplating a divided China.

CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND

The Dominion of Canada lives to-day under the Act that brought it into being in 1867. The frame of government is as much like the system in the British Isles as the conditions will permit. The Governor-General is His Majesty's representative in the Dominion. The two houses of Parliament, the Senate and the House of Commons, legislate for the Dominion with the Commons as the more powerful chamber. There the party system operates as in Britain, and a Cabinet of similar type is responsible to the lower house. The Senate is made up of government appointees who obstruct the dominance of the popular house even less than the House of Lords at Westminster. The provinces of the Dominions have a similar framework, save that a single-chambered assembly is the prevailing form. The Dominion of Canada proved to be "self-government writ large."

In 1867 there were four provinces, Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Prince Edward Island stayed outside until 1873. To the west there were vast and largely unpeopled stretches that the framers of the Act had in mind as possible additions to the original provinces. The hunting grounds of the Hudson's Bay Company stretched beyond Ontario far to the west. Settlement was discouraged in the region. But shortly after confederation these lands were purchased by Canada. In 1870 the Red River Valley was organized as a province under the name of Manitoba. On the west coast lay the two settlements of Vancouver Island and



British Columbia. They united in 1866, and five years later joined the Dominion to the east.

This rapid unification came somewhat more quickly than the development of transportation seemed to warrant. An important cause back of the continent-wide ^{Building of} domain was fear that the United States might ^{railways} wedge itself in between British Columbia and the eastern provinces, since it had purchased Alaska from Russia the very year of confederation. One of the immediate needs, in consequence, was the binding of the provinces together by railways. In 1876 the Intercolonial united the maritime provinces with the upper Saint Lawrence Valley. But the railway to the west coast was more slowly constructed. Financial troubles and political manipulation hindered its rapid extension. Not until 1885 did the Canadian Pacific Railway unite the far west with the capital at Ottawa. It immediately became not only the bond of union within Canada, but an important link in the chain of empire between the old world of Europe and the Far East.

By the close of the century the extensive prairies to the west of Manitoba began to receive a large inflow of immigrants. In 1905 the addition of the provinces ^{The prairie} of Saskatchewan and Alberta brought the num- ^{provinces} ber of provinces to nine.

The growth of the Dominion after 1867 was happily unpunctuated by serious external or internal strain. The two parties, the Conservative and the Liberal, have both sought the upbuilding of the Dominion along national lines. The chief figure in ^{Political} Canadian affairs at the time of confederation was Sir John A. Macdonald. After 1867 he successfully kept the leadership for the Conservatives until his death in 1891, save for a short Liberal interlude in the seventies. Macdonald's aim was the evolution of Canada into a strong "nation" within the British Empire. With this end in view he sought to strengthen Canadian interests by the grant of bounties, the raising of the tariff wall, and the encouragement of immigration. When the Liberals came into power in 1896

under their brilliant French Canadian leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the efforts of the latter party seemed but a continuance of the former policy. The Liberals even gave a strong encouragement to imperial ties by a preferential tariff in favor of the mother country.

The relations of Canada with the United States to the south have furnished the chief illustration of what might be termed foreign policy. Before confederation the boundary line between the two countries was defined by various treaties.¹ There remained considerable rancor in Canada, however, over the limits of the State of Maine. The other end of the common boundary with the United States was the subject of controversy shortly after the Dominion was organized. The course of the line south of Vancouver Island was settled in 1871 by arbitration; the German Emperor, to whom the question was referred, decided in favor of the United States. When the United States bought Russian Alaska in 1867 another line needed definite marking. Not until 1903, after the discovery of gold fields in the Yukon Territory made the question paramount, was a settlement reached. Again arbitration settled the matter, and again the Canadians were disappointed. The Americans, on the other hand, were not successful in several fishery disputes.

The fear of annexation to the United States has led to some difficulties and has colored Canadian politics to a considerable degree. Following the American Civil War there was a regrettable invasion of Canada by the Fenians. These sympathizers with the cause of Ireland seem to have hoped for some tangible result from attacking the Dominion. Fortunately, nothing of serious moment ensued save the deepening of Canadian distrust of the aims of its southern neighbor. The annexationist feeling in the United States has never been strong, though on occasion boastfully and unwisely expressed. The Dominion has also been fearful at times that an economic dependence on the republic to the south would lead

¹ See p. 789.

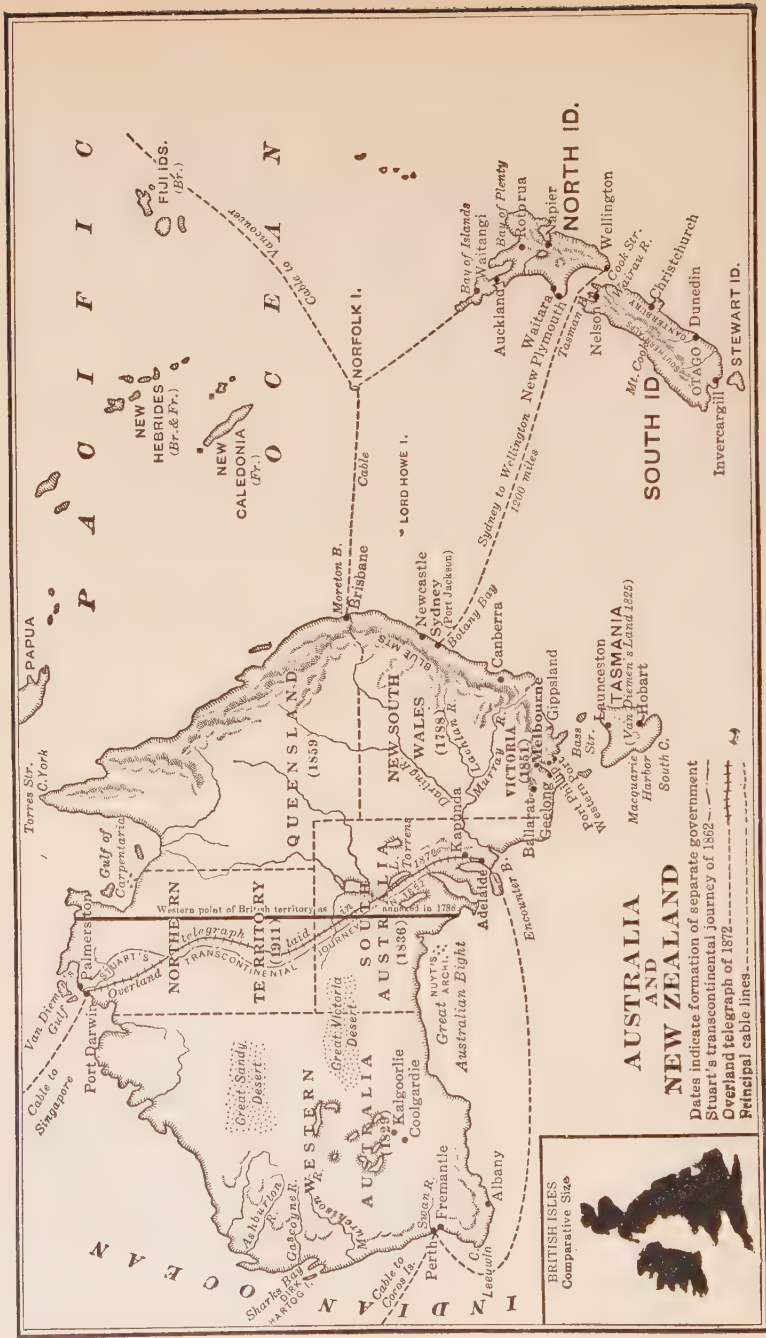
to political vassalage. Laurier's government was overthrown in 1911 by the Conservatives under Borden by an appeal to this fear. The result of the election was itself a witness of Canadian loyalty to the imperial ideal. The Dominion, with a population of over seven million at the time of the Great War, still retained the first place among the self-governing federations.

Newfoundland has never joined the near-by Dominion, even though the British North America Act left the way open. The reason is not far to seek, for no part of the British Empire is more individualistic than Newfoundland. The chief industry throughout the island's history has been fishing, so much so that a "planter" in Newfoundland parlance is a fish trader, who serves as a middleman between merchant and fisherman. Cod, lobsters, seals, and whales have brought fleets for centuries to its waters and to those of Labrador, its mainland dependency. After the grant of responsible government in 1855, the island was hampered by considerable friction over its rights in the all-important matter of the fisheries. Britain was loath to leave to Newfoundland the decision of questions growing out of international disputes over the use of the shore waters and even of the shores of the island. Not until 1904 were the ancient privileges of France on the Treaty Shore bought out, and only as late as 1910 were disputes with the United States resolved by arbitration. Henceforth the island's government had virtually absolute mastery in its own waters.

In recent years the life of the island has become somewhat diversified. Farming, lumbering, mining, and the making of paper have developed with the building of a trunk-line railway. It is probable that this senior colony of the Empire will continue to live its own life in its own way, and instead of uniting its fortunes with Canada, "our lady of the snows," will remain wedded to the sea.

Self-govern-
ment in
Newfound-
land

Individual-
ity of New-
foundland



AUSTRALASIA

Australia was a wholly British continent by the time that Canada became a Dominion. Responsible government, however, found the British settlements the merest fringe with wide stretches of coast where there was no fringe. Only in the east, southeast, and south was human life fairly abundant. The gold discoveries in New South Wales and Victoria hastened maturity. Western Australia was somewhat at a disadvantage on account of its remoteness and the lack of known resources. In the last years of the century, however, the discovery of rich gold deposits in that colony served as a remarkable stimulus. In 1890 Western Australia was granted self-government. By that time, in consequence, there were six distinct British colonies on the continent and the neighboring island of Tasmania.

Growth of
Australian
colonies

In the meantime central Australia was becoming known. Explorations, as daring as those that were opening up the interior of Africa, revealed the character of the continent. This was no slight achievement, for the great land mass is a thousand miles wide and twice as long east and west. South Australia was especially eager to join its capital of Adelaide by an overland telegraph with the north coast in order to connect with a proposed British cable. This led to the daring two-thousand-mile journey of John M. Stuart through the very heart of the continent in 1862. Ten years later a telegraph line followed the general course that he had taken. His journey was important to the colony of South Australia for another reason: the unoccupied Northern Territory was allotted to South Australia. An important link with Western Australia was the result of a venturesome journey of Edmund John Eyre — made several decades earlier than that of Stuart — by which a telegraph route became possible between Adelaide and the western side of the continent. Although the center of the great continent is a desert waste, the possibilities of development are large indeed. Railways have been as necessary as in Canada. There were not a thousand

Exploration
and trans-
portation

miles of railway on the continent as late as 1870. But during the following decades links were built by the various colonies, and now Australia has its transcontinental line.

The most noteworthy event in Australia's recent history was the unification of the Dominion in 1900. For long there was no serious need of such a step since the colonies were remote from one another. As their growth brought them into connection along interior lines federation became more necessary. It was hastened by the effect of the new imperialism in south Pacific waters. The eagerness of Germany to acquire part of New Guinea, and of France to receive its share of the islands in the southern Pacific made the Australian colonies realize the need of a common government. The first step came with the creation in 1885 of a Federal Council of very slender powers. In 1890 and 1891 several important conferences were held. During the nineties the matter was almost constantly before the colonies, though colonial jealousy and particularism seemed time and again to halt progress. By the end of the century the goal was reached. The document which the colonies had worked out themselves was accepted and passed by the Parliament at Westminster in time for the Commonwealth to begin its life on the first day of the new century.

The Australian form of government appears somewhat like that of the United States. The colonies became States; the bicameral legislature of the Commonwealth is composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives. In the former each State has equal representation. But like Canada the Australian Commonwealth has a Cabinet responsible to the popular house. By the opening of the World War, the Commonwealth had over five million inhabitants, and to its credit the federation of a continent.¹

¹ The Commonwealth, like the United States, has a federal district distinct from the States. Canberra, as it is called, is located in southern New South Wales.

The archipelago of New Zealand was at first attached to the Government of New South Wales. But a dependency twelve hundred miles from Sydney was bound soon to evolve into a separate colony. The Constitutional Act of 1852 provided the six settlements with a federal system, each province having its council. The two-chambered legislature of the central Government received the powers associated with responsible Government in 1856. As the provinces grew and thus came into closer contact, and as other settlements were made, the needs for a federal system disappeared. The provincial assemblies were abolished in 1876, and a unitary government replaced the original constitution. In 1907 the colony was renamed the Dominion of New Zealand; it had become an imperialistic state with outlying islands under its supervision.

New Zealand was distinct from both Australia and Canada in its native problem. The Maoris were a well-developed militaristic type who tenaciously clung to the tribal lands. In spite of the protection granted them by the Government, rapacious and land-hungry settlers were too eager to wrest valuable tracts from the natives for mere trifles and trinkets. In 1859 war broke out over land sales. For a decade the aborigines fought with great stubbornness. Though gradually worn out by the hopeless struggle, the Maoris were not exterminated, but remained a distinct part of the population. They were not deprived of all their lands; what is more, they were allowed representation in the House of Representatives and in the Council. If the whites — now well over a million and a quarter — greatly outnumber the aborigines, the latter seem in no danger of disappearing.

Apart from the Maori wars the history of New Zealand has been unchecked save for the ups and downs incident to expansion. Since 1890 especially the islands have been the scene of a remarkable development of social legislation. The bold experiments of the next fifteen years were piloted by two prime

Dominion
of New
Zealand

The Maori
problem

Social
legislation
in New
Zealand

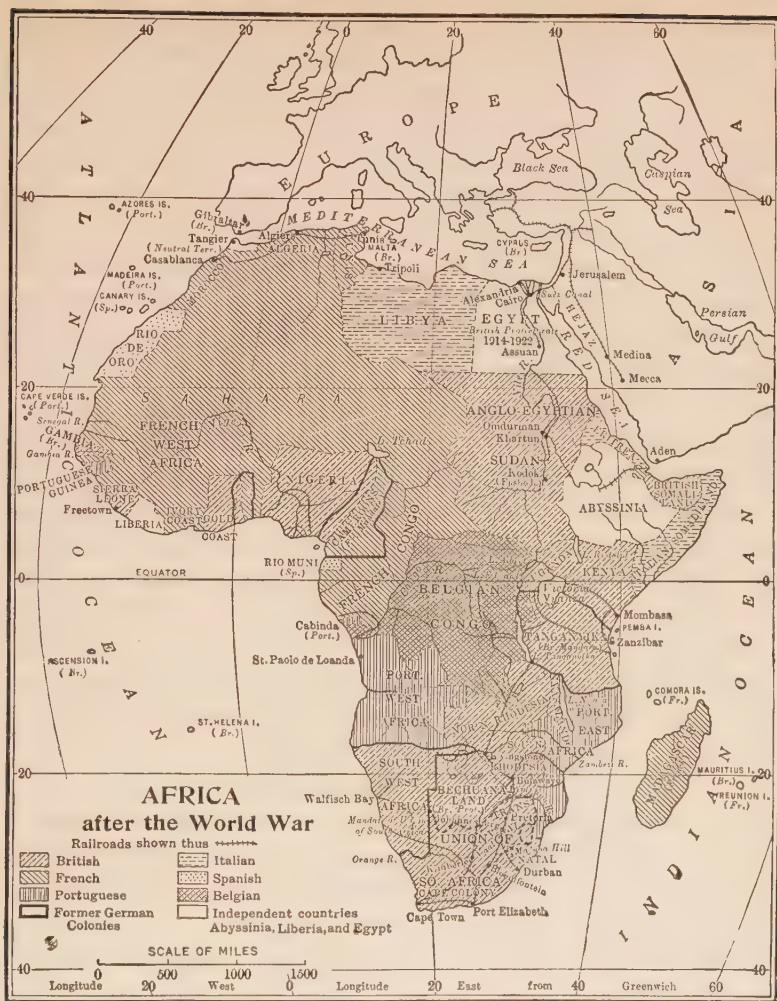
ministers, John Ballance and Richard Seddon. It is not possible here to do more than furnish examples of their multifarious activities. In 1893 suffrage was granted to women of both races. Three years later plural voting was abolished. In the nineties a graduated income tax and heavy inheritance taxes became devices for redistributing wealth. The Government also broke up large estates by compulsory purchase. Interesting labor legislation showed the governmental concern in the workingman. Conciliation boards aided in bringing employer and employee together and encouraged agreement. And the State also took over many activities that in the older countries were left in private control, such as banking, writing insurance, operating railways and mines, controlling oyster beds and sawmills.

It would be unfair to Australia not to make clear its rapid advance in social legislation at the same time that New Zealand was taking such strides. South Australian social legislation Australia adopted woman suffrage in 1894, and it had extended to all the colonies before federation. In Victoria voting by ballot was the practice as early as 1855, nearly two decades before it found its way to the motherland.¹ Compulsory land sales and arbitration of labor disputes were common practices on the Australian continent as well as in New Zealand. Both the continent and the archipelago very early adopted strict measures of exclusion for undesirable aliens. The Chinese and Japanese have been kept out very effectively in the interests of the workingmen. Indeed, the laboring class has developed a keen and effective political sense. In 1908 the Commonwealth Cabinet was chosen from the Labor Party. When we return to the study of British affairs in the pre-war years, we shall find similar changes coming in the mother country, though more haltingly.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa has already called for considerable attention. Here it is only necessary to explain how it became a

¹ See p. 818.



fifth self-governing Dominion. Cape Colony grew to maturity more slowly than the Australian settlements, not only because the British had a stubborn native problem immeasurably more baffling than that of New Zealand, but also because there was another European stock with which to reckon. Nevertheless, Cape Colony received self-government in 1872. The other English coastal colony to the east, Natal, was slower

Responsible government in Cape Colony, 1872

in receiving such privileges because of the overwhelming negro population. Home rule came in 1893.

By that time the impending struggle with the Boer States was already near at hand.¹ At its conclusion the liberal

The Boer States be-
come self-
governing

terms of peace included the promise of institu-
tions leading to self-government. The step
came much sooner than might have been ex-
pected, because a Liberal administration under Campbell-
Bannerman displaced the Conservatives shortly after the
war (1905). The Transvaal received responsible govern-
ment in 1907. This meant, of course, that the control of
the colony went into the hands of the Dutch; what is more,
General Botha, who was the first Prime Minister, had been
a distinguished Boer general in a war hardly more than
four years away. Later in the same year the Orange Free
State gained a like status, and another Boer military leader,
De Wet, became Premier. Happily, there was no effort
to revive the narrow racial policy of pre-war days.

Instead, the two British states and the two Boer govern-
ments began to consider seriously the wisdom of confedera-

The Union
of South
Africa, 1910

tion. Plans of such a sort had been in Carnar-
von's mind in the seventies, but only after the
chastening of a severe war did the way seem
clear. A convention of delegates from the four colonies
met at Durban, the capital of Natal, in 1908. As a result
of their labors, another unification of moment took place
within the Empire. The year 1910 saw the Union of South
Africa in being, with General Botha as the first Prime
Minister.

The frame of government limited the provincial assem-
blies of the four provinces in order to give to the Union a
Government of the Union strong central government. The central Parlia-
ment consists of a Senate and a House of As-
sembly with the former strictly subordinate to the House.
Both the English and Dutch languages were made official,
"and shall be treated on a footing of equality." Another in-
teresting effort at impartiality is well illustrated by the di-

¹ See pp. 854 ff.

vision of the legislative and executive parts of the government, the former to meet in Cape Town, whereas the seat of government was established at Pretoria in the Transvaal.

The union of the provinces did not settle the problems facing the British rule in South Africa. Many of the Boers remained irreconcilable. Before the World War they formed a National Boer Party distinct from the South African Party of Botha and his chief lieutenant, Smuts. The National Boer Party frankly looked forward to independence. When the World War came there was an insurrection of those who felt that the chance had come. This somewhat divided white stock — it numbered about a million and a quarter at the time of the Union — is faced by a negro population four times its size. Cape Colony has enfranchised the negro on an educational qualification, but even so conservative an arrangement was not acceptable to the other provinces. And the immigration of Indians, especially into Natal and the Transvaal, has furnished another difficulty for the Union. It was in South Africa that Gandhi first became known as an advocate for his people.¹

THE IMPERIAL FEDERATION MOVEMENT

Such was the group of self-governing federations and colonies challenging the respect of the mother country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is little wonder that a new worth was found in empire as these various Britains across the seas established governments on the model in Britain. Yet in the Dominions there were essential differences, if not dissonances; sectionalism, so to speak, grew out of local influences or peculiar conditions. In all the colonies the sense of maturity brought into relief a consciousness of nationality. They took upon themselves the matter of defense and police, British troops were gradually withdrawn from their borders, tariffs were set up to satisfy their own needs, immigration arrangements not always agreeable

¹ See below, p. 927.

to the Cabinet at Westminster were framed in accord with the wishes of the Dominion concerned. They were perceptibly emerging as nations during these years, but the fact was not easily understood, especially outside the Empire, because they persisted in remaining within when the normal act seemed to be departure.

The need for unity was found in the world situation at the close of the nineteenth century. The same feeling that led Australia to federate when imperialism was brought home to the southern continent induced the federations to feel the value of empire, and to indicate at various crises their interest in the whole. Canada and the Australasian colonies sent troops to the aid of Britain in the South African War, and an Australian force helped suppress the Boxer rebellion of 1900 in China. The new imperialism made defense for one and all more valuable than ever before as the "splendid" isolation of the British Empire at the close of the century appeared to endanger its far-flung holdings. In 1890 Sir Charles Dilke in his *Problems of Greater Britain* viewed with "anxiety the military situation of an empire so little compact, and so difficult, in consequence, to defend." But it took a Kipling to bring home to the Empire in his "Song of the Dominions" the need of unity:

"For thy house and my house no help shall we find
Save thy house and my house — kin cleaving to kind."

Quite naturally, in consequence, the imperialists of the time saw the need of closer bonds between self-governing colonies and a self-governing motherland. The obvious solution seemed the extension of federation one step further, to the joining of all the self-governing units of the Empire into one grand British federation. In 1868 the Imperial Federation League Royal Colonial Institute was created to help preserve a "permanent union between the mother country and the various parts of the British Empire." A year after the publication of Seeley's *Expansion of England* the Imperial Federation League (1884) was organized with W. E. Forster as its chairman. The ardent

protagonists of federation hoped to preserve a "permanent unity . . . for the defense of common rights." The Imperial Federation League was instrumental in the calling of a colonial conference in 1887, but the federationists failed to find a sufficient response to their dream, and the organization sank out of sight in the early nineties. Still, the suggestion of a colonial conference was to prove uncommonly fruitful.

THE BONDS OF EMPIRE

The first colonial conference was held at the time of the celebration of Victoria's Golden Jubilee as Queen. The imperial display on that occasion did much to make clear to slowly awakening minds that in the past half-century an Empire had sprung into being to replace the decrepit earlier structure, and that it was an Empire worth keeping. Though no scheme of federation resulted from the Jubilee, there were some gains. A naval defense agreement with Australia was the principal result. In 1894 a second conference was held at Ottawa for discussing primarily the proposed British cable in the Pacific. A third meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Dominions occurred in London in 1897 at the Diamond Jubilee. Much enthusiasm over Empire found expression. Joseph Chamberlain, who had become Colonial Secretary two years before, made the most of the opportunity to stress the need of imperial unity. He declared at the time that "we no longer talk of them [the Dominions] as dependencies; the sense of possession has given place to the sentiment of kinship." Commercial treaties with Belgium and Germany were denounced by Britain so as to open the way to favored colonial treatment. Laurier announced preferential consideration by his country to imperial trade. Cape Colony offered to contribute a battleship to the imperial navy. A step of great importance was the extension in the next year of penny postage to the Empire.

Early
colonial
conferences

When another conference convened in 1902, at the close of the South African War and on the occasion of King

Edward VII's coronation, the trend of events was unmistakable. Trade and defense loomed larger than ever. So important was the occasional meeting in London of Dominion premiers that it was felt that henceforth the conferences should be periodic. King Edward at his coronation received the additional title, again significant of ruler of the "Dominions beyond the seas." The Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, in 1903 further stressed the new conception and its official acceptance by speaking of the Dominions as "sister states, able to treat with us from an equal position, able to hold to us, willing to hold to us." In 1907 the meeting was no longer regarded as a colonial, but as an imperial, conference, a significant change in nomenclature. It was in 1907, also, that the British General Staff was renamed the Imperial General Staff. This was followed in 1909 by an agreement between the mother country and the three Dominions interested in the Pacific by which they worked out the basis for a common defense. In the conference of 1911, the climax of the series, the Prime Ministers of the Dominions were taken fully into the confidence of the Foreign Office, and the Dominions were assured that henceforth they would be consulted on all matters of common interest.

Yet the relation of the British States to each other after a quarter of a century of conference was anomalous and, to many, unsatisfactory. Chamberlain's fond hope that "all these great independencies of the British Empire may be able sooner or later to federate" was not palatable to the oversea "independencies." They feared that by too closely defining the bonds that united this family group of "free nations," the Dominions would suffer because of their material inferiority to Britain. Though willing to acknowledge the sovereignty of the King and to coöperate in trade and defense, they feared the effect of an imperial constitution; nor has that feeling changed in the years during and since the World War.

What were the bonds, it may be asked, that united this

group of sister States? Legally there were the Crown's representatives in the various Dominions. The Governor-General became in turn the Crown of ^{Bonds of unity} the Dominion, with the right, practically obsolete, of withholding assent to Dominion legislation. And there is the right to appeal from the highest Dominion courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.¹ But this privilege has been discouraged in the Dominions. Indeed, the legal bonds were slight and but slightly regarded by 1911.² The real ties consisted in a racial unity and a common cultural heritage. The similarity and interrelation of commercial and financial interests were much stressed by the Dominions. But in the home country there was a disinclination to accede to the oversea desire for a customs union fully worked out. The Dominions declared that where a colony's treasure is there will its heart be also.

The bonds of empire received their test in the World War. However defective the imperial machinery may have been, the unity was unbroken. The response ^{The World War as a test of unity} to the needs of Britain was met enthusiastically by the British elements, at least, in the sister States; the Dominions clearly showed that they regarded themselves as partners, if junior partners, in the imperial business. The war raised keenly the crucial question of Dominion foreign relations. If they were essentially nations, the Dominions should have the right to enter or desist from war. But a conflict like that of 1914 had to be entered suddenly in view of the prevalence of secret diplomacy. The entry of the Dominions into the World War was but an assent to a step already taken by the Government in Westminster. Yet their status definitely advanced during the world conflict. An Imperial War Cabinet met in 1917 and again in 1918, and became in Lloyd George's words "an accepted convention of the British constitution." It was equally significant to the Dominions; in the words of Can-

¹ See p. 821 n.

² The Imperial Conference of 1926 explicitly declared that the Governor-General represented the King, and that he should henceforth bear the same relation to a Dominion Cabinet that the King does to the British Cabinet.

ada's Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, the "ministers from six nations sit around the council board, all of them responsible to their respective parliaments." At the Peace Conference the Dominions had representatives as small nations, they were accorded mandates, and each accepted for itself the treaty which was arranged at Paris. The war seemed to have hastened and crystallized the momentous development. General Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, thus stated the relationships within the Empire: a "league of free states" exists, each with a "position of absolute equality, not only among the states of the Empire, but among the other nations of the world."

A SOLUTION OF THE IRISH PROBLEM

To conclude a chapter on the British nations by a study of recent Irish troubles may seem a violation of unity.

The Irish
problem

Yet it is not so unnatural as it may appear. Ireland was a troublesome issue long before Dominion status became a problem. Yet Irish questions were usually thought of in the centuries before the American Revolution as colonial questions essentially. Because the emerald isle was so close to Britain the colonial treatment of the alien Irish was often harsher in theory and severer in practice than colonial government elsewhere. It seemed almost a domestic issue. A qualified home rule was given Ireland reluctantly at the close of the American Revolution and withdrawn ungraciously during the war with the French Revolution. The later concession of emancipation to Catholics only brought out in greater relief the essential differences between the two countries.

When Gladstone assumed office in 1868, after the extension of the franchise by the second Reform Bill, he held that it was his major task to "pacify Ireland." But the righting of Irish wrong was by no means simple. The Church was disestablished in 1869. There remained the agrarian grievances. If the land problem was occasionally acute in the Dominions, it was infinitely worse in Ireland. There the Celtic stock

Gladstone's
interest in
Ireland

stubbornly held to a system of tenure that conflicted with the feudalized ideas of British land law. The break-up of large estates in Australasia was simple, because local interests did not conflict seriously with an absentee ownership. In Ireland the peasant occupiers found their lot hard; they had to make their own improvements, but had no right of ownership over them when they were made, no effective protest against rack rents, no recourse if dispossessed. The landlord, moreover, was never in danger of a tenantless estate because of the overplus of population. The Irish Land Bill of 1870 failed largely to meet the need, though it was a determined effort to prevent arbitrary evictions and to furnish compensation for improvements.

About this time a third phase of the Irish problem, the constitutional issue, became once again acute. O'Connell's repeal movement was revived by a closely knit group of Irish Home Rulers. As Gladstone's first ministry came to a close the Irish

Irish insistence on home rule

members were becoming an effective political force. During Disraeli's term of office the Home Rulers became even more effective under the shrewd leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell. They adopted such effective obstructive tactics as to create a serious situation. In 1878 Parnell organized the Irish Land League to bring about peasant ownership of land. During Gladstone's second ministry (1880-85) the League was so effective that outrage and boycotting rendered coercion necessary. Suppressing crime seemed more important than righting wrong. The arrest of Parnell and the other League leaders and the suppression of the League only made matters worse. The Chief Secretary and the Under-Secretary for Ireland were murdered in Phoenix Park, Dublin, in 1882. A new National League replaced the Land League, and agrarian legislation became subordinate to the demand for self-government or independence.

The force of events compelled Gladstone to try an even broader Irish policy during his brief third ministry in 1886. John Morley was given the chief secretaryship of Ireland

in the new Cabinet. As he had spoken earnestly in the campaign for granting a colonial type of government to Ireland, it was certain that a "colonial plan" would be presented. The result was the so-called First Home Rule Bill. Ireland was to be given self-government in view of the success of the scheme across the seas in Canada and the other Dominions. The Bill proposed to give Ireland a Parliament of its own to which the Irish executive was to be responsible, although such matters as the army, navy, and foreign relations were not to be under its control. There were to be no more Irish representatives sent to Westminster. It was thought that by taking this step an opportunity would be given to the Irish to work out their own agrarian problem.

The Home Rule Bill was defeated on the second reading, and Gladstone appealed to the country. The feeling was intense; opponents declared that home rule would mean Rome rule. A strong section of the Liberals refused to follow their adventurous leader in dissolving the Union of 1800. The splitting of the old Liberal Party led to a defeat for Gladstone's followers at the election. Inasmuch as some seventy-five Liberal Unionists henceforth coöperated with the Conservatives, Lord Salisbury's government was so securely entrenched that it remained in power for the next six years. Home rule was set aside, of course, and the dismal remedy of coercion was once more tried. The Parnellites in Parliament resumed their old tactics so effectively that a law for the arbitrary closure of debate was passed in 1887.¹

In 1892 Gladstone, an octogenarian, returned for the fourth and last time to complete his Irish program. John Morley was again the Chief Secretary for Ireland. And again a Home Rule Bill was put forward as a remedy for the evil state of the western isle. It differed from the first in allowing Irish members in the Parliament at Westminster, but this concession to Unionism did not help much. Though the Bill

First Home
Rule Bill,
1886

The split in
the Liberal
Party

The second
Home Rule
Bill, 1893

¹ During these years Parnell ended his leadership of the Home Rulers. He

was forced through the House of Commons by the use of the right of closure, it was overwhelmingly defeated in the House of Lords. The efforts of an "old man in a hurry" were frustrated by Salisbury's use of the conservative House of Lords to obstruct Liberal legislation coming from the Commons. A constitutional question seemed to be raised; Gladstone, feeling himself unequal to the issue of mending or ending the House of Lords, retired after over sixty years of active public life. To those looking back at his efforts there is at least the reward of praise for a judgment that had sensed the sort of remedy which was ultimately to be adopted.

In the ten years of Conservative government that followed the overthrow of the Liberals in 1895, the Government reverted to the policy of agrarian legislation. Much good work was done during these years, especially by the Land Acts of 1896 and 1903. Ireland was given an effective local government, and agriculture was organized on a better basis than ever before. The agrarian question seemed near solution as a result of governmental liberality both to landlord and tenant. It was commonly believed that home rule was being killed with kindness. But such was not the case. National feeling was finding more and more expression as the new century wore on. The old Irish language was revived in order to build up a Gaelic culture. In 1906 Arthur Griffith founded Sinn Féin¹ to further independence, not only cultural but political and economic.

Killing home
rule by
kindness

After the return of the Liberals to power in 1905 Irish hopes rose. They became still brighter when the power of the House of Lords was limited in 1911 by an Act that made it possible for Liberal legislation to become law even though the conservative upper-class feeling were unalterably opposed.² In the next

The third
Home Rule
Bill, 1914

was victorious in defending himself from complicity in, or sympathy with, the Phoenix Park murders. But hardly was that litigation over before he was in the courts again as a co-respondent in a divorce case. Gladstone disowned any further connection with Parnell, and Justin McCarthy took his place as leader of the Home Rulers.

¹ Irish for "we ourselves."

² See below, p. 900.



year, 1912, a third Home Rule Bill was presented; in outline it was not unlike Gladstone's second measure. The opposition was intense, and now that the bill could not be headed off by the House of Lords its opponents even made threats of resistance. Ulster, the northern section of the island, was prevailingly Protestant and at the same time was the wealthier part of the island. There the feeling was so

strong, the "Ulsteria" so bitter, that Sir Edward Carson declared the Protestants would make armed resistance to home rule if it became law. When the bill finally passed over the veto of the House of Lords in 1914, civil war seemed just around the corner. The Great War super-vened, however, to turn attention to the European continent; the measure was suspended for the time being.

The effect of the war on Ireland was what might have been expected. Republican and separatist feeling again rose to its opportunity. Attempts were made to obtain arms from Germany. A republican rising that took place on Easter Monday of 1916 was put down with great harshness. Two years later the British unwisely endeavored to extend compulsory military service to Ireland. The effort was a failure, save that it definitely turned the country into the hands of Sinn Fein.

After the close of the war Britain found a full-fledged revolt on its hands. The elections resulted in a Sinn Fein group that refused to go to Westminster, but set up instead a Dail Eireann, or Parliament of Ireland, as the legislature of an independent republic. De Valera, a professor of mathematics in Maynooth College, was chosen President. Civil war of the most demoralizing kind turned Ireland over to outrage and reprisal. The British irregulars burned creameries and the Irish republicans gutted castles. The unseemly struggle seemed especially humiliating since Britain was standing for self-determination elsewhere. An effort in 1920 to frame a home rule bill that would satisfy the two sections of the island failed. This fourth Home Rule Bill divided northern from southern Ireland and gave each its legislature with a unifying council. The twenty-six counties of the south and the six counties of the north — the more Protestant part of Ulster — were each to have half of the Council representation. Ulster did not want to go so far and southern Ireland ignored so slight a step.

At last in 1921 Lloyd George, the Prime Minister, deter-

Ireland and
the Great
War

A fourth
attempt to
grant home
rule

mined to go the whole way of Dominion status. Sinn Fein was induced to send delegates to England in the Irish order that a treaty might be drawn up. The Free State, 1921 delegation from southern Ireland, headed by Arthur Griffith, signed the treaty in December of 1921. The British Parliament and the Dail Eireann both voted in favor of the treaty, though in the Dail the arrangement was accepted by the narrow margin of sixty-four votes to fifty-seven. De Valera and the irreconcilable republicans held out for some time, even though it was evident that the settlement was agreeable to three fourths, at least, of southern Ireland.

The treaty created the Irish Free State as the newest member of the group of self-governing Dominions. Its position was explicitly declared in article one of the treaty to be the "same constitutional status in the Community of Nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa." The relationship of the Parliament at Westminster to the Irish Free State was to be the same as that to the Dominion of Canada. The oath to be taken by the members of the Free State Parliament was made "in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain, and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations." Though northern Ireland remained essentially a part of the eastern island by sending members to Westminster — under the fourth Home Rule Bill — southern Ireland became a self-governing Dominion. The solution of a problem nearly a thousand years old was at last arranged on a plan worked out in the oversea Empire.

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CHAPTER XLIII

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE

THE parliamentary reform of 1884-85 was the third attempt to democratize Britain's legislature.¹ It was so much of an advance that it can be said to have carried the country definitely out of the old régime. The record of the three succeeding decades is fraught with eager and accelerating efforts to bring the state more and more into the service of the people. By the year 1914, when the attention of the British Government and populace was suddenly turned to foreign dangers, democracy had already ushered in a liberal installment of state socialism.

CONSERVATISM IN THE SADDLE

There is, however, a fairly clear division of these years into two parts. For twenty years after the third Reform Bill the government of Britain was almost wholly in the hands of the Conservatives. Much social legislation, as we shall find, is to their credit. Yet imperialism was so attractive and engaging that it was in the limelight. Not until after the South African War did a reaction come. When the Liberal Party returned to power in 1905 they determined to democratize Britain rapidly. By that time, too, the effects of the franchise reform of 1884 were exerting a distinct influence in Parliament. The eight years before the World War were, as a result, years of larger effort and accomplishment in the socialization of Great Britain than the country had yet known.

The third Reform Bill differed from the first and second in causing no wave of domestic legislation. Such an insistent demand as existed in 1832 and 1867 was lacking in 1884. Attention was preoccupied, on the contrary, with Irish difficulties and the oversea scramble for colonies. The Irish problem, indeed,

Divisions of
the period

The Con-
servatives
in power

¹ See above, p. 833.

caused so serious a rift in the Liberal ranks that any long tenure of office by the party that passed the Reform Bill of 1884 proved impossible. Gladstone chose in 1886 to regard the Irish problem as a colonial matter.¹ The effort to grant home rule to the Irish created a strong dissenting group in his party who adhered to the belief in the union of Ireland and Great Britain; they were called Liberal Unionists. This party split enabled the Conservatives to assume the government in 1886 and to hold it for the next six years. During this time the Liberal Unionists coöperated with the Conservatives much in the same way that the Free Trade Conservatives under Sir Robert Peel assisted Russell's Liberal administration from 1846 to 1852.

The election of 1892 brought back Gladstone as Prime Minister for the fourth and last time. There seemed the prospect that the Liberals might retain office inasmuch as the party was becoming more amenable to imperialism under the fervent urgings of Lord Rosebery. But the Irish issue again intervened. The failure of a second effort to pass a measure for home rule sent Gladstone into well-earned retirement and Rosebery to the prime ministry. But little could be done. Salisbury returned for his third and last ministry in 1895 with an assured majority. Moreover, the Liberal Unionists were so incensed at the second effort to give Ireland home rule that they fused in 1895 with the Conservatives to form what was known as the Unionist Party. The former Liberal, Chamberlain, became Secretary for the Colonies and a most important person in the Government.

For the next ten years imperialism was in the saddle. The Sudan was reconquered, the Boxer rebellion was suppressed, the Boer States were annexed. Numerous "little wars" for securing empire were also fought. The issue raised by the South African War, however, gave the "little Englanders" a moral ground upon which to base their opposition to the spirit that had reigned since 1886. Chamberlain also dangerously rocked

Gladstone's
last minis-
try, 1892-94

Chamberlain
and protec-
tion

¹ See p. 878.

the boat by his eagerness for colonial preference and an imperial tariff. A shilling duty on imported wheat was revived in 1902; though not in itself alarming, it horrified the "free fooders." Even within the Unionist camp there was serious danger of disunion over the question. Balfour, who succeeded Salisbury on the latter's retirement in 1902, used all his dexterity to avoid taking a party stand on the subject. But Chamberlain resigned from the Cabinet in order to carry the matter to the public platform. He regarded tariff reform as absolutely essential to maintain the Empire and to bring about a close intercourse between the colonies and the motherland. His firm belief that it would not raise prices, not tax food, not create unemployment, was put before the country in a general election early in 1906. The result was unmistakable. The Liberals returned more than twice as many members as the Conservatives, and they were aided by the growing influence of progressive opinion among the lower classes. There were a large number of Laborites in the new Parliament.

SOCIAL AND PHILANTHROPIC INTEREST

It would be unfair to assume that the earlier years of the pre-war period, which have just been briefly reviewed, were devoid of social legislation or social interest. For one thing, local government was thoroughly reorganized. The Poor Law of 1834 and the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 began to clear away the accumulated débris of ancient privilege. In 1871 the important department known as the Local Government Board had combined the care of public health and the work of the former poor law commissioners with various other domestic functions. It greatly aided in organizing the local government of the country symmetrically. Not until 1888, however, was the democratic principle of the Municipal Reform Act applied to the counties. The Local Government Act of that year created counties for administration that were not always the same as the old shires. At the head of each was a County Council, popularly elected, and connected

Improve-
ment in local
administra-
tion

with it were various officials for effective local supervision and direction. At the same time it created the London County Council with even greater powers than the others; under it were grouped practically all the many administrative functions formerly scattered, although the ancient City corporation was left distinct.¹ In 1894 a further step was taken in the Parish Councils Act; that made a subdivision within the counties and extended the elective idea to the administrative bodies of the villages and rural districts. These and other measures not only brought order into local government but swept away many confusing authorities and jurisdictions.

The betterment of working-class conditions in both town and country received some attention as well. Factory acts of importance became law in 1891 and 1895. Sweatshop conditions were made less possible by Housing
and sanitation more careful inspection, and working hours were limited in 1895 to thirty a week for children and sixty for young persons and women. In 1884 a Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes brought renewed interest to this much needed reform. Acts in 1885 and 1890 made possible the purchase by local authorities of insanitary districts and the erection of decent habitations. They were harbingers of a more hopeful day. In 1892 an effort was made to help the agricultural class by aiding the agricultural rates from the exchequer and by the purchase of land by county councils and its resale to the actual cultivators of the soil.

In the latter part of the century more and more attention was given to the protection of workmen in factories. Limitations of hours and provisions for inspection Protection
of factory
workers were found to be insufficient. It was too easy for the owners to evade regulations or carelessly comply with the mere letter of the law. Injuries from poorly guarded machinery caused a large mortality. The lower classes became not only "hands" tending machines but often the victims of the power they were employed to serve.

¹ See p. 283.

Gradually it was felt that the best way to protect the worker was to make the factory owners responsible for accidents to their workmen. An Employer's Liability Act in 1880 established the right of workmen to compensation for accidents not the result of their own negligence. By "contracting out," that is, an agreement to the contrary between employer and worker, was allowed.¹ The Workmen's Compensation Act of 1897 strengthened even further the position of the worker; it extended to the mines, factories, railways, and docks the principle of compensation. In 1900 the principle was applied to agricultural workers. Yet by the opening of the present century many groups of laborers were not included, such as the seamen; and the evil of contracting out was still a stumbling block.² A move of importance, nevertheless, had been taken in the direction of workmen's insurance.

Some advance was made in educational conditions during this time. The great Forster Act of 1870 was epoch-making, yet it did not insure free or compulsory education, and it simply added to the existing sectarian schools by filling the gaps.³ Ten years later the compulsory principle was made mandatory on the local school boards. In 1889 a beginning of technical instruction resulted from the right of county councils to levy a rate for that purpose. In 1891 education in the board schools was at last made free. Toward the end of the century the Unionists failed to pass an education bill of large import chiefly because they wished to aid the denominational (voluntary) schools. In 1902 the matter came up again. The Education Act of that year reorganized the system by abolishing the school boards set up under the law of 1870; the schools were to be under the councils, as a part of the local activities which

¹ The Liberal Party endeavored to pass a law in 1894 which would extend the principle of compensation for injury and would prohibit contracting out. But it failed of passage.

² The lot of seamen had been somewhat improved by the Merchant Shipping Act of 1876. This measure was the result of agitation by Samuel Plimsoll. The Act established a load-line mark — the Plimsoll line — and improved the regulations for cargoes.

³ See p. 822.

naturally and wisely should be in their care. The Unionists again sought to use local rates for supporting the denominational schools. The Nonconformists were bitterly opposed to such a step, and went to great lengths in their opposition, even to the point of threatening not to pay rates which were to be used partly for sectarian education. The measure passed, finally, but only by the use of closure. The Liberals were much strengthened by the widespread opposition to the Act of 1902.

The real need for better living conditions led to much else than the piecemeal legislation cited in the preceding paragraphs. Far more than a mere Christian charity was in the mind of William Booth when he founded the Salvation Army in 1878. His work in the London East End bore much fruit, and the "army" gradually extended its valuable principles to all parts of the world. In 1890 Booth brought home to the public the needs of the unfortunate classes by his book *In Darkest England and the Way Out*.¹ The work of the Salvation Army did much to make evident to the comfortable classes the plight of those who were submerged. In the mid-eighties Arnold Toynbee ended a short life of social service in the East End of London. Two years after his death the well-known Toynbee Hall emphasized his place in modern social settlement work. Another significant project was the work of Dr. Barnardo. Destitute children, in particular, appealed to his philanthropic spirit, and numerous "homes" were founded by this "foster-father of nobody's children." These illustrations of the humanitarianism of the time indicate another conception than that of paternalistic legislation as a means of alleviating the lot of the lower classes. They also did much to destroy the complacency with which in the earlier decades the need of the poor had been viewed. Possibly it was not part of the divine plan to have the poor "always with us," to permit a large amount of want in order to serve the more fortunate members of society.

Philan-
thropic
efforts

¹ It was in the same year that Stanley published *In Darkest Africa*.

SOCIALISM, THE TRADE UNIONS, AND THE
LABOR PARTY

And the years we are reviewing witnessed also a remarkable growth of self-consciousness among the enfranchised laborers. Their salvation seemed to lie not only in the legislation of the older parties and in philanthropy but in the combined effort of the workers themselves to obtain what they felt their due. Something like a Chartist revival occurred, but on a broader and sounder base. Various types of socialism found expression during these years in England as well as in the neighboring continental countries. The Marxian idea of a sharp clash between capitalism and the proletariat obtained a comparatively small following even though Marx had evolved his ideas on British soil.¹ Early in the eighties H. M. Hyndman founded the Social Democratic Federation on Marxian lines. The poet and artist, William Morris, was an important member of the Federation. They even ran candidates in the election of 1885, but without result. About the same time Henry George's single-tax theory was winning many converts. His book, *Progress and Poverty*, urged so alluringly the nationalization of the land that a society to attain that end was founded in the same decade. Even more important was his influence on thinking in general. On a visit to Britain in 1884 — he was welcomed by John Ruskin among others — Henry George greatly added to the influence of his ideas. His effectiveness is reminiscent of the work of Cobbett early in the century.

A much more acceptable type of socialism than that of Marx was Fabianism or state socialism. The name for the society — it was founded in the early eighties — indicates its fundamental difference from Marxian ideas. There was to be no revolutionary demand for a sudden change; instead, the tactics of delay ably followed

¹ Karl Marx was born and educated in Germany. After several changes of abode — at the request of authorities who distrusted his radicalism — he at last settled in London in 1849. His most ambitious work, *Das Kapital*, was drawn up out of English data in the library of the British Museum. He died in London in 1883.

by the ancient Roman general, Fabius, were to be used. The nation was to be educated in socialist doctrines so that in good time society would be reorganized by the policy of peaceful penetration. The Fabians did not attempt to force an early acceptance of the idea of government ownership and of the nationalization of industry. The original impulse for the movement was given by an American, Thomas Davison, whose teaching in London of a "Fellowship of the New Life" led to the founding of the Society in 1883. It was carried forward very effectively by such investigators and social thinkers as Sidney and Beatrice Webb. George Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, and others advocated the equality of opportunity and the fairer reward of labor that would come from a reformed society. The very active and persistent work of the organization has been widely effective in accustoming men outside the Fabian ranks to think of society as a living organism. Its indirect influence on legislation may be compared to the work of the Philosophical Radicals of an earlier day.¹

The trade unions came but slowly to see the need of collective political action. Their long struggle for recognition has been noted. Not until the time of Disraeli was their status so far recognized that peaceful picketing became lawful. Yet even before the right of collective bargaining was permitted by the State the more important unions, such as the engineers, the carpenters, the iron founders, and the bricklayers, had been meeting in Trade Union Congresses. Their work, as they long conceived it, was largely within the unions. The education of their members, the extension of coöperation, and similar activities took much of their attention. But after the bad seventies the unions grew more militant, or at least a militant element found expression within their ranks. Their number increased also by the organization of industries that had not been able before to bargain collectively for their rights. An important leader in the effort to overcome the timidity of the older trade unionism was John

Growing
aggressive-
ness in the
trade unions

¹ See p. 761.

Burns. The strike of the London dockmen in 1889 was conspicuously successful largely because of Burns's leadership. The victory of such casual laborers as the dockmen encouraged the extension of trade unionism at the same time that such socialists as Burns, who was returned to Parliament in 1892, aided in transferring the work of the unions to the sphere of political action.

The new spirit infused into trade unionism in the eighties soon created a political organization for Laborite activities.

The Inde-
pendent
Labor
Party

The Independent Labor Party was founded at Bradford in 1893 "with the object of securing the collective ownership of all the means of production, distribution, and exchange by means of direct Labor representation in Parliament." The soul of this movement was Keir Hardie, elected its first President. He had, moreover, won a parliamentary seat in 1892, and had shocked opinion when he was escorted to Westminster by a brass band and when he took his seat wearing an unconventional tweed cap. The I.L.P. was not large nor conspicuously successful. Hardie even lost his seat in 1895, but he was back again in 1900.

By that time the trade unions in general saw the value of political action even though they were unwilling to accept the socialism of the I.L.P. The Trade Union Congress¹ through its Parliamentary Committee was considering during the nineties schemes for Labor representation. In 1899 the Parliamentary Committee called a conference of the various Socialist and Labor bodies — including the I.L.P. and the Fabians — who were desirous of political influence. In the next year a Labor Representation Committee began its activities for a distinct labor group who would be prepared to promote the direct interest of the worker.

The need seemed all the more evident after a dismaying verdict of the law courts in 1901. The Taff Vale decision

¹ The membership of the Trade Union Congress grew from 118,000 in 1868 to a million and a quarter by 1900. By the end of the World War it had quadrupled.

came as the climax to a series of measures that seemed to be modifying profoundly the status of the unions. A strike on the Taff Vale Railway in 1900 appeared serious because the navy largely depended on this Welsh line for its supply of coal. Though the tie-up did not last long and was settled in favor of the men, the railway directors determined to sue the union for unlawful picketing. The employers won the case against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. This came as a shock to labor, as the immunity of union funds for damages had been accepted since Gladstone's day.

Rise of a
strong
Labor
Party

The decision only spurred on the work of Labor leaders in order that through Parliament they might mend a situation that paralyzed the unions. In the general election of 1906 the Labor Party, as it henceforth was called, returned twenty-nine members to Parliament.¹ A new day was at hand, and it spelled trouble for conservatism.

Importance
of the elec-
tion of 1906

THE PROGRAM OF THE LIBERALS

Yet the immediate importance of the election of 1906 was not so much the large increase of Labor members as the decisive swing from the Conservatives to the Liberals. Two decades of Conservative power were ended, as imperialism and the tariff receded into the background to give place to an enthusiasm for reform.² The Liberal membership in the House of Commons after the election was nearly four hundred; the Conservatives could muster but one hundred and fifty-seven members. Such a reversal has seldom been seen in British politics. It was almost as if another reform bill had suddenly enfranchised a new class. The Liberals took the mandate to mean a thorough domestic reform such as followed the franchise measures of 1832 and

¹ In addition to the twenty-nine Laborites directly connected with the Labor Representation Committee, there were twenty-four representatives of labor who were among the Liberals returned to Parliament.

² The election of 1906 was a rebuke to Chamberlain for his plans of tariff reform, and an adverse judgment of the Conservative imperialistic emphasis, especially as it found expression in the Boer War. See pp. 854, 886.

1867. The Liberals, moreover, were unencumbered for the time being by the Irish question; it had been tacitly dropped. Campbell-Bannerman was at the head of the Cabinet which included Asquith at the Exchequer, Sir Edward Grey at the Foreign Office, Lloyd George at the Board of Trade, and John Morley as Secretary of State for India. The Laborite, John Burns, was President of the Local Government Board. When Campbell-Bannerman retired in 1908 on account of ill health, Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and Lloyd George went to the Exchequer.

One of the new Government's first important acts was to restore to the unions the powers endangered by the Taff Vale decision. They were henceforth free from liability for damages in strikes. Later, in 1912, the unions were allowed to use their funds for political purposes, this act being a nullification of another hampering court judgment. The Labor Party benefited greatly by an act of 1911 for the payment of parliamentary representatives. An old demand of the Chartists was at last realized. Other measures which directly benefited labor included the provision in 1908 of the eight-hour day for miners. In the next year there were two useful acts designed to help the laboring class. A Trade Boards Bill set up boards to settle the legal minimum wage in certain industries where "sweating" was notorious, such as in the clothing, paper-box, and lace-making trades. A Labor Exchanges Bill divided England into ten parts, each with its government offices. A central clearing house in London made possible the transfer of persons out of work to a part of the country where there was employment. The Labor Exchanges were largely used in the years following their creation.

A law of great importance was the provision for old age pensions. A bill of 1908 provided pensions for every person over seventy who had been a citizen of the country for twenty years and whose income was less than £31 10s. The pension was to be as high as five shillings a week, depending on the income of the pen-

Liberal
measures for
laboring
classes

Pensions
and insur-
ance

sioner. It was expensive to the State, for by the opening of the World War over a million persons were receiving assistance under the law. The Old Age Pensions Act succeeded, nevertheless, in cutting down appreciably not only the number of paupers over seventy, but pauperism in general. An equally novel measure was a national scheme of insurance, put on the books in 1911. It provided payments out of funds accumulated from the contributions of employers, employees, and the state, which were to be used in cases of sickness, of disability, and for medical treatment. Maternity benefits as well came under the provisions of this law. Another safeguard for the worker, unemployment insurance, was tried out with some of the more precarious trades. We have already found the beginnings of workmen's compensation. In 1906 it was greatly extended so as to include practically all industries.¹

The strongly social trend of Liberal legislation is to be found also in a number of Acts connected with education. In 1906 a measure directed that meals be given to children who came underfed to the elementary schools. And in the next year free medical inspection and treatment of school children became the law of the land. A Children's Act of 1908 sought to safeguard future citizens in various ways, forbidding, for example, the sale of tobacco or liquor to children.

Legislation
for child
welfare

The Town Planning Act of 1909 was a belated measure for correcting the conditions of industrial centers. Previous housing acts had worked in the same direction, but the measure of 1909 was so comprehensive as to mark a new departure. Local authorities could buy and develop land usable for building purposes, limit the number and character of the buildings, and otherwise control the growth of towns in the interest of the public. The Act "marks the definite abandonment of *laissez faire* in this domain, and the acceptance of the principle of public rights and responsibility."² Garden cities became more possible

Town
planning

¹ Domestic servants, even, were included.

² Perris, *Industrial History of Modern England*, p. 502.

henceforth. An attempt to help the agricultural situation took shape in the Small Holdings Act of 1907. Two years later a Road Board set about the expensive task of improving communications, and a Development Commission busied itself henceforth with all sort of needs in connection with agriculture, forestry, tobacco culture, cattle-breeding, and sundry other interests.

THE LORDS AND THE BUDGET

Such a bare list is imposing enough. But it is by no means all that the Liberals would have done could they have had their way unhindered. The great obstacle to legislation that seemed too partisan or "socialistic" was the House of Lords. Since the election was decisive it might well be assumed that the overwhelmingly Conservative majority in the hereditary chamber would accept the work of the elected house. But they, on the contrary, took a surprisingly independent stand, insisting that the referendum of 1906 could not be interpreted to warrant "revolutionary" measures. An education bill was introduced to modify the sectarian character of the Act of 1902; according to it, denominational schools would not be supported by the rates, nor would teachers have to submit to religious tests. It was finally withdrawn after a severe handling by the Lords. A Plural Voting Bill, which would have allowed but one vote to every man, was flatly rejected in the upper chamber, because it would work manifestly to the benefit of the Liberal Party. The old demand of Salisbury in 1884 for a redistribution scheme was also raised against the measure.¹ In 1908 a courageous licensing project for reducing the number of licensed houses was faced with the opposition not only of the brewery interests but of numerous investors; it was thrown out by the Lords.

Such daring had seldom been seen. In 1909 the climax to the controversy came over finance. Mr. Asquith, while yet at the Exchequer, revealed the Liberal determination

¹ See p. 833.

to make the rich pay well to the state that the state might serve the less fortunate classes more ably. The income tax was no longer regarded as a device for times of stress but as a regular impost.

Lloyd
George's
budget of
1909

The taxation of inheritances, commonly called death duties, had been introduced by Rosebery in the last previous Liberal period; on their return to power in 1906 the Liberals greatly increased the death-duties. But it was Asquith's successor as Chancellor of the Exchequer who raised the greatest storm. The budget introduced by Lloyd George in 1909 created a veritable tempest. It became the principal business of the year because the Chancellor undertook to provide for the rapidly rising expenses of the Government by new methods of taxation. The taxation of incomes was sharply graduated so that incomes above £5000 paid a super-tax; and the demands on incomes that were unearned was higher than on those that were earned, a distinction already made by Asquith in 1907. Taxes were placed on both motor cars and gasoline (petrol). Those for liquor and tobacco were enlarged, and those on liquor licenses and inheritances were sharply increased. The most novel of all were some new land taxes. A tax of twenty per cent was levied on the unearned increment, that is, on the increase of land values resulting from conditions outside the control of the proprietors; another tax was put on undeveloped land; and a third obtained revenue by taxing mineral royalties. Agricultural land and small holdings were exempted.

The Liberals found the justification for this "people's budget" in the greatly increased expense of a government serving the people as never before. The old-age pensions were costing more than was at first estimated. And there was the additional need for large naval expenditure. Germany's ambitious shipbuilding program made the British very nervous lest they lose the mastery of the sea. Early in the Liberal ministry the Government declared for a two-power standard, that is, a fleet equal to at least any two possible opponents combined. In

Reasons for
the budget

1908 the famous Dreadnought rendered the situation even more serious. It was so superior that the older battle-ships, henceforth known as "pre-dreadnoughts," seemed to count for little in the reckoning of sea-power.¹ If, therefore, Germany built ships of the Dreadnought type as fast as Great Britain, the two-power standard could not be maintained. The unseemly competition was at its height in 1909. The Government laid down four dreadnoughts and looked to the addition of four more if the national safety seemed to require them. The popular cry of "We want eight, and we won't wait," was reflected in the increased demands of the 1909 budget.

The Conservatives saw Lloyd George's budget in a different light. The extreme proposals seemed to the propertied and wealthy members of society as nothing less than a war of class against class. The Lords argued that such a scheme was not purely financial, and could be rejected, for it was a "bundle of legislation tied round with the budget string."² Financial bills were regarded as immune from interference in the House of Lords, but on this occasion they faced the matter squarely and rejected the finance bill. The act was unprecedented in modern times; indeed, it was a challenge to one of the most cherished powers of the House of Commons. The gauntlet was promptly picked up by the Government. The House of Commons passed a resolution declaring that the rejection of the budget by the Lords was a "breach of the constitution and a usurpation of the privileges of the House of Commons." They then went to the country in a general election on two issues, the budget and the claim of the Lords to reject it. The result was not in doubt, for the Liberals returned to power, though their majority was somewhat reduced. In addition they could count, obviously, on the coöperation of Labor and of the Irish Nationalists.

¹ The Dreadnought was speedy for a battleship, was protected by as much as eleven inches of armor at the more vulnerable points, and was equipped with heavy-caliber guns that could pierce an enemy's armor at nine thousand yards.

² Gretton, *Modern History of the English People*, II, p. 331.

THE CURBING OF THE LORDS

The year 1910 was of crucial significance. After the Finance Bill became law, the Government proceeded to the constitutional question of the power of the House of Lords. When Edward VII opened Parliament in person, the King's Speech indicated that the relations between the two houses would soon be taken up "so as to secure the undivided authority of the House of Commons in finance and its predominance in legislation." At last the issue which had so aroused Gladstone was to be deferred no longer. Resolutions were passed by the Commons early in the year affirming the necessity of curbing the veto power of the other house. In the meantime, the Lords were naturally concerned over a situation created by their temerity. They also passed resolutions, but while recognizing the need for a reformed House of Lords, they also affirmed the value of a strong and efficient second chamber as a necessary feature of the British constitution. The death of King Edward in May and the accession of George V moved the warring parties to attempt a solution by consent. Numerous conferences were held in the summer and fall, but to no effect. A dissolution in November was followed by a second general election in the year 1910. The people again returned the Liberals to power without any essential change in the relation of the parties.

A second election (1910) over question of the House of Lords

As a result, the Parliament Bill was introduced early in 1911. It declared explicitly that a money bill, certified as such by the Speaker of the House of Commons, would become law within one month after it was sent to the Lords, whether or not it was accepted by the second chamber. It went further in providing that any other public bill which passed the Commons in three successive sessions unchanged should become law despite its rejection by the House of Lords. Two years must elapse between the second reading of the bill in the first session and its final passage in the third session. The Bill also reduced the life of the House of Commons from seven

Parliamentary Act of 1911

to five years. No provision was made for a reconstruction of the House of Lords, although the preamble stated that further legislation would follow for remaking the second chamber from an hereditary to a popular house. Over a thousand amendments to the bill were proposed in the Commons, but the Government stood firm. And the Lords on receiving the momentous measure reluctantly accepted it. Had they not, it would have been necessary to create over four hundred Liberal Lords to swamp the Conservative majority in the upper house. If that had been done, a revolution of even greater severity might have followed.

Instead of further legislation on the composition and powers of the House of Lords, the Liberals resumed their handling of other highly controversial matters. The Irish Home Rule Bill The National Insurance Act, already noticed, became law in 1911 after rough handling in both houses. An Irish Home Rule Bill (the third) was the cause of exceedingly bitter controversy. Ulster more than remonstrated, as we have found; ¹ it threatened armed resistance to a bill that in due course was bound to become law now that the claws of the upper house had been trimmed.

Welsh dis- Another highly disturbing measure was a bill for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales. If the position of the Established Church in Wales was not so absurd as it had been in Ireland before 1869, yet the ground for disestablishment seemed clear enough. The great majority of the Welsh were not Anglicans, and they had long sought the separation of Church and State. Both of these bills were promptly vetoed by the House of Lords. Both were presented again unchanged in 1913, and again rejected by the Lords. And both became law in 1914 on their third passage by the House of Commons. But their final enactment found the Empire at war, and both measures were suspended. At the conclusion of the war Welsh disestablishment went into operation, but the Third Home Rule Bill was found to have been outdated by the changing temper of the time.

¹ See p. 880.

A FOURTH REFORM BILL

The Liberals also determined to take advantage of their power to democratize the franchise. A bill to that effect was introduced in the latter part of 1912. A simple residential qualification provided for the enfranchisement of practically all adult males at the same time that the plural vote was completely abolished. As in 1884 and in 1906, the Conservatives countered with a demand for a redistribution bill. The party in power replied that such a measure could be planned more wisely after it was known how the two million new electors were distributed. The Franchise Bill of 1912 had been twice passed by the Commons and twice rejected by the Lords when the World War turned attention to other things.

In the meantime, many women were demanding with more and more insistence that they have the vote along with the men. The woman's movement was not young. John Stuart Mill had sought their enfranchisement when the second Reform Bill was passed. Gladstone was besieged in 1884 with demands that the third Reform Bill include votes for women. During the latter part of the century numerous measures were presented to this end, but without avail. Yet women were taking so prominent a place in the life of the nation by the opening of the new century that the refusal of the vote seemed more and more unfair. Many were earning their own livelihood and taking an important part in industry. They shared in the work of the civil service and in administrative affairs. The increasing demands of the women were conspicuously expressed after 1903 through the militant Women's Social and Political Union, in which Mrs. Pankhurst was the leading figure.

After the Liberals came into office there seemed some chance of success. In 1907 the Union forced the issue on Parliament and the public by spectacular methods. There were processions to the House of Commons. Women when arrested for disturbing the peace insisted on being sent to prison. In 1908 they

Franchise
Bill of 1912

Early inter-
est in
women's
suffrage

Militant
"suffra-
gettes"

became more militant, trying to force their way into Cabinet meetings, breaking windows in the houses of ministers, slashing pictures in the art galleries, cutting telegraph wires, and making themselves general nuisances. Clever women speakers heckled at public meetings, and brought the issue before the voters at every by-election. But the Conservative instinct of Mr. Asquith would not accept the innovation of woman suffrage, despite or rather because of the militancy of the "suffragettes."

The World War finally gave a new evidence of woman's importance in society. As men were taken from their accustomed duties for more direct military service, women took their places. A Woman's Land Army kept agricultural activities from languishing. In banks and business offices, in factories and on trams, women largely replaced men. It was only fitting that some reward should come as they proved beyond the shadow of a doubt their right to recognition.¹

The democratic wave reached its height in 1918 with the passage of a reform bill that fittingly took its place with the great parliamentary revisions of 1832, 1867, 1884-85, and 1911. The Act of 1918 was a product of the war years. Some parts of it were ephemeral, such as the voting arrangements for soldiers and sailors and the disfranchising of conscientious objectors. But it was much more than a war-time expedient. The property qualification ceased to complicate the question; instead, but six months' residence was required for exercising the vote. The principle of "one man, one vote," was not included, since the bill was the work of a coalition Government. Plural voting was continued on a restricted basis. One might vote in his place of residence, and where he had a business, or for a university candidate of his alma mater. But in no case was a person to have more than two votes. The university representation was even extended by giving seats to the new universities. Probably the most significant provision of the act was the grant of the fran-

Women and
the World
War

The fourth
Reform Bill,
1918

¹ In 1917 they were admitted for the first time as solicitors.

chise to women. A woman was entitled to vote if the wife of an elector, or if already exercising the vote in local government. The extension was not unhampered, however, since the minimum voting age for women was thirty years and that for men was twenty-one. The reason for such discrimination seems to have been a distrust of overbalancing the electorate with the votes of women. As it was, a voting population of something over eight million was raised to twenty-one million, of whom not quite half proved to be women. A change of such magnitude, relatively or actually, had not been made by any previous reform bill.

A very important part of the reform was the redistribution of the constituencies. It established equal electoral districts, each returning one member. The arbitrary cutting up of the population into units of seventy thousand ended once and for all the distinction between county and borough members. The size of Parliament was increased from 670 to 707 members, but the grant of dominion self-government to the Irish Free State in 1921 again lowered it to 615.

The changes of the years since 1885 are nothing less than amazing. The people as a whole became the "governing class." The state made rapid strides toward social democracy under the impulse of working-class demands. Women claimed their share of the privileges from which they were so long excluded. The old régime with its familiar earmarks, its prejudice for ancient families and time-worn custom, was left in the past. Great Britain became, for better or for worse, a democracy.

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CHAPTER XLIV

THE EMPIRE AND THE WORLD WAR

THE war that began in 1914 proved to be the most stupendous conflict in the history of Europe. But it was more than a European struggle such as the wars ^{A recurrence} against Louis and Napoleon. For the first time ^{of war} in history a comparatively unimportant incident — the murder of an Austrian Archduke — soon involved nations on every continent in the Titanic duel of the alliances. Britain and its Empire were involved from the start. Although it would be out of place to relate fully the history of the contest, the part played by the British Empire cannot be overlooked. If it was a severe strain on the imperial structure, the strife served in many ways as a test of the workmanship which we have been examining in earlier chapters.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

During the century following the last great war, that against Napoleon, the general world situation changed profoundly. Several conditions had grown up ^{The railway} to account for the altered state of affairs. For ^{age} one thing, the world had shrunk in size surprisingly in one hundred years. The railway bound together the various countries as the century wore on. It also served very effectively to unify the widely scattered colonial domains on distant continents. By the end of the century its value for Canada, Australia, and India was conspicuous. Rhodes had even dreamt of a Cape-to-Cairo Railway, and the German capitalists were planning a Berlin-Byzantium-Bagdad system in order to exploit the Turkish dominions.

The advance in ocean navigation was even more important. In Napoleon's day the immemorial sailing vessel was still used for fighting and for commerce. But ^{Steam} the development of iron ships driven by the more ^{navigation} dependable steam engine made the ocean less and less of

a barrier. Instead of capricious voyages in small vessels, there were regular services speedily accomplished. For the British Empire this was of first-rate importance since Britain depended on the ways of the sea for communication with its Empire. The preëminence of the country in trade became possible. By the middle of the nineteenth century British shipping included some seven thousand vessels, of which hardly five hundred were steamships. By the opening of the World War there were over twelve thousand steamers of British registry, totaling over eleven millions of tons. In this expansion Britain was without serious rivals.

And the world grew even smaller as time went on, because a new power, electricity, was employed to annihilate space.

Services of
electricity Transportation was greatly quickened by the use of automobiles and locomotives; they were common by the end of the century. Aviation became practical and relatively safe early in the twentieth century. By 1914 it had so far developed as to play an important part in warfare, although its commercial uses were as yet unrealized. The telegraph was man's servant before the middle of the nineteenth century, the telephone by the opening of the last quarter. The first successful cable was laid across the Atlantic in the sixties. A British cable connected Canada and Australia early in the present century. By the opening of the World War the British Empire was a living unity because of the world-encircling British submarine telegraph lines. Just as the Pacific cable was crossing the greatest of oceans, the Italian Marconi, under the stimulus of British encouragement, perfected the wireless telegraph so as to transmit messages across the Atlantic. Not long after, the system was applied to ocean vessels so that they could keep in touch with the land and with other vessels while on voyage. The possibilities of the wireless telephone or "radio" were only beginning to be realized when the war came.

This shrinkage of the globe as a result of the successful application of steam and electricity was accompanied by an equally remarkable advance of science in other ways.

The application of inventions to weapons of warfare tended to remake the conditions under which the nations must fight out their irreconcilable differences. Explosives of terrible efficiency, guns of larger and larger caliber and with greater range and accuracy, appeared in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The airplane and the submarine also increased the powers of destruction. Indeed, so terrible became the prospect of strife that sincere efforts were made to codify the rules of war and to limit as far as possible the danger to non-combatants. But such efforts as the Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 were largely fruitless because science was not static nor war psychology sufficiently dependable.

Science and
weapons of
warfare

The fifty years before 1914, moreover, saw a constant piling up of armaments. The revelation of Germany's strength in 1870, and the embitterment of France by the taking of Alsace-Lorraine, created a new situation. The great European countries spent larger and larger sums on the weapons of warfare. This bred mutual jealousy and a growing and feverish competition. The determination of Germany rapidly to build prestige and power, both colonial and industrial, brought a new factor into a world which up to that time had been less well equipped for destruction. Peace after 1870 was to be maintained, it was thought, by preparing for war, an illusion that should have been dispelled in the mad orgy of 1914. The Peace Conferences, already referred to, also tried to limit armaments, but little could be done when the sovereign states, and especially Germany, were disinclined to desist from a competition which it was difficult to stop once the process was set going. Europe, despite the ardent advocacy of peace and the known futility of war, grew into a collection of armed camps.

The armed
peace

The menacing accumulation of weapons for the destruction of human life became a veritable nightmare with the increase of causes for national rivalry. Alsace-Lorraine, Sleswig-Holstein, a submerged Poland, the seething Balkan Peninsula were bad enough

The world a
powder
magazine

as possible causes of war. But the growth of the new imperialism, both economic and territorial, made the world a powder magazine. British trade expanded very rapidly between 1815 and 1914, and British capital found work to do in all parts of the world. Yet the rivalry of other nations seeking an outlet for manufactured goods was becoming keen by the opening of the twentieth century. It followed that the new imperialism, with its scramble for raw materials and markets, increased causes of friction. The world was bound so closely together that a war over the spheres of influence in China or Morocco or the Balkans could not easily remain localized. European politics had come to mean world politics.

AN END OF SPLENDID ISOLATION

None of the nations had more widely ramified interests than Great Britain. Sea-power, centuries old, had created a Greater Britain, politically and commercially. The successive general conflicts in which Britain took part only served to impress upon Britishers and the world at large that "Britannia rules the waves." Indeed, in the attainment and preservation of the mastery of the sea lay the safety of the stupendous British conglomerate of Dominions, crown colonies, protectorates, and spheres of influence. And the accumulation was so imposing that other nations were minded to imitate Britain, not only in obtaining sources of raw materials and markets but in binding them to the imperial center by every possible means. Thus, rival navies grew up in the late nineteenth century beside that of Britain. And various alliances were formed to make more sure the safety of the powers. It was the projection of European rivalries across the seas, the rise of an insatiable imperialism, that increased the tension in European affairs and hurried forward the piling up of armaments.

Germany and Austria-Hungary formed a defensive alliance, primarily against Russia, in 1879. Three years later the addition of Italy made it a Triple Alliance. In 1891,

Britain and
the freedom
of the seas

France and Russia countered the triple combination with another defensive alliance. During all this time the British state adhered to "splendid isolation," though it was growing more and more uncomfortable as potential conflicts on numerous issues seemed to endanger the Empire. The transformation of European conditions into world conditions and the value of international friendships were brought home to the British in the Boer War. The Kaiser's telegram to Kruger was indicative of German feeling. France was deeply conscious of the failure of the Fashoda expedition. Russia, with whom Britain was in unfriendly competition on the Asiatic continent, sympathized with the Boers. And the feeling in the United States was rather in favor of the Boers for trying to do what the thirteen colonies had succeeded in accomplishing a century earlier. Splendid isolation was not a glory but a danger. The revelation of the lonely position of Britain caused British foreign policy to take a new turn.

Dangers of
splendid
isolation

The first visible expression of the change came in the Far East. Russian advance in Manchuria had angered Japan, and Britain was nervous over the Russian penetration of northern China; the leasing of Wei-hai-wei was the consequence. In 1902, as a result, Britain and Japan entered into a formal alliance; they agreed to safeguard each other's interests in the Far East. If war resulted for one or the other, the ally would use its efforts to keep the conflict a duel. Should other powers join against Japan or Britain, the other member of the alliance promised to come to the assistance of its ally. This defensive arrangement, the "first under which Britain had in modern times contracted obligations of such a nature," was aimed primarily against Russia. It bore fruit in the Russo-Japanese War, since the contest remained a duel, and so weakened Russia that not long afterward the Russian Government willingly came to an understanding with Britain on colonial differences.

British
alliance with
Japan, 1902

Two years after the Anglo-Japanese alliance, Great

Britain came to terms with France. As a result of lengthy "conversations," which King Edward's pro-Entente with France French sympathies helped to bring about, various colonial difficulties were resolved. France recognized British primacy in Egypt in return for a similar recognition of French priority in Morocco. The give-and-take of friendly discussions settled controversial matters in many other parts of the world, so far removed as Newfoundland, West Africa, Siam, and Madagascar. By the "cleaning of the slate," two possible enemies became friends. In similar fashion, friction with Russia in Tibet, Afghanistan, and Persia was largely removed by agreements drawn up in 1907. These understandings with the members of the Dual Alliance created a Triple Entente early in the present century. The British state threw in its lot with France and Russia. The connection, nevertheless, was not an alliance, for Britain was not committed as it was to Japan. Yet if theoretically the Entente was not binding, it was to prove in 1914 sufficiently effective to bring Britain into the World War.

Unfortunately Germany and Britain were unable to come to a similar agreement. The surprising growth of German oversea interests led the Empire of William II to embark on an ambitious naval program just about the time of the Boer War. The Naval Acts of 1898 and 1900 launched an already strongly militaristic state on an ambitious naval scheme that soon placed the German fleet second only to that of Britain. This irritated the British because apparently Germany aimed to challenge a supremacy that appeared vital to the Empire. The preamble to the German Naval Bill of 1900 declared that Germany "must have a fleet of such strength that war with the mightiest naval power would involve risks threatening that power's supremacy." The reference could not be doubtful. When this was taken in conjunction with the Kaiser's exuberant hopes that "Germany's future lies on the ocean," that "Germany must grasp the trident," bad blood was created.

Several important incidents in the decade preceding the war tended to make the Entente a dynamic arrangement. In 1906 the Kaiser landed at Tangier and went out of his way to declare Morocco independent, though at the time France was in the process of converting it into another Algeria. In the conference called at Algeciras to relieve the tension, Britain sided with France. What is more, the affair led to definite "military conversations" between the naval and military staffs of France and Britain as to what they would do in case Germany attacked either country. The British were also aroused over the German economic penetration of Turkey, and especially by German plans for the building of a railway east and south through Asia Minor to Bagdad. The British feared the use to which the southern part of the railway might be put. Another scare was aroused in 1908 when it was learned that Germany was redoubling its efforts to build a navy. It was this knowledge and the panic it caused that led in part to the increased budget of Lloyd George in the next year.¹ The rival building program went on more rabidly than ever. In 1911 another Moroccan crisis occurred when a German warship went to Agadir as a counter to renewed French activity in Morocco. Britain took an even more decided stand than in the Tangier episode, largely out of fear that Germany would establish a naval base on the Moroccan coast. These untoward incidents indicate the trend of feeling. Germany was angered at the way its colonial aspirations were checkmated, and at the "encirclement" by which the German state appeared to be menaced. War seemed the only solution. The British Government sent Lord Haldane to Germany in 1912 on a friendly mission. But his efforts to establish a naval holiday fell on deaf ears, since a cessation of building would have left Britain far in the lead.

¹ See p. 897.

THE OUTBREAK

The seemingly inevitable war that all Europe was fearing arose over the murder of the Austrian Archduke, Franz Ferdinand, by Austrian Serbs in Bosnia on June 28, 1914. The Government at Vienna determined to make this an opportunity for reading the Slavs a lesson. The Serbs had become bitterly hostile to Austria-Hungary as a result of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908; the hope of the great South-Slav State seemed blighted. The Austro-Hungarian monarchy suspected that the Serbian state was mixed up in the murder plot. After receiving word from Germany that it would give its full support, Austria-Hungary sent Serbia an exceedingly severe and short-time ultimatum. It was so framed that Serbia would not be able to give satisfaction. Russia, thereupon, declared its interest in the issue at stake; indeed, it was quite unlikely that Russia would permit the weakening of its power in the Near East by tamely allowing Serbia to become subordinate to Austria. When, therefore, Austria-Hungary declared war against Serbia on July 28th, the Russian armies in the four southern districts were mobilized against Austria. In the meantime, Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, endeavored to avert war by the mediation of the four powers, France, Italy, Germany, and Great Britain; but Germany refused to agree to mediation.

The Russian mobilization led the Government of Germany to declare war on Russia August 1st. This meant, of course, that France would enter, and Germany declared war on France two days later. Hair-trigger military action on the part of the powers had precipitated a war before it was possible to halt the rush to arms by means of conference. Russia and France hoped and expected that Britain would join, even though there was no alliance automatically drawing Britain into the contest. The relations between Britain and the other members of the Entente had been growing more intimate. As Sir Edward Grey himself declared in his memoirs, they

Opening of
the World
War

Clashing of
the alliances

were talking even before the war "as intimately as allies." Moreover, a naval understanding between the two countries, France and Britain, had concentrated the French fleet in the Mediterranean and the British in the North Sea. The British Foreign Minister, nevertheless, earnestly desired peace, and held back from promising France and Russia that Britain would join. Yet the commitments seem to have been so far advanced that it is hard to see how the British Government could have remained outside. The difficulty for Sir Edward Grey lay in the Cabinet. They were divided, part wishing neutrality, part desiring to support the Dual Alliance.

At this juncture the question of Belgian neutrality arose. It was guaranteed, as we have found, by the powers.¹ As in the war of 1870, France and Germany were again asked if they would respect Belgian neu- British
entry into
the war trality; France promised, Germany did not. Instead, the latter state determined to attack France through Belgium. This repudiation of a treaty on the ground of "necessity" so aroused the British public that popular feeling supported the desire of the Government to enter on the side of France. On August 4 Great Britain declared war on Germany. Though the violation of Belgian neutrality served as the pretext for Britain's entry, it was not the main cause. The Entente had in the course of years become practically an alliance; the act of August 4 was the inevitable sequel of the policy of the past ten years. After half a century of peace with the great powers Britain was again at war.²

The responsibility for the World War has been variously placed. Britain's record seems fairly clear. Question of
responsibility Sir Edward Grey certainly labored unstintingly for peace. And the British were not ready for war until after

¹ See pp. 780, 837.

² On August 2d Bonar Law wrote Mr. Asquith that the leaders of the Conservative Party felt "it would be fatal to the honour and security of the United Kingdom to hesitate in supporting France and Russia." Yet the mass of the nation revolted from the very idea of war, and were only aroused to its need by the plight of Belgium. See *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, III, pp. 502-08.

the violation of Belgian neutrality. The trouble, so far as Britain is concerned, lay in the uncertainty of its position. Russia and France were not sure, even after they were involved in war, of the line of British action. They hoped the British Empire would be drawn in; Austria-Hungary and Germany, that it would stay out. It is possible that the struggle might have been averted had Sir Edward Grey been able to announce early in the crisis that Britain either would or would not allow itself to be involved. But he did not do this for the reason that he could not. The Cabinet was not a unit, and parliamentary sanction was needed. As in the Crimean War and in the Balkan crisis of 1876-77, British action was slow in taking precise form. It has been argued that British statesmen should not have undertaken the policy of the Entente. But the Entente method of securing peace had proved a real method at earlier crises. Sir Edward Grey sincerely believed that it was the way to peace in 1914. His efforts failed because the national demands and suspicions among the continental European powers were so strong that the weight of armaments became the basis for diplomatic action. This seemed to necessitate the entry of Great Britain into the war, since the Entente entailed, in the words of Lloyd George, an "obligation of honor."

The British decision to join against Germany and Austria-Hungary was largely acceptable to the British public, though there was no general wish for war. The Cabinet was divided. Lord Morley and John Burns were unwilling to accept war as the necessary alternative, although they had reached this decision by very different roads. Both retired from public life as the world traveled "under formidable omens into a new era."¹ In Parliament, the Laborite leader, Ramsay MacDonald, stood resolutely for neutrality. John Redmond, leader of the Irish Nationalists, promised that Ireland would give loyal allegiance to the cause, a promise which he was

¹ Lord Morley spent his retirement in writing the valuable *Recollections*, but studiously avoided any reference to the World War. He died in 1923.

unable to fulfill. The decision of August 4th led the Dominions to enter the conflict almost automatically. No arrangements were possible by which the "free nations" of the Empire could confer in the short space allowed by the rapid course of events in Europe. Fortunately for Great Britain the issue seemed as clear to the Dominions as to the British public. In addition, there was the conviction in the distant parts of the Empire that the mother country's danger was the danger of the whole Empire, that imperial unity was as vital for Dominion safety as for that of the United Kingdom. The frontiers of Empire were to be found, for the time being, on the battle-fields of Europe.

BRITAIN AT WAR

The Great War proved a military and naval task of such proportions that every former war paled into insignificance. Immediate assistance was given Belgium and France on the western front in the hope of staying off the German capture of Paris and of preventing the enemy from succeeding in its "race for the sea." When the armies of Von Kluck were moving rapidly on Paris a British expeditionary force assisted the French troops in attempting to stay the German advance and prevent a rapid decision in the west in favor of the Central Powers. In the battle of the Marne the German armies were halted just in time. Before the campaign of 1914 ended the Germans had established themselves behind a trench barrier extending from the Belgian coast to Switzerland. The British forces did their share in this unaccustomed type of warfare, in which the combatants "dug themselves in" after the preliminary rush for position. Trench warfare proved exceedingly trying. But the four years of fighting in northern France and Belgium found Britain and the Dominions furnishing ever larger contingents as rapidly as possible. The magnitude of the operations can hardly be realized; on the western front alone the British Empire lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners over 2,750,000 men.

Opening of
war on the
western
front

The new type of trench warfare placed a premium on materials, so that in the course of time the mobilization of man power was supplemented by the mobilization of manufacture. In this field of activity the British share was to be very important.¹

New character of the warfare

The British navy acted with characteristic promptness at the opening of hostilities. It had certain definite tasks not dissimilar to those of the Napoleonic Wars. The seas must be kept open for merchant shipping, effective communication must be maintained with the near-by Continent and other "fronts," and the German navy had to be accounted for. As a result of the understanding with France the Grand Fleet under Sir John Jellicoe was located in the North Sea area to prevent the German High Sea Fleet from emerging to do the damage of which it was capable. On a few occasions early in the war German cruisers were able to bombard British towns on the east coast. Only once during the war, however, was there a battle of the old accepted sort between the main fleets of the two enemies. Just at the end of May, 1916, an indecisive combat was fought off Jutland. Although the British losses were greater, the German High Sea Fleet retired to its base and made no further attempt to engage the British Grand Fleet. Though the Battle of Jutland is not in any way comparable to Trafalgar, it marked, as did Trafalgar, an end of great sea-battles by surface vessels.

Battle of Jutland

In the meantime the few German warships at large when the conflict began were sunk or driven to cover. This was necessary, since even a few German vessels could do very great harm to British traffic on the high seas. The Goeben and the Breslau were in the Mediterranean when the war opened; they soon took refuge at Constantinople. The light cruiser Emden was busy for a time in the Indian Ocean sinking merchant ships and even bombarding Madras, but she was sunk in November of 1914. The only German fleet at large when hostilities began was that of Admiral von Spee in the eastern Pacific.

The control of the high seas

¹ See below, p. 920.

After destroying an inferior British squadron off the coast of Chile, Von Spee's vessels entered the south Atlantic. But they were engaged and sunk before the end of 1914 by a superior British naval force under Vice-Admiral Sturdee. Before six months had passed the seas were essentially safe for Allied shipping so far as surface vessels were concerned.

The German authorities realized the situation long before the battle of Jutland in May of 1916. Indeed, early in February of the previous year they announced a war area around Great Britain in which merchant vessels would be subjected to attack by submarines. The use of the submarine in this way was a new type of warfare and one that was bitterly criticized by the Allies and by neutrals; it gave no adequate protection to merchant seamen and noncombatants. This was vividly brought out by the loss of the great liner *Lusitania*, sunk in May of 1915 off the coast of Ireland with the loss of over one thousand human lives. This sort of warfare was particularly hard to counteract, for the "U" boats worked from protected bases within a remarkably wide range. The Allies stood in definite danger of losing command of the vital sea areas, especially after Germany entered on unlimited submarine warfare in January, 1917. At that time it was announced that submarines would sink all vessels in the war zones. The threat was carried out with such effectiveness that the British lost over a million tons of shipping in the second quarter of 1917. This loss was offset somewhat by the entry of the United States into the war in April. A very important device for weakening the destructive power of the submarine was the convoy system for merchant traffic; it was introduced on a large scale in May. The submarines found it necessary thereafter to pass the destroyers before they could get at merchantmen. Germany might have won the war had it not been for the convoy strategy.¹ British losses, in consequence, declined so greatly that by the end of the war they were more than

The submarine
menace

¹ The reader will recall the use of convoys in earlier wars. See pp. 631, 703.

made up by new shipping.¹ The British command of the sea was held despite the submarine.

The British were active in the Near East. Turkey's entry into the war on the side of Germany, six weeks after it began, gave Britain the excuse for annexing Futile efforts to reach Constantinople Cyprus and declaring Egypt separate from the Turkish Empire under the protection of Great Britain. Early in 1915 the Turks failed in an attack on the Suez Canal. This led to a Franco-British attempt to force the Dardanelles in order to attack Constantinople. When it failed, the Allies next tried a combined naval and military offensive by which it was hoped to make the Gallipoli Peninsula the base for future operations. The Australian and New Zealand troops — Anzacs — took a prominent part in this very difficult feat. But once the landing was made, the Allied forces found the task of holding the narrow strip of coast well-nigh impossible. The natural conditions, the well-organized Turkish defense, the limited amount of assistance that could be given for an eastern campaign all led to the evacuation of Gallipoli toward the close of the year (1915). After a very costly effort — there were over one hundred thousand casualties — the soldiers were transferred in large part to Saloniki for the purpose of winning back the Balkans.

The entry of Turkey into the war caused a considerable diversion of resources besides those used at Gallipoli. The Conquest of Palestine Asiatic dominions of the Sultan touched a very important British line of communication at a number of points. During 1916 the desert of Sinai to the east of the Suez was taken over in order to lessen danger to this vital waterway. The British forces under General Allenby then proceeded to the capture of Palestine. The advance began in the summer of 1917; just before the end of the year General Allenby was able to present Jerusalem as a Christmas gift to the Western world. In the next year he continued northward with such success that the British

¹ During the war merchant shipping of over twelve million tons' burden was sunk. The damage was done by about four hundred submarines.

forces had captured Damascus and had occupied the junction of the Bagdad and Syrian railways before the end of the war.

The struggle for Mesopotamia was more checkered. General Townshend had reached Qut on the Tigris about the time of the Gallipoli failure, when it seemed wise to neutralize that disaster by the capture of Bagdad. He was forced back to Qut, however, and was starved into surrender in April of 1916. This failure was retrieved and British prestige reëstablished by General Maude's successful attack on Bagdad in the spring of the next year. By the time of the armistice British troops were in control of Mosul.¹

In addition to these diversified activities there were German colonies to conquer and hold until the peace brought about their permanent disposal. A New Zealand expeditionary force occupied Samoa, and the Australian Commonwealth accounted for New Guinea and the near-by islands. In West Africa British and French forces coöperated in the capture of Togoland and the Cameroons. German Southwest Africa took the attention of the neighboring Union of South Africa. Despite a rebellion among the Boers, the forces of the Union began a conquest of Southwest Africa very early in the conflict. General Botha had completed the work by July of 1915. The initial effort to seize German East Africa (Tanganyika) was a failure. The troops that ultimately succeeded in this task were largely drawn from South Africa, and were commanded by General Smuts.

The Dominions and colonies of the Empire shared also in the engagements on the soil of Europe. The Dominions proved equal to the demands of an imperial war, for their soldiers showed high qualities of courage and resourcefulness. New Zealand and Canada adopted conscription to keep up their forces, though it was found practically impossible to enforce con-

¹ General Maude, to whom the success of the Mesopotamian expedition was largely due, died of cholera at Bagdad in November, 1917.

scription in the French-Canadian province of Quebec. In South Africa there was also racial difficulty, culminating in a futile rebellion of irreconcilable Boers. The supply of men and material by the Commonwealth of Australia was somewhat hampered by the failure to pass conscription and by the objections of Labor to the military program. Yet in spite of these drawbacks the Dominions carried their share of the war burden.

THE WAR-TIME GOVERNMENT

In England, the conduct of hostilities was at first in the hands of the Liberal Party. But by May of the next year it became evident that the customary war expedient of a coalition Government was necessary, for it was found that the war was not going to be brief and easily won. Though Mr. Asquith continued to head the Cabinet after the reorganization in May, 1915, there were a number of significant changes. Lord Kitchener took the War Office, Bonar Law the Colonial Office, and a Laborite, Mr. Henderson, became Minister of Education. Lloyd George left the Exchequer to superintend the needed supply of munitions. His energy and that of Kitchener soon transformed Britain into a great training camp for soldiers and one immense munitions factory for supplying them with the implements of war. Lloyd George mobilized the industrial resources of the country very effectively. New factories were started, older ones coördinated, and all put under government control. The supply of workers for the factories caused the Minister of Munitions much trouble. There were demands for higher wages, and several irritating strikes, especially in the coal fields. Yet a year after the coalition was formed the nation was manufacturing every week as much ammunition as the Government possessed on the outbreak of the war. Kitchener's work was equally important. The constant human replacements necessary for the costly method of fighting and a scale of operations such as was never known in the past required every device to keep up the flow of recruits. Despite the enrollment of

nearly three million men under the voluntary system, the Government determined to apply conscription early in 1916. Before the war was over five million of the male population had responded to the military need of the nation.

Yet the war dragged on. Disasters were too frequent. The Cabinet seemed to have no settled policy nor the efficiency demanded in such a life-and-death struggle. Lloyd George, in particular, fretted under the dilatory tactics and cumbersome organization with which the war was being waged.

Lloyd
George,
Prime
Minister
(1916-22)

At last in December, 1916, he resigned, seemingly because Mr. Asquith was unwilling to take a subordinate position. Thereupon Lloyd George became Prime Minister of a coalition Cabinet. An interesting and effective modification was introduced in the new Government; within the ordinary Cabinet, there was a small War Cabinet. It included four men who were relieved of all administrative duties in order to give their whole time to the direction of the war; besides Lloyd George, they were Lord Curzon, Lord Milner, and Mr. Henderson. Bonar

The War
Cabinet

Law, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was also a member though in a somewhat *ex-officio* way. The meetings of the War Cabinet were numerous; they dealt with every phase of war-time activity. When a particular matter was up the appropriate cabinet minister and other experts would attend. But the War Cabinet took the responsibility for decision and for the interlocking of the varied functions of government. Such an innovation in British constitutional practice made the parliamentary system almost over into an oligarchical dictatorship. This "committee of public safety" proved, however, but a temporary, though very effective, means of utilizing all the resources of the country in the most forceful way.

The Prime Minister went even further. In 1917 he called the representatives of the Dominions to England, where they met with the dominant committee in many sessions as an Imperial War Cabinet. The Colonial Conference of pre-war days had given way

The Imperial
War Cabinet

to an intimate working relationship through an Imperial Cabinet. The Prime Minister even looked forward to the device as an "accepted convention of the British constitution." The significance of the step was not lost on the Dominions. Sir Robert Borden thus stated its meaning in 1917: "For the first time in the Empire's history there are sitting in London two Cabinets. One of them is designated as the War Cabinet, which chiefly devotes itself to such questions as primarily concern the United Kingdom. The other is designated as the Imperial War Cabinet, which has a wider purpose, jurisdiction, and personnel. To its deliberations have been summoned the representatives of all the Empire's self-governing Dominions." Such a body, nevertheless, was unfitted to work save under the stress of war, for the need of parliamentary sanction in the Dominions as well as in Britain would hinder the effectiveness of the Cabinet when it had again to become more responsible to the various parliaments. Lloyd George believed that it would meet annually, and suggested that a constitutional conference meet after the war to readjust the imperial relationships so that the Imperial Cabinet might become an accepted convention. But such was not to be. The Dominions were as unwilling after 1918 as before 1914 to bind themselves too closely by an imperial constitution. On the cessation of war, the Empire reverted to the Imperial Conference for coöperation.

Yet for some time after Lloyd George undertook to direct the Government the outlook was none too bright. The unlimited submarine campaign was a serious menace in 1917. Though the United States joined with the Allies in that year, the Russian Revolution withdrew from the Allied side hundreds of thousands of men not many months later. The nervous strain was made more tense by the continual succession of German air raids. In 1916 the Zeppelins had been used to carry fear and destruction to Britain. Yet they served as such good targets that after that year bomb-dropping airplanes instead sailed over Britain in large squadrons, often in broad

Increasing
strain of
the war

daylight. The destruction caused by German bombs was considerable, but not a serious factor unless the psychological effect of the raids be considered; they aroused a war-spirit and determination among the lower classes that was keener than ever. It became necessary in 1917 to ration the people of the country. At first, as in the supplying of men to the army, the system was voluntary. But early in 1918 it was put on a compulsory basis.

But the strain of war was proving to be greater on the Central Powers as the year 1918 wore on. Ludendorff, the German commander in the West, launched a tremendous attack in March, 1918, at various points of the long battle-line in the hope of gaining so decisive a victory that the Allies would be forced to make peace. At first it looked as if the Allies were to be pushed back to a dangerous degree. But the cities of Amiens and Rheims were held, and every foot of ground was stubbornly contested. The Allies were convinced by this time that a unified command was essential for victory. After March Ludendorff was faced by Foch.¹ A great battle was waged almost continuously from March 21st in order to wear down the German reserve force; limited attacks were made first at one point and then another along the two-hundred-mile front. American forces were taking a larger and larger part in the fighting, but it was by no means clear whether the decisive attack on the Hindenburg line should be made in 1918 or postponed until the next year. In September, however, the British forces were so successful in the nine days' battle of St. Quentin that the Hindenburg line was broken.² Thereupon a general battle took place along the whole front. By November the Germans had been driven almost off French soil, and much of Belgium was back in Allied hands. The armistice came on the 11th of November to end the most expensive and devastating war in history.

¹ Some months before Lloyd George became Prime Minister, Sir John French was replaced by Sir Douglas Haig as commander of the British forces in the West.

² The place that munitions took in the war is well illustrated by the battle of St. Quentin. The British in the preliminary bombardment of the German line shot off more than a million shells.

THE REWARDS OF VICTORY

The cost of the struggle cannot be accurately calculated or realized. All previous wars were dwarfed into insignificance by the demands of the four years from 1914 to 1918. The British Empire as a whole furnished about nine million soldiers and sailors, of whom about two thirds came from Great Britain. The number of fighting men to the population was about the same for the Dominions as for Great Britain. Of the nine million soldiers, one out of every nine gave his life in the war. The sacrifice of wealth is not to be compared with the awful toll of human life. Yet it serves to show the scale on which the war was waged. It is estimated that by the middle of 1918 the war was costing the Government of Great Britain nearly eight million pounds sterling a day. The pre-war debt of the nation was about £700,000,000 and the annual budgets were less than £200,000,000 at the time the war opened. In the four years of war the British expenditure was almost £10,000,000,000. It was found impossible to pay for the war as it went on, since less than £3,000,000,000 was raised by taxation in spite of greater sacrifices than ever before. By the end of the war the debt had increased tenfold, to a grand total of £7,000,000,000. It was a costly victory, to say the least, and raises once again the question as to why mankind will continue to use the arbitrament of armed conflict, of trial by battle, to settle national and international issues.

The price of defeat for Germany and its allies was even more startling. Germany remained largely intact territorially, though it lost outright Alsace-Lorraine and a large part of West Prussia, and suffered diminution by plebiscites along sections of the old boundary. The Austro-Hungarian conglomerate broke up into national groups, and the Turkish Empire as well as the German colonies were laid on the peace table for distribution. Germany lost its fleet, much of its merchant shipping, large amounts of coal, and many other materials of use to the Allies in restoring the devastated regions. The demands

Cost of the
World War

The Treaty
of Peace





for reparations were very great. Germany was required by the treaty to pay the Allies by May of 1921 twenty billion gold marks (about £1,000,000,000). But this immense sum was only on account. A Reparations Commission was established to decide on the size and nature of the subsequent payments. The Allied hope that Germany would reimburse the exhausted exchequers of the victors proved largely illusory, however, because the war was so weakening economically.

More tangible were the territorial gains. Of the German islands in the Pacific, the German Samoas went to New Zealand, German New Guinea and the near-by Bismarck Archipelago to Australia, Kiaochow and the German islands north of the Equator to Japan. Southwest Africa was added to the Union of South Africa. Britain and France divided the German holdings on the west African coast, the British shares being added to the Gold Coast Colony and to Nigeria. German East Africa, now known as Tanganyika, was divided between Britain and Belgium, but the great bulk went to Britain. Heligoland, ceded to Germany in 1890, was dismantled after the war.

The Turkish dominions were allocated to various states, but again Britain obtained the lion's share. Cyprus and Egypt had left the Turkish Empire at the opening of the war. The Hejaz in southwest Arabia was made into an Arab state under British protection. Palestine was also accorded to Great Britain in order that it might again become the "national home of the Jewish people." And the rich Mesopotamian valley came under British influence. Nearly a million square miles of territory became connected with the Empire as a result of the war.

The German colonial territories and most of the Turkish lands turned over to the Allies were not given outright. Rather, they were entrusted by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to the various nations as mandates, and were regarded as under the pro-

British territorial gains

The partition of Turkey

Mandates

tection of the League of Nations that was created by the peace treaty. If a mandate contained people of low cultural standards it became essentially an "integral part" of the mandatory state. But in every case the mandatories were to make annual reports to the League of the lands and peoples in their care. The tendency, nevertheless, has been in the direction of regarding the mandates as captured colonial possessions.

There were sincere efforts in 1919 to make the stupendous conflict a "war to end war." To this end President Wilson succeeded in putting into the peace treaty a covenant of a League of Nations as a guarantee against further wars. Elaborate arrangements were made to halt any impending clash until resort could be had to arbitration or to inquiry. The members of the League were to use commercial and financial pressure on offending states, and they were to preserve the integrity, territorial and political, of the members. The Covenant provided for a Court of International Justice, for a general Assembly, and for a smaller Council. A secretariat was established at Geneva where, among other important functions, it was to register and make public the various treaties between the members. It may well be that this effort to make a positive advance toward international harmony will seem in the future one of the permanent results of the Great War as it faces the cross-examination of time.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE

We are still too close to the *post-bellum* period, if indeed the world has yet emerged from it, to estimate accurately the abiding consequences of the war. Europe continued to be upset, largely because the peace lacked decisiveness. The arrangements for plebiscites, the encouragement of numerous, narrow, and combative nationalisms, the revengeful spirit with which the terms were penned, the simmerings of war in various regions, the uneven application of such principles as the rights of small nations and the meaning of nationality—

The League
of Nations

Indecisive
character of
the peace

these and many other difficulties hindered the return of the world to normal conditions. Within the British Empire this restless spirit found much expression. The Irish question received something like a satisfactory answer only after four years of strain.¹ Egypt became a plague spot because of the feeling of outraged nationalism, especially since Britain tried to suppress its expression at home and abroad. As in the case of Ireland, concession was the final answer; Egypt was granted independence in 1922.

India had been the scene of unrest for some time before the opening of the World War. There was a widespread native desire for political reform that would give the people of India more of a share in their own ^{Post-war India} government.² The first real concession by which representative institutions were introduced had been the Indian Councils Act of 1909. Only a small electorate, however, was created, and the control of important matters remained with a viceroy responsible to the Parliament in Westminster. During the World War India was an important factor in the Asiatic situation. Indian troops were used with success, and the Government of the great dependency furnished valuable financial aid. The wish to retain Indian good will and to answer the continued wish for reform brought about a further concession just as the war came to an end. The Government of India Act of 1919 enlarged the electorate to five million, and gave the various provincial councils practical control of local affairs. But this was not home rule in the meaning of the term as applied to the Dominions. The restlessness was not allayed. After the war the demand for *swaraj*, or self-rule, was led by a remarkable Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi. Though he had been loyal to the Empire, Gandhi became at last convinced that the solution of India's plight rested not so much in governmental change as in a non-coöperative movement to boycott western economic civilization. Gandhi urged his followers to

¹ See above, p. 881.

² The annual meeting of the Indian National Congress served as a medium for this feeling.

a passive resistance of the British Government, a boycott of British-made goods, and a return to a "home-spun," self-contained existence. This ascetic leader was astonishingly successful; thousands turned their backs on western materialistic civilization. No immediate legislative concessions, however, met the post-war unrest in India.

In Britain itself the coming of peace naturally brought about changes in the political leadership. Following the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1918,¹ the Government went to the country in the so-called "khaki" election; it occurred after the armistice but before the framing of the Treaty of Versailles. The Coalition under Lloyd George and Bonar Law was triumphantly returned with much more than an absolute majority. The Independent Liberals suffered badly; only twenty-six were elected, and they were leaderless as the result of Mr. Asquith's defeat. The patriotic wing of the Labor Party was so successful that fifty-nine Laborites sat in the new Parliament. It became the official opposition.

The Coalition Government endured until 1922. Its fall was inevitable with the coming of peace and with the natural return to the party system of government. The Prime Minister, Lloyd George, was repudiated by the Conservatives, upon whom he largely depended for the success of the coalition. In addition, he proved too autocratic for the years of peace and aroused much distrust by his recklessness in foreign policy. The Conservatives, led by Bonar Law, succeeded to office in 1922, but the new Prime Minister was compelled to retire because of ill health in the next year. His successor, Stanley Baldwin, had a secure majority behind him, but he unwisely went to the country on the question of protection and imperial preference. The Laborites emerged from the election with nearly two hundred members. On the failure of the Conservatives to command a majority Ramsay MacDonald became, in 1924, the first Labor Prime Minister of Great Britain. After less than a year — the Laborites

The "khaki" election, 1918

The first Labor Ministry, 1924

¹ See above, p. 902.

were dependent on Liberal support to maintain themselves—the country turned back to Conservatism, with Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister for the second time.

Britain, as well as the other countries, enjoyed a period of false prosperity immediately after the war. This was soon followed by an economic “slump.” The dislocation of ordinary peace-time routine was so severe that the economic recovery, even of the victorious nations, was tantalizingly slow. The old markets could not resume the customary pre-war consumption for lack of that with which to buy. British trade, in consequence, suffered severely, and unemployment was aggravated as the soldiery returned to civilian life. What is more, the competition, which was so fruitful a cause of anti-Germanism before 1914, grew keener if anything. After the war the British found severe rivalry even in commerce and international banking, in which before the war they were without serious competition. The stress and strain following the Treaty of Versailles was not unlike that after the Congress of Vienna, save that British economic recovery after Vienna seemed more certain.

There was abundant ground for discouragement and pessimism in the disillusioning years after the peace. Yet the British Empire and people faced the winds of change with their customary combativeness, tenacity, and adaptability. The war and its aftermath furnished to Britain only another opportunity for further characteristic contributions to the great adventure of life. It is a long and remarkable record, this advance from the remote days when Julius Cæsar found a savage people living on a misty isle off the coast of Gaul to the present when that island has become the center of a distinctive political and cultural development of great value to our modern world.

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APPENDIX

MINISTRIES SINCE 1760

PRIME MINISTER	PARTY	FORMATION
Earl of Bute	Mainly Tory	May 1762
George Grenville	Composite	April 1763
Marquis of Rockingham (I)	Whig	July 1765
Duke of Grafton	Chatham-Grafton	July 1766
Lord North	Tory (King's Friends)	Feb. 1770
Rockingham (II)	Whig	March 1782
Earl of Shelburne	King's Friends — Chathamites	July 1782
Duke of Portland (I)	Fox-North Coalition	April 1783
William Pitt (I)	Tory	Dec. 1783
Henry Addington	Tory	March 1801
Pitt (II)	Tory	May 1804
Baron Grenville	"All the Talents" Coalition	Feb. 1806
Portland (II)	Tory	March 1807
Spencer Perceval	Tory	Oct. 1809
Earl of Liverpool	Tory	June 1812
George Canning	Liberal Tory	April 1827
Viscount Goderich	Liberal Tory	Aug. 1827
Duke of Wellington	Tory	Jan. 1828
Earl Grey	Whig	Nov. 1830
Viscount Melbourne (I)	Whig	July 1834
Sir Robert Peel (I)	Conservative	Nov. 1834
Melbourne (II)	Whig	April 1835
Peel (II)	Conservative	Sept. 1841
Lord John Russell (I)	Whig	July 1846
Earl of Derby (I)	Conservative	Feb. 1852
Earl of Aberdeen	Whig — Peelite	Dec. 1852
Viscount Palmerston (I)	Whig (Liberal)	Feb. 1855
Derby (II)	Conservative	Feb. 1858
Palmerston (II)	Whig (Liberal)	June 1859
Russell (II)	Whig (Liberal)	Nov. 1865
Derby (III)	Conservative	June 1866
Benjamin Disraeli (I)	Conservative	Feb. 1868
W. E. Gladstone (I)	Liberal	Dec. 1868
Disraeli (Beaconsfield) (II)	Conservative	Feb. 1874
Gladstone (II)	Liberal	May 1880
Marquess of Salisbury (I)	Conservative	June 1885
Gladstone (III)	Liberal	Feb. 1886
Salisbury (II)	Conservative	Aug. 1886
Gladstone (IV)	Liberal	Aug. 1892
Earl of Rosebery	Liberal	March 1894
Salisbury (III)	Unionist	July 1895
A. J. Balfour	Unionist	Aug. 1902
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman	Liberal	Dec. 1905
H. H. Asquith (I)	Liberal	April 1908
Asquith (II)	Coalition	May 1915
David Lloyd George (I)	Coalition	Dec. 1916
Lloyd George (II)	Coalition	Dec. 1918
A. Bonar Law	Conservative	Oct. 1922
Stanley Baldwin (I)	Conservative	May 1923
J. Ramsay MacDonald	Labor	Jan. 1924
Baldwin (II)	Conservative	Nov. 1924

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